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GENDER SOCIALIZATION IN THE FAMILY

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by

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this research was to examine gender socialization in the family, with particular attention paid to processes of gender socialization. The first two studies examined parents' preparation for gender bias, a new construct which involves providing instruction about sexism and disadvantaged minority treatment of women. The first study explored parents' preparation for gender bias in a sample of (N=190) European American two-parent families with two adolescent offspring. Mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias than did fathers, and prepared daughters for gender bias more than sons. Preparing offspring for gender bias was associated with parents' socioeconomic status, gender attitudes, and indices of parent-offspring relationship quality. Analyses aimed at exploring the implications of preparation for gender bias for offspring's gender attitudes revealed that although preparation for gender bias did not mediate the association between parents' and offspring's attitudes, high levels of mothers' preparation for gender bias were associated with less traditional attitudes toward women among offspring. The second study examined parents' preparation for gender bias in a sample of (N = 167) two parent African American families and compared this process to preparation for racial bias by examining the correlates and within-family patterning of both socialization behaviors. Parents reported fairly low levels of preparation for gender bias, as compared with preparation for racial bias. Cluster analysis revealed four distinct patterns of mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender and racial bias, which were linked to offspring psychosocial adjustment. Taking into account the role of parental characteristics, belonging to families where both parents engaged in high levels of preparation for gender and racial bias was linked to greater expressivity, awareness of racism, positive values, and social competence among offspring. The third study described gender socialization in the family from the perspective of emerging adult offspring in an ethnically diverse sample of college students (N = 170). Perceptions of family gender messages and modes of message transmission were assessed with a series of open-ended questions, coded for content. General message about gendered work and family roles were most common, and varied in degree of traditionality. Respondents most commonly reported that they had perceived gender messages in their families through observation, although other processes were also identified. Family gender messages differed from peer, school, and media messages. Finally, conservatism in family and peer gender messages was associated with emerging adults' gender attitudes. Limitations of this work and implications for future research on gender socialization in the family are discussed within each paper.

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Overarching Introduction

Gender socialization in the family

The following is a dissertation comprised of three papers that address the family's role in gender socialization. The first two papers focus on parents' roles in preparing offspring for gender bias. In "Preparation for gender bias: A process of gender socialization in the family," a new measure, adapted from Hughes & Chen's (1997) Preparation for Racial Bias scale, is introduced. It measures the extent to which parents educate offspring about sexism and disadvantaged minority treatment of women. Using data from one time point in a longitudinal study of European American, middle class families, this paper examines levels of preparation for gender bias among mothers and fathers of adolescent and emerging adult offspring and explores both parental and offspring correlates of this gender socialization process. In "Preparation for gender and racial bias in African American families," the same scale is employed to measure African American parents' preparation for gender bias, along with the original Preparation for Racial Bias scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). This paper examines levels of preparation for gender bias in a sample of African American families, explores its interplay with preparation for racial bias, and explores the implications of parents' patterning of preparation for racial and gender bias for offspring psychosocial adjustment. The third paper, "Messages about men's and women's roles: Emerging adults' perceptions of gender socialization in the family," examines gender socialization in the family from the perspective of emerging adult offspring. Data for this paper were drawn from a study of gender development in a multi-ethnic sample of college students who answered open-ended questions about messages they received from their families regarding men's and women's roles. This paper examines the content and level of conservatism

in family gender messages and compares family messages with those perceived from other sources of gender socialization: peers, school, and the media.

Theoretical Background

Research on gender socialization in the family has drawn heavily on social learning theory (Ruble and Martin, 1998) and has also been valuably informed by social psychological and feminist theories (e.g., Deaux & Major, 1987; Ferree, 1990; West & Zimmerman, 1987). According to social learning perspectives, social agents influence the development of gendered attitudes, characteristics, and behavior through differential treatment of the sexes and modeling (Ruble & Martin, 1998). In other words, children acquire gendered attitudes, characteristics, and behaviors because they are reinforced when they act in gender-typed ways and because they learn from observing the actions (and reactions) of others. Feminist and social psychological theories highlight the importance of understanding gender as socially constructed and imbedded in everyday interaction (Deaux & Major, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1987) and serve to explain some of the variability in gender role models that youth are exposed to in families.

A limitation of research on gender socialization in the family is its sometimes blurry conceptualization of the processes through which gender socialization takes place. For example, the literature on the intergenerational transmission of gender related beliefs and values has provided extensive evidence that parents' and children's beliefs and values are linked (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). Yet, very little is understood about how these linkages are constructed. It is assumed that modeling is the process that underlies these associations. However, other processes may be at work.

McHale, Crouter, and Whiteman (2003) underscore parents' roles as instructors of gender relevant knowledge as one potentially fruitful avenue for research aimed at specifying processes

of family gender socialization. Indeed, messages about gender may be conveyed more directly as parents play the role of instructor rather than, or in addition to, their modeling of gender roles. Unfortunately, very little is known about the content of the lessons that parents teach about gendered roles and behavior (McHale et al.). Theory and research on racial socialization has focused explicitly on messages communicated directly to offspring about race (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006) and may therefore provide a useful model for considering parents' roles as instructors with regard to gender-relevant information. Yet, it is also important to consider other pathways of gender socialization in the family. Parents may influence offspring's gender development through modeling and reinforcement, direct communication, differential treatment of opposite sex siblings, providing opportunities for sex stereotyped and non-stereotyped activities, and other processes that have not been considered in research to date.

Contributions to Literature

These papers make several unique contributions to the current literature on gender socialization in the family. The first and most important contribution is their attention to processes of gender socialization. As outlined above, although extant research on gender socialization has offered compelling evidence that the family context has important implications for gender development, the actual processes through which gender socialization takes place have not been clearly conceptualized or measured. Using theory and research on racial socialization as a model, the first two papers employ a measure of parents' preparation for gender bias. Gender socialization undoubtedly takes place through multiple processes. These papers serve to elucidate one such process by offering valuable information on the frequency and extent to which parents teach their offspring about disadvantaged minority treatment of women.

In the third paper, open-ended questions are used to capture emerging adults' perceptions of family gender socialization. In addition to valuable information about the content of family gender messages, participants provided details regarding the processes through which gender messages were conveyed to them.

Another contribution these papers offer to the literature is their inclusion of both male and female offspring, mothers and fathers, and siblings within the same family. In general, research that focuses on gender and gender issues has paid more attention to the experiences of girls and women than boys and men. Research on gender socialization in the family is no exception. For example, studies by Ex and Janssens (1998) and Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain (1997) focused on mothers and daughters only. Although the results of each of these studies were highly informative and valuable to the field, and although both authors had good conceptual and practical arguments for studying solely mothers and daughters, their findings beg the question of whether similar results would be found for fathers and/or whether fathers' characteristics and behaviors contribute to their findings. Studies of gender socialization also often include only one child from each participating family. This limitation precludes the examination of within-family comparisons in studying differential treatment. A number of scholars have identified this as a shortcoming of the existing literature (Lytton & Romney, 1991; McHale et al., 2003) and have argued that differential socialization may be more or less evident in families where both male and female children are present. In the first paper, data from mothers, fathers, and two offspring within the same family are examined, facilitating both within- and between-family gender comparisons. The second paper also includes data from mothers and fathers, allowing for the examination of different interparental patterns of preparation for bias. Finally, the third paper includes qualitative data from both male and female

emerging adults, allowing for the exploration of gender differences in the perception of gender messages as well as modes of message transmission.

Consideration of race/ethnicity is also a contribution of two of the three papers presented here. The bulk of research on gender socialization in the family has focused on European American, middle class families, yet culture is key to understanding processes of gender socialization. Extant research has revealed that gender stereotypes and beliefs (Wade & Tavris, 1999) as well as the gendered nature of family contexts (Kane, 2000) vary across racial/ethnic groups. Furthermore, African American and other disadvantaged minority parents may face greater parenting challenges in that they may feel a need to prepare offspring for both racial and gender discrimination. In comparison, European Americans likely only focus on gender discrimination if issues of social bias are a focus of their parenting at all. In the second paper, African American parents' gender socialization practices (preparation for gender bias) are examined alongside their involvement in racial socialization (preparation for racial bias), allowing for the exploration of the intersection of these two parenting behaviors. The third paper examines data from a multiethnic sample of college students, allowing for exploration of ethnic group differences. Although ethnic group does not play a strong role in the study's findings, this is a methodological strength of the paper.

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Paper #1: Preparing Offspring for Gender Bias:

A Process of Gender Socialization in the Family

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Abstract

Little is known about processes of gender socialization in the family. We explored parents' communication and instruction aimed at preparing offspring for gender bias in a sample of (N=190) two-parent families with two adolescents (age range = 13.13 to 20.10 years, *M* = 17.08, *SD* = .96). Mothers prepared daughters for gender bias more than sons, whereas fathers provided less preparation for gender bias than mothers and did not differentiate between sons and daughters. Preparing offspring for gender bias was related to parents' levels of education, gender attitudes and indices parent-offspring relationship quality, as well as to mothers' instrumental personality qualities. Finally, high levels of mothers' preparation for gender bias were associated with less traditional attitudes toward women among offspring, although preparation for gender bias did not mediate the association between parents' and offspring's attitudes.

Preparing Offspring for Gender Bias: A Process of Gender Socialization in the Family

Research on the family's role in gender socialization has drawn primarily from social learning perspectives, according to which children learn about gender norms because they are reinforced when they act in gender-typed ways and because they learn from observing the actions (and reactions) of other children and adults (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003; Ruble & Martin, 1998). Despite extensive empirical examination of the family's role in gender socialization, however, few studies have measured the processes through which mothers and fathers impart gender-related knowledge and beliefs to their children. McHale et al. underscored parents' roles as instructors and providers of opportunities as potentially fruitful avenues for research aimed at specifying the processes of family gender socialization. Indeed, messages about gender may be conveyed more directly when parents serve as instructors than when they model gendered roles and attributes. This study was aimed at filling the gap in our knowledge about the extent to which parents provide lessons about gender to their children in order to prepare them to face gender bias in society.

Gender Socialization in the Family

Empirical investigations of gender socialization in the family have focused primarily on parents' modeling of traditional and less stereotypical family roles (Ruble & Martin, 1998) and on parental differential treatment of sons and daughters (Lytton & Romney, 1991). A number of studies have found associations between parents' and offspring's gender attitudes. A recent meta-analysis of 43 research articles concluded that moderate but consistent associations exist between parents' and offspring's gendered cognitions (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002) such that more traditional parental attitudes are associated with more traditional offspring attitudes. Despite the correlational nature of this research, scholars have argued that the direction of

influence is from parent to child because variations in parents' demographic characteristics (e.g., parental education, family structure) that are linked to parents' gender related attitudes are in turn related to youth's gender related attitudes (Tenenbaum & Leaper) and because parents' attitudes have been found to predict their children's attitudes many years later (Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997). Despite compelling evidence that parents' and offspring's attitudes are related, however, the mechanisms through which they are connected are unclear.

Other research on gender socialization in the family has focused on associations between parents' gendered behavior and personal characteristics (e.g., the division of household labor between parents; mothers' education) and youth's attitudes. For the most part, these studies have examined differences in parental roles, or interparental dynamics. For example, in a longitudinal investigation, Cunningham (2001) found across-time associations between parents' division of labor (when adolescents were roughly 15 years of age) and adolescents' gender role attitudes and beliefs about the ideal division of labor three years later. Researchers also have explored the impact of mothers' education, employment and investment in paid labor on children's gender development. In a study of adolescent girls and young women (ages 15-22), Ex and Janssens (1998) found evidence for a mediation model in which mothers' work and education experiences were conceptualized as affecting daughters' gender attitudes *through* their influence on mothers' own gender attitudes. As in research on the transmission of gender attitudes, evidence from this line of research suggests that parents are important gender socializing agents, but does not specify the processes or mechanisms through which gender socialization takes place between parents and offspring.

Findings on parents' sex-typed differential treatment of their sons and daughters are inconsistent. Lytton and Romney's (1991) meta-analysis of 19 parental behaviors, including

interaction, encouragement of achievement, warmth and responsiveness, restrictiveness and encouragement of independence, revealed systematic gender differences in parents' encouragement of sex-typed activities only. However, studies of differential treatment have not included an exhaustive set of parental behaviors (McHale et al., 2003; Leaper, Anderson, & Sanders, 1998). Indeed, Leaper et al. criticized the Lytton and Romney meta-analysis for examining categories of parental behavior that were too broad and for including studies with a great deal of variability in measures employed. Leaper et al. focused their meta-analysis on a more specific set of parental behaviors (speech behavior as measured in observational studies) and found evidence of parental differential treatment along gender lines. Thus, important differences may exist in parents' gender socialization behaviors that have not been demonstrated because they have not been measured to date.

Another limitation of extant research on differential treatment is the limited age range of participants (McHale et al., 2003). Very few investigations have examined parental differential treatment beyond mid-adolescence, despite several authors' arguments that sex-differential treatment is likely to increase as children mature (Hill & Lynch, 1983; Lytton & Romney, 1991; McHale et al.). The gender intensification hypothesis (Hill & Lynch) is based on the notion that parents (and other socializing agents) respond to the developing adolescent's increasingly adult appearance by intensifying gender socialization during early adolescence. Yet, parents may engage in more gender socialization with older offspring as they take on more adult appearances and approach more mature life roles in later adolescence.

Finally, extant literature on differential treatment has been limited to between-family comparisons of boys and girls from different families (McHale et al., 2003). Between-family designs require that conclusions regarding sex-differential treatment be drawn from comparisons

of girls and boys from different families. By "controlling" for family circumstances and parents' dispositions, within-family designs provide a more sensitive test of whether parents treat girls and boys differently (McHale et al.). Accordingly, in this study, we compared parents' gender socialization behaviors with brothers and sisters within the same family in an effort to not only understand whether parents are more likely to engage in preparation for gender bias with female or male offspring in general, but whether parents provide more preparation for gender bias to sons or daughters within the same family.

A New Direction for Research on Gender Socialization

A body of literature has focused on parents' racial socialization in minority families.One aspect of racial socialization is preparing children for racial bias that they may encounter in mainstream society (Hughes & Johnson, 2001, p. 982). Hughes and Chen (1997) developed a measure of racial socialization including a specific subscale to address preparation for racial bias. Subsequent investigations have supported the utility of this measure, uncovering both the correlates of parents' racial socialization, as well as important linkages with children's outcomes (Hughes, 2003; McHale et al., 2006). Despite historical and present-day inequalities between the sexes, however, little research has similarly examined the extent to which parents prepare their children for gender bias. The present study aimed to fill this gap in the literature on the family's role in gender socialization by employing a measure of preparation for gender bias adapted from Hughes and Chen's measure of preparation for racial bias.

Offspring's Gender Attitudes

A better understanding of the processes of gender socialization within families is critical because it may shed light on the development of gender attitudes among offspring. It is important to understand the socialization processes that may give rise to certain gender attitudes because

traditional attitudes have been linked with a number of negative psychosocial outcomes. In college samples, for example, traditional attitudes toward women, or endorsement of the idea that men should be afforded more power than women, have been linked with sexually coercive behaviors among men (Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984) and to ideas about rape-justifiability among both men and women (Muehlenhard, 1988). Traditional attitudes toward women have also been linked with lower self-esteem (Kleinplatz, McCarrey, & Kateb, 1992) and sex-typed career aspirations (Steele & Barling, 1996) in college females.

Study Goals and Hypotheses

In sum, extant literature on gender socialization in the family has been limited by its lack of attention to the processes of gender socialization. Gender socialization tends to be inferred rather than assessed directly; understanding parents' active roles in providing information about gender issues can inform this literature in several ways. First, basic information on the frequency with which mothers and fathers provide direct messages about gender to their children is important descriptively as it helps to define the role of parents in gender socialization. Second, information regarding the characteristics of parents who prepare their offspring for gender bias may illuminate the conditions under which children are exposed to direct information about gender issues. Third, examining the extent to which parents provide direct messages about gender bias, because these parenting behaviors are so closely tied to issues of gender, may expose an area of parents' differential treatment of their sons and daughters. Finally, parents' preparation for gender bias may carry implications for the development of offspring's gender attitudes, a construct of importance for research on several psychosocial outcomes.

The current investigation examined parents' preparation for gender bias using a questionnaire adapted for this purpose. The first goal of this study was to describe mothers' and

fathers' preparation for gender bias with firstborn and secondborn offspring. Because concerns about gender inequalities may be especially salient to women, we hypothesized that mothers would prepare their children for gender bias more than would fathers. In terms of within-family differences, we reasoned that parents would prepare older offspring for gender bias more than younger offspring, because of older adolescents' more adult roles and appearance. With regard to the role of offspring's sex, we hypothesized that parents would engage in more preparation for gender bias with daughters than with sons because parents of girls may be more likely to consider issues of gender to be pertinent to their child's experiences. Drawing on a previous hypothesis, however, we were interested in whether this pattern would vary as a function of birth order, but made no hypothesis in this regard.

The second goal of the current investigation was to explore the correlates of parents' preparation for gender bias in order to gain an understanding of the conditions that may give rise to this parental behavior. First, because past research has linked less traditional ideas about gender with higher socioeconomic status (Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983), we explored associations between parents' preparation for gender bias and parents' levels of education. Next, we examined correlations between parents' preparation for gender bias and parents' gender-related personal characteristics and attitudes, as well as the gender-related characteristics and attitudes of their spouses, and qualities of parent-offspring relationships, controlling for parents' education.

The final goal of this study was to examine the role of preparation for gender bias in predicting offspring's attitudes toward women. Given extant research on intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002) we were interested in exploring

whether parents' preparation for gender bias would play a mediating role linking parents' and offspring's attitudes toward women.

Method

Data were drawn primarily from the eighth year of a longitudinal study exploring gender development and family dynamics during adolescence, the first year that our measure of gender socialization was administered. At year 1, participants included 203 families recruited via letters sent to the families of 4th and 5th grade students in 16 rural and small urban school districts of a Northeastern state. To qualify for participation, families needed to have a firstborn child in the 4th or 5th grade with a sibling one to three years younger as well as an intact marriage. Reflecting the demographic characteristics of the communities in which they resided, participants were predominantly White, dual-earner families. Although the family attrition rate was low between phases 1 and 8 (n = 13 families or 6%), 14 additional fathers failed to participate in the year 8 interview due to death (n = 5) or divorce (n =9). In year 8, families reported a median family income of $82,500, and parents' average level of education was 14.51 (*SD*=2.24) on a scale where 12= high school graduate and 16=college graduate. Mothers and fathers were, on average, 44.25 (*SD* = 3.94) and 46.58 (*SD* = 5.08) years of age, respectively. Firstborn offspring averaged 18.38 years of age (*SD* = .78), and secondborn siblings were, on average 15.78 years of age (*SD* = 1.13).

Procedures

Data for the current analyses were gathered in home interviews during which parents and adolescents completed measures describing themselves, their work situations, and their family relationships. Each family member was interviewed individually. Measures of gender socialization, as well as parents' and offspring's gender-related attitudes, personal

characteristics, and indices of their relationships, were administered during these interviews. Families received $200 for their participation in the home interview.

Measures

Preparation for Gender Bias. The Preparation for Gender Bias (PGB) scale was developed to assess parents' perceptions of their direct role in providing instruction and information regarding gender bias in society (e.g., discussion of gender issues). The 6 items were adapted from the Preparation for Racial Bias subscale of the Racial Socialization Scale developed by Hughes and Chen (1997). Parents reported how often they had engaged in various gender socialization behaviors (e.g., "I have told my child that people might treat girls/women unfairly because of their sex/gender," see Appendix A) over the course of the child's life on a 6-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Never*" and 6 = "*Very often.*" Mothers and fathers completed the measure independently and answered about each child at separate points during the home interview. Cronbach's alphas for mothers' reports were .88 and .92 for firstborn and secondborn offspring respectively. Father's reports were similarly reliable (α = 90 and .89 for firstborns and secondborns respectively).

Parents' and Offspring's Attitudes toward Women. Spence and Helmreich's (1972) Attitudes Toward Women Scale was used to tap parents' and offspring's ideas about the rights and roles of women in society. The scale consists of 15 items (e.g., "Swearing and using obscene language are more offensive in the speech of a woman than a man."). Respondents rated their agreement on a 4-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Strongly Disagree*" and 4 = "*Strongly Agree.*" Cronbach's alphas were .80 and .79 for mothers and fathers respectively, and .89 and .88 for firstborns and secondborns respectively.

Parents' Sex-typed Personality Traits. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; Bem, 1974) was used to measure parents' gendered personality traits. The BSRI includes 60 personality

characteristics on which respondents rate themselves using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*never or almost never true*) to 7 (*always or almost always true*). Twenty of the characteristics are expressive, or stereotypically feminine (e.g., sympathetic), 20 are instrumental or stereotypically masculine (e.g., assertive), and 20 are neutral (e.g., truthful, reliable). Instrumentality and expressivity scores were derived by computing the average rating across instrumental and expressive items ($\alpha = .69$ and .75 for mothers' and fathers' expressivity respectively, and $\alpha = .87$ for both mothers' and fathers' instrumentality). The BSRI was administered only in phase 1 of the longitudinal investigation because it has demonstrated considerable stability in other studies (e.g., Hyde, Krajnik, & Skuldt-Neiderberger, 1991).

Parent-child Relationship Quality

   Parent-offspring intimacy. Offspring reported their feelings of closeness with both parents on a scale developed by Blyth, Hill, and Thiel (1982). The scale consists of 8 items, e.g., "How much do you seek out your mother/father for advice and support?" Respondents answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Not at all*" and 5 = "*Very much.*" Reliability for this scale was good ($\alpha = .86$ and .88 for firstborns and secondborns respectively).

   Parent-offspring conflict. The measure of parent-offspring conflict (Harris, 1992) was based on the work of Smetana (1988) and assessed the frequency of conflict in a number of domains. Offspring were asked to rate how often they have conflicts with their parents in each of 10 domains (chores, appearance, social life, bedtime/curfew, health, choosing activities, money, behavior/personality, relationships with brothers and sisters, and relationships with friends) on a 6-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Not at all*" and 6 = "*Several times a day.*" The present study summed across all domains. Reliability for this measure was good ($\alpha = .78$ for both firstborns and secondborns).

Results

Levels of Preparation for Gender Bias in Families

Both mothers and fathers reported engaging in relatively low levels of preparation for gender bias with their children. The means for mothers' reports were 17.92 (*SD* = 6.07) and 16.98 (*SD* = 6.73) for firstborn and secondborn offspring respectively, indicating that on average they "rarely" to "sometimes" engaged in the preparation for gender bias with firstborns and "very rarely" to "rarely" engaged in preparation for gender bias with secondborns. However, it is important to note that out of a possible range of 6 to 36, mothers' scores ranged from 6 to 33 for firstborns and from 6 to 34 for secondborns. Thus, although the means were low, some mothers reported engaging in gender socialization quite frequently. The means for fathers' preparation for gender bias were 14.55 (*SD* = 5.77) and 15.07 (*SD* = 5.66) for firstborns and secondborns respectively, indicating that, like mothers, fathers "very rarely" to "rarely" engaged in preparation for gender bias. Out of a possible range of 6 to 36, fathers' scores ranged from 6 to 33 for firstborns and 6 to 32 for secondborns, indicating, again, that although the means of fathers' preparation for gender bias were low, some fathers reported engaging in this parenting behavior quite frequently.

To examine both between and within family differences in parents' preparation for gender bias, as well as to explore the role of offspring's sex, a 4 (sibling sex constellation) X 2 (sibling) X 2 (parent) mixed model ANOVA was conducted to examine patterns of gender socialization between and within families. Within family comparisons were therefore made between mothers and fathers as well as between siblings; sibling sex constellation was the only between-subjects factor. A main effect for parent emerged ($F(1,170) = 20.93$, $p < .001$), indicating that mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias than did fathers, pooling

across sibling, but this was qualified by an interaction between sibling sex constellation, sibling, and parent ($F(3, 168) = 7.13$, $p < .001$). Follow-up analyses were conducted on the difference between older and younger children's gender socialization. Given the rather large main effect for parent, these analyses were conducted separately for mothers and fathers. The sibling sex constellation effect was significant in the analysis of mothers' preparation for gender bias, $F(3,185) = 17.75$, $p < .001$, but not fathers', $F(3,168) = .21$, *n.s.*. Inspection of means revealed that mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias with older siblings than with younger siblings, *except in older brother-younger sister pairs*. In other words, when the younger child was a girl with an older brother, girls received more maternal preparation for gender bias than their brothers did. In all other cases, firstborns received more preparation for gender bias than secondborns. Significant differences (Tukey set at p < .10) were found between older brother - younger sister pairs (mean difference score = -1.77 *SD* = 4.51) and all other groups. The largest difference between older and younger children was found for older sister- younger brother pairs (*M*=3.84, *SD* = 4.20), and the smallest differences emerged in same-sex sibling pairs (*M*= .98, *SD* = 3.37 for sister-sister pairs and *M* = 1.25, *SD* = 2.83 for brother-brother pairs).

To further disentangle the three way interaction, two 2 (child's sex) X 2 (parent) mixed model ANOVAs were conducted on parents' gender socialization of older and younger siblings separately. Main effects for parent were found in both analyses, $F(1,170) = 32.21$, $p<.001$ and $F(1,170) = 9.51$, $p < .001$ for firstborns and secondborns respectively, indicating again that mothers engaged in more gender socialization than did fathers. Main effects for child's sex also emerged in both analyses, qualified by an interaction with parent, $F(1,167) = 2.87$, p = .07 for older siblings; $F(1,167) = 5.10$, $p < .05$ for younger siblings. Although the interaction was only marginally significant for older children, follow-up analyses were performed the same way for

both analyses. One-way ANOVAs were conducted on the difference between mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender bias. For older siblings, a marginal effect emerged indicating that there was a greater difference between mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender bias of daughters ($M = 4.72$, $SD = 9.20$) than of sons ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 7.42$), $F(1, 170) = 2.87$, $p=.09$. Similarly, for younger siblings there was a greater difference between mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender bias of females ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 9.52$) than of males ($M = .57$, $SD = 8.55$), $F(1,169) = 5.10$, $p < .05$.

Correlates of Parents' Preparation for Gender Bias

We were first interested in examining associations between preparation for gender bias and parents' education. Higher parental education was associated with engaging in more preparation for gender bias in 7 out of 8 instances (rs = .15 - .21, ps < .05); the correlation between fathers' education and preparation for gender bias of older offspring was similar and just missed conventional criteria for statistical significance ($r = .14$, $p = .06$). No significant associations emerged between parents' preparation for gender bias and offspring's age.

Given the above reported patterns of preparation for gender bias in families, all subsequent analyses examining the correlates of preparation for gender bias were performed separately by parent and offspring's sex. Variables in these analyses included parents' age, attitudes toward women, and sex-typed personality traits, as well as indices of parent-offspring relationship quality. Preliminary analyses revealed that parents' education was related to parent's attitudes toward women ($r = -.39$, $p < .001$ and $r = -.17$, $p < .05$ for mothers and fathers respectively), and parent-offspring relationship conflict ($r = -.14$, $p < .05$ and $r = .22$, $p < .01$ for mothers and fathers respectively). Therefore, we controlled for parents' education.

Mothers' preparation for gender bias. A negative association emerged between mothers' attitudes toward women and mothers' preparation for gender bias with older girls. Engaging in more preparation for gender bias with older female offspring was associated with having less traditional attitudes toward women. For both male and female firstborns, a positive association emerged for mothers' instrumental personality traits (see Table 1.1). Engaging in more preparation for gender bias with firsborns was associated with possessing more instrumental personal qualities (note that this correlation was only marginally significant for males). In addition, the pattern of associations between mothers' preparation for gender bias with younger offspring and mothers' characteristics was similar. An additional association emerged, however, between mothers' gender socialization of male offspring and mothers' attitudes toward women.

A notable pattern of association emerged between mothers' preparation for gender bias with older offspring and fathers' attitudes toward women. Whereas the association was negative for female offspring (indicating that mothers who engaged in more preparation for bias with daughters had husbands with less traditional attitudes toward women), it was positive for male offspring, indicating that mothers who engaged in more preparation for gender bias with sons had husbands with more traditional attitudes. An r to z transformation confirmed that these correlations were significantly different from one another ($z = 3.11$, $p < .001$).

With regard to parent-offspring relationship quality, positive correlations emerged between mothers' preparation for gender bias with firstborn boys and mother-offspring conflict. Discussing gender bias with male firstborns was associated with engaging in conflict with them. No significant correlations emerged between mothers' preparation for gender bias with younger offspring and parent-offspring relationship quality.

Fathers' preparation for gender bias. With regard to fathers' preparation for gender bias, negative associations emerged for fathers' attitudes toward women for both sons and daughters (see Table 2.1). Fathers who engaged in more preparation for gender bias had less traditional attitudes toward women. An additional positive association emerged between fathers' age and fathers' preparation for gender bias with older sons, indicating that older fathers were more likely to engage in preparing sons for gender bias. The pattern of associations between fathers' preparation for gender bias with younger offspring and fathers' characteristics was similar, except that the negative association between fathers' attitudes toward women and preparation for gender bias with younger daughters did not reach statistical significance as it did for older offspring, and an additional association emerged between fathers' attitudes toward men's roles and preparation for gender bias of younger sons. Fathers who engaged in more preparation for gender bias with younger sons had less traditional attitudes toward men's roles.

Associations emerged between fathers' preparation for gender bias and mothers' characteristics for female firstborns only. A positive association emerged for mothers' age, indicating that fathers who engaged in more preparation for gender bias had older spouses.

Finally, associations emerged between fathers' preparation for gender bias and father-offspring relationship quality for secondborn offspring only. Positive correlations emerged, for both male and female offspring, for intimacy with father. Thus, fathers who had more intimate relationships with their children engaged in more preparation for gender bias.

Parents' Preparation for ender bias and offspring's gender attitudes

In order to include both firstborns and secondborns in the same analysis, models were estimated using a general least squares estimator that handled stacked data and properly specified fixed and random effects. We followed Baron and Kenny's (1986) four step approach to testing

mediation. For each path, models included the key predictor variable (parents' preparation for gender bias or attitudes toward women), birth order, offspring's sex, family, and the interaction between birth order, offspring's sex and the key predictor variable (although these interaction terms never emerged as significant predictors and were therefore subsequently trimmed from the analyses). These analyses were first conducted with sons and daughters combined. Our first set of analyses examined the direct linkage between parents' and offspring's attitudes. Significant associations were found for both mothers and fathers (see Table 3.1) indicating that more traditional attitudes among parents were linked with more traditional attitudes among offspring. The linkage between parents' attitudes and parents' preparation for gender bias was then tested. Significant associations emerged in both analyses indicating that having more traditional attitudes was linked with engaging in less preparation for gender bias. The association between parents' preparation for gender bias and offspring's attitudes was then tested. This path was significant for mothers but not fathers. However, when mothers' attitudes and preparation for gender bias were entered into the same model predicting offspring's attitudes, the magnitude of the association was no longer significant ($B = -.03$, $SE\ B = .06$, $n.s.$), and the association between mothers' and offspring's attitudes was not significantly reduced ($B = .39$, $SE\ B = .07$, $p < .001$). Thus, we found no support for the mediating role of parents' gender socialization. Although no significant interactions had emerged between our predictor variables and offspring's sex, we were interested in exploring these associations separately for sons and daughters. The results of the first two analyses (predicting offspring attitudes with parent attitudes, and predicting preparation for gender bias with parent attitudes) mirrored the results of analyses conducted on the full sample. The association between parents' preparation for gender bias and offspring's attitudes was significant in the analysis of mothers' preparation for gender bias and daughters',

but not sons' attitudes. As in our analyses of the full sample, however, when mothers' attitudes

and preparation for gender bias were entered into the same model predicting offspring's

attitudes, the magnitude of the association was no longer significant ($B = -.07$, $SE\ B = .07$, $n.s.$),

and the association between mothers' and daughters' attitudes was not significantly reduced ($B =$

$.29$, $SE\ B = .09$, $p < .001$).

<div align="center">Discussion</div>

Extant research has established the family as an important context for gender

socialization, yet few studies have measured processes of gender socialization in the family. In

the present investigation, we measured parents' preparation for gender bias with a questionnaire

developed for this purpose. Although, on average, parents engaged in relatively low levels of the

behaviors we measured, important within- and between- family gender differences emerged.

Furthermore, we identified several personal characteristics of mothers and fathers linked to their

gender socialization behavior. Finally, mothers' preparation for gender bias was linked to

daughters' attitudes toward women, although it did not mediate the linkage between mothers'

and daughters' attitudes.

The Preparation for Gender Bias Scale

The measure developed for the current study had good internal consistency, indicating

that the items of the scale cohered. Furthermore, although average levels of preparation for

gender bias were rather low, parents' reports were meaningfully related to various background

characteristics including some that pertain to gender (e.g., gender attitudes, sex-typed personality

traits and interests). These associations provide evidence of construct validity because the

direction of association was logical and expected (Smith, 2005). Finally, we found some

evidence that parents' reports of preparation for gender bias were related to offspring's attitudes

toward women. These findings support the utility of the measure for studying gender socialization in the family arena.

Levels of Preparation for Gender Bias in Families

Consistent with our hypotheses, mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias than did fathers, although both parents reported engaging in relatively low levels, on average. Issues of gender may be more salient to mothers, who may feel more negatively about gender inequality, because of their own firsthand experiences, and who may therefore feel a greater need to instruct their children about such issues, than do fathers. Past research has also indicated that mothers are more likely to be involved in proactively responding to racial discrimination, a parenting process that is conceptually similar to preparation for racial bias (Frabutt, Walker, MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002). Thus, preparation for bias in general may be a higher parenting priority for mothers than fathers. Furthermore, mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias with daughters than with sons. This finding may not be surprising because our measure focused on negative or disadvantaged minority treatment of women, not inequalities that young men might experience as a result of their gender. Some mothers may feel compelled to prepare daughters for gender bias because daughters are more likely than sons to face the negative impact of gender inequality firsthand. Alternatively, female offspring's experiences may prompt mothers to engage in preparation for bias discussions. This is consistent with Hughes and Johnson's (2001) finding that perceptions of racism and information seeking about race among African American youth are associated with greater preparation for racial bias from parents.

This finding is important given the inconsistent conclusions of research on sex-typed differential treatment. Although a number of studies have suggested that sex-typed differential treatment is uncommon (Lytton & Romney, 1991), it appears that mothers do differentiate

between sons and daughters in their gender socialization behaviors. Measuring very specific sets of gender-relevant parental behaviors may illuminate important differences in parents' treatment of sons and daughters (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2003). Furthermore, unlike more general constructs (e.g., warmth and responsiveness), these specific behaviors may be more useful in establishing connections between sex-typed differential treatment and children's gender development because the behaviors themselves pertain inherently to gender.

Birth order also had implications for mothers' rates of preparation for gender bias. Mothers reported engaging in more preparation for gender bias with firstborn children than with secondborns, except in older-brother younger-sister pairs. As such, being female may "trump" being older in prompting mothers' gender socialization behavior. Unlike mothers, fathers did not differentiate between daughters and sons, or between firstborns and secondborns in their levels of preparation for gender bias. It is important to note, however, that preparation for gender bias was relatively rare, overall, for fathers compared to mothers.

Correlates of Preparing Offspring for Gender Bias

Fairly consistent associations emerged between both mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender bias and their gender attitudes. Parents with more traditional attitudes toward women were less likely to engage in gender socialization with older and younger offspring. Parents who hold traditional gender attitudes may either endorse or fail to recognize gender bias (Bargad & Hyde, 1991) and therefore may not see a need to engage in this parenting behavior. Mothers' instrumental personality traits were also associated with their gender socialization of older and younger offspring. Mothers who possessed instrumental traits such as independence and assertiveness may want to encourage similar traits in their children. Part of doing so may involve educating their children, particularly daughters, about gender inequality.

Few associations were found between one parent's preparation for gender bias and the other parent's personal characteristics. A notable pattern of associations did emerge, however, between mothers' gender socialization of older children and fathers' attitudes toward women. Whereas more traditional attitudes among fathers were associated with *less* gender socialization of daughters by mothers, more traditional attitudes among fathers were associated with *more* gender socialization of sons. Perhaps when sons are present in families where fathers are very traditional in their gender attitudes, mothers attempt to mitigate fathers' influence by providing more instruction about gender inequality. This pattern, however, did not occur for secondborns, perhaps because secondborns are less likely to prompt this behavior from mothers in general, due to their relative inexperience and less mature appearance in comparison to firstborns.

The quality of parent-offspring relationships was also related to parents' preparation for gender bias. Positive associations between mothers' preparation for gender bias and conflict with firstborn sons seem to indicate that arguments may provide a context for the discussion of gender-related issues in these relationships. Mothers may introduce lessons about gender and sexism in response to problematic behavior on the part of their firstborn sons. Fathers' gender socialization, on the other hand, was positively associated with intimacy in their relationships with secondborns. For fathers, discussions of gender-related issues are more likely to occur in close, warm relationships.

Parents' Preparation for Gender Bias and Offspring's Gender Attitudes

We did not find support for the idea that parents' preparation for gender bias might mediate the linkage between parents' and offspring's gender attitudes, although many of the pieces of the mediation argument were in place. For example, mothers' preparation for gender bias was a significant predictor of offspring's attitudes toward women. Moreover, as in other

research (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002), we found parents' attitudes to be a strong predictor of offspring's attitudes. When we added preparation for bias to the model that included mothers' attitudes toward women, however, we found no support for the idea that mothers' attitudes might operate through the extent to which they engaged in preparation for gender bias. That parents' preparation for gender bias did not mediate the relation between parents' and offspring's attitudes may be due in part to the fact preparation for gender bias is only one means of gender socialization among many that are not addressed here (e.g., modeling, gendered structuring of children's activities, McHale et al., 2003). It was not powerful enough on its own to mediate the strong linkage that exists between parents' and offspring's attitudes.

Study Limitations and Conclusions

A limitation of the current study was its focus on the experiences of White, middle class families. Studies of gender and culture have revealed cultural differences in gender ideals and attitudes (Kane, 2000), as well as in processes of gender socialization within families (Hill, 2002). Thus, the present study's findings could differ considerably in other cultural or socioeconomic groups. Furthermore, although the questionnaire adapted for the current investigation breaks new ground, it only measures parents' socialization behaviors with regard to liberal ideas regarding gender equality. Some parents may transmit direct messages about non-equitable ideals, or a mixture of traditional and non-traditional messages to their offspring. Indeed, some research has found only weak associations between gendered traits, attitudes, and role behaviors (Orlofsky, 1981). Thus, offspring may receive a variety of messages about gender from parents, and in some instances parents' behavior may even contradict the ideals they verbalize. Blair and Johnson (2002), for example, found that women's gender ideologies were only weakly related to their perceptions of how fair the division of labor was in their household.

Thus, mothers may possess nontraditional gender attitudes and communicate equitable gender ideals to their offspring yet contentedly perform the lion's share of household chores in their children's presence, providing a very mixed message to offspring. Therefore, a multidimensional measure of parents' gender socialization, that includes a variety of possible gender-relevant messages, may prove useful in furthering our understanding of gender socialization in the family. Such a measure should include other modes of gender socialization in addition to communicative and instructive behaviors. For instance, it would be useful to also measure parents' modeling of gender-relevant behaviors and gendered structuring of children's activities, in order to gain a more comprehensive view of parents' gender socialization (McHale et al., 2003).

Despite its limitations, the present investigation contributes to the literature in several ways. It introduced a new measure of gender socialization that may be useful to family researchers. Another strength of the current investigation is that it paid equal attention to mothers and fathers. Many studies of gender socialization in the family focus on mothers only (e.g., Moen et al., 1997; Ex & Janssens, 1998), leaving the role of fathers in gender socialization unclear. Our findings indicate that mothers' and fathers' gender socialization have similar correlates in terms of parents' attitudes and interests. Furthermore, having parents report their gender socialization behaviors vis a vis two children allowed us to examine within- as well as between- family gender differences. A common criticism of extant research on gender-based differential treatment is that most studies compare male and female children from different families. Some have argued that differential treatment is most likely to occur when parents are faced with both male and female offspring (McHale et al, 1999). Indeed, we found between-family differences in mothers' preparation for gender bias with sons versus daughters. Perhaps more interestingly, however, we found that although mothers engaged in more preparation for

gender bias with older children, even this pronounced tendency to favor older children was moderated by the sibling sex-constellation. In other words, in predicting mothers' gender socialization of opposite-sex sibling pairs, it mattered more that a child was female, than that the child was older.

A promising direction for future research is to examine parents' preparation for gender bias in other populations. Some research on double minority status, defined as belonging to two minority groups simultaneously, such as being female and Latino American (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002), has sought to understand the interplay between multiple group identities. Gonzales et al. found that Latino women were less sensitized to stereotypes about their gender than they were to stereotypes about their ethnicity. Thus, it will be important to explore whether parents in minority families emphasize gender socialization to a different degree than European American parents, and what implications gender socialization has for children of various ethnic backgrounds.

Another promising direction for future research is to expand upon the measure of gender socialization developed for this study. As described above, the inclusion of additional gender-related messages, as well as a variety of parental behaviors (in addition to communication and instruction) may lead to a more complete understanding of gender socialization processes. A multidimensional measure of gender socialization would be a very valuable addition to the literature on gender socialization in the family because it might better capture the variability in how this process works across many different families.

Finally, future research should aim to understand not only the content of parents' messages about gender, but the context and tone of these messages, as well as offspring's responses, using observational methodologies. Such data would illuminate not only whether

parents discuss issues such as sexism with their children, but their level of concern about the

issue and children's observable attention to the messages conveyed and, in so doing, uncover

important nuances in gender socialization processes.

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Table 1.1

Partial Correlations between Mothers' Preparation for Gender Bias and Parent Characteristics,

Controlling for Mothers' Education

	Older Children		Younger Children	
	Males (n = 92)	Females (n = 97)	Males (n = 94)	Females (n = 95)
Mothers' characteristics				
Mothers' age	.02	.17	.15	-.10
Mothers' attitudes toward women	-.13	-.27*	-.25*	-.32**
Mothers' expressive personality traits	.03	.01	-.08	.16
Mothers' instrumental personality traits	.20[†]	.24*	.24*	.22*
Fathers' characteristics				
Fathers' age	.05	.19[†]	.19[†]	.05
Fathers' attitudes toward women	.27*	-.19[†]	-.03	-.01
Fathers' expressive personality traits	.01	-.02	-.13	.06
Fathers' instrumental personality traits	.05	-.06	-.13	.03
Mother-offspring relationship quality				
Intimacy with mother	.08	-.05	.01	.05
Conflict with mother	.26*	.01	-.02	-.02

[†]$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

Table 2.1

Partial Correlations between Fathers' Preparation for Gender Bias and Parent Characteristics, Controlling for Fathers' Education

	Older Children		Younger Children	
	Males (n = 83)	Females (n = 88)	Males (n = 84)	Females (n = 88)
Father characteristics				
Fathers' age	.25*	-.00	.08	.05
Fathers' attitudes toward women	-.21†	-.32**	-.34**	-.19
Fathers' expressive personality traits	.02	-.03	-.01	.16
Fathers' instrumental personality traits	-.04	.20†	.001	.19
Mothers' characteristics				
Mothers' age	.32**	-.10	.01	.13
Mothers' attitudes toward women	-.22†	.06	-.13	-.02
Mothers' expressive personality traits	-.01	.01	-.02	.10
Mothers' instrumental personality traits	.03	.08	-.10	.12
Father-offspring relationship quality				
Intimacy with father	.06	.10	.24*	.22*
Conflict with father	.12	-.08	.14	.06

$^\dagger p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$

Table 3.1

Results of Analyses Examining the Possible Mediating Role of Parents' Preparation for Bias

	Path								
	Parent ATW → Offspring ATW			Parent ATW → Parent PGB			Parent PGB → Offspring ATW		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Mothers									
All offspring	.40	.07	.28***	-.37	.06	-.30***	-.12	.06	-.11*
Daughters	.25	.06	.28***	-.32	.06	-.38***	-.15	.07	-.16*
Sons	.21	.05	.32***	-.19	.07	-.20**	-.15	.11	-.10
Fathers									
All offspring	.29	.07	.19***	-.36	.06	-.31***	-.07	.06	-.05
Daughters	.21	.06	.22**	-.28	.07	-.31***	-.06	.08	-.06
Sons	.13	.05	.19**	-.30	.08	-.28***	-.07	.13	-.04

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Appendix A

Items from Preparation for Gender Bias Scale adapted from Hughes & Chen (1997).

I have told my child that people might treat girls/women unfairly because of their sex/gender.

I have talked to my child about sexism.

I have explained to my child something that I have seen on TV that showed poor treatment of women.

I have talked to my child about the movement toward equality for women.

I have told my child that girls/women must perform better at school or in the workplace than boys/men to get the same rewards.

I have talked about gender issues (e.g., sexual harassment, equal rights) with someone else when my child could hear.

Paper #2: Preparation for Gender and Racial Bias in African American Families

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Abstract

We measured African American parents' preparation for gender bias in a sample of (N = 167)

two parent families and compared this process to preparation for racial bias by examining the

correlates and within-family patterning of both socialization behaviors. Parents reported fairly

low levels of preparation for gender bias, as compared with preparation for racial bias. Parental

correlates of engaging in preparation for gender and/or racial bias included mothers'

instrumentality and both parents' experiences of racial discrimination. In families with high

levels of preparation for gender and racial bias from both parents, parents had high levels of

instrumentality and experiences of discrimination. Path analyses revealed that the patterning of

parents' preparation for racial and gender bias was linked to offspring sex-typed characteristics,

beliefs about racism, positive values, and social competence, taking into account the role of

parental characteristics.

Preparation for Gender and Racial Bias in African American Families

Much of what is known about gender socialization in the family comes from studies of European American, middle class families. This work indicates that the family arena is an important context for gender socialization (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003). Parents' and children's gender attitudes are linked (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002), and gendered features of family contexts (e.g., the division of household labor) are associated with offspring's ideas about gender roles (Cunningham, 2001). Although popular explanations have argued that these connections are constructed through processes of modeling and reinforcement (Ruble & Martin, 1998), parents may also shape their children's gender development by acting as instructors of gender-related knowledge (McHale et al.). Little is known about this process, particularly among African American families. African American parents may have a more complex array of parenting challenges than do European American parents because they may perceive a need to prepare children for issues of both racial and gender bias.

Culture is key to understanding processes of gender socialization. Extant research has revealed that gender stereotypes and beliefs vary across cultures (Wade & Tavris, 1999), although conclusions about the gender role beliefs of African Americans are mixed. For instance, in a study of racial differences in men's gender attitudes, Blee and Tickamyer (1995) found that African American men's attitudes toward working women were more liberal than were European American men's, although African American men's general attitudes toward women's family roles were more traditional. Too little is known about the gender attitudes of African American parents to draw firm conclusions, however, offspring in African American families may receive somewhat mixed messages about gender.

The gendered nature of family contexts may also differ between European Americans and African Americans. African American women are less likely than European American or Hispanic American women to be economically dependent on men (Kane, 2000). Economic deprivation and racism prevented African American families from establishing strictly traditional divisions of labor by limiting African American men from earning a family wage (Hill, 2001). Thus, the modeling of gender roles that may take place in some African American families may be less patriarchal than that which takes place in some European American families.

Racial and Gender Socialization in African American Families

Racial socialization has been described as a process through which "ethnic minority parents promote racial pride in their children, orient them to race-related barriers, and prepare them to succeed in mainstream endeavors" (Hughes & Johnson, 2001, p. 982). According to Hughes (2003), most African American parents engage in racial socialization. Hughes and Chen (1997) developed a measure of racial socialization to assess parents' involvement in providing messages about cultural pluralism, preparing their children for bias, and promoting mistrust of races other than their own. Subsequent investigations uncovered both the correlates of parents' racial socialization, as well as important linkages to children's outcomes (Hughes, 2003), drawing attention to racial socialization as an important construct for family researchers.

In comparison to research on racial socialization, the processes of transmitting gender values in the family have been largely overlooked in research on all ethnic groups. Even where evidence exists that parents' gender attitudes or features of family contexts carry meaningful implications for offspring's gender development, the means through which gender socialization occurs is unclear. Most often it is assumed that children learn about gender in family contexts by observing the actions of their parents and through reinforcement for gender-appropriate behavior

(Ruble & Martin, 1998). Parents may also shape their children's ideas about gender through direct communication and instruction (McHale et al., 2003). In a unique study of gender socialization in African American families, Hill (2002) conducted in-depth interviews with mothers and fathers of elementary-school-age children. Parents in this study reported "teaching" and "telling" their children about gender issues. Furthermore, all parents in Hill's (2002) sample expressed "some level of support for gender equality, regardless of the sex of the parent, the sex of the child, or their social class position" (p. 502). In the current study we examine parents' preparation for gender bias, or the extent to which parents offer messages or information regarding disadvantaged minority treatment of women.

The Intersection of Gender- and Racial Socialization

In African American families, parents may prepare their children for bias they may encounter with regard to both gender and race. Following King's (1998) framework for considering race, class, and gender as multiple bases of oppression, Hill (2001) explained that parents' childrearing strategies depend on their perceptions of "the opportunities, risks, and barriers their children are likely to confront in the larger society."(p. 504) Therefore, parents' provision of information on issues of race and gender may depend on their perceptions of the disadvantages that their children may experience as a result of their gender and/or race. Some research on double minority status, defined as belonging to two groups that experience discrimination simultaneously (e.g., being female and African American; Frable, 1997), has sought to understand the interplay between multiple group identities. Although this research has not included parenting issues (Hill, 2002), some findings indicate that individuals from minority ethnic groups may be more sensitized to stereotypes about ethnicity than those about gender (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002). Therefore, African American parents may focus their

efforts more heavily on racial socialization than on gender socialization. Alternatively, African American parents may be sensitized to issues of bias in general and may therefore engage in preparing offspring for many potential sources of bias. West and Fenstermaker (1995) explain that while gender, race, and class can produce social inequality, it is impossible to isolate the effects of each because they are experienced simultaneously. One's gender, racial, or class identity may be heightened in certain contexts but this does not make the other identities irrelevant (West & Fenstermaker, 1995). The current study explored the patterning of African American mothers' and fathers' gender- and racial- socialization with adolescent offspring.

Implications of Racial and Gender Socialization for Offspring Psychosocial Adjustment

Both preparation for racial and gender bias have important implications for offspring psychosocial adjustment. Parents' reports of racial socialization have been linked with more positive peer self-esteem (Constatntine & Blackmon, 2002), more advanced cognitive skills (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002), and higher academic achievement (Bowman & Howard, 1985), as well as lower depression and anger among offspring (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). Because to date, processes of gender socialization have not been measured in the same way as racial socialization, the current literature has not identified firm linkages between parents' preparation for gender bias and offspring outcomes. However, a number of studies have uncovered associations between individuals' gendered attitudes/beliefs and indices of psychosocial adjustment. Traditional attitudes toward women, or endorsement of the idea that men should be afforded more power than women, have been linked to lower self-esteem (Kleinplatz, McCarrey, & Kateb, 1992) and sex-typed career aspirations (Steele & Barling, 1996) in young females and to sexually coercive behaviors among men (Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984). Traditional ideas about men's roles have been linked to a number

of risky behaviors, including unsafe sexual practices (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993) and alcohol abuse (McCreary, Newcomb, & Sadava, 1999) among young males. Thus, to the extent that parents' preparation for gender bias may shape offspring's gender attitudes, this process of family gender socialization may carry implications for a number of offspring psychosocial outcomes.

Is important not just to consider the unique roles of preparation for racial and gender bias, but the implications of the patterning of these two parenting behaviors. Given extant findings regarding racial socialization, and the potential for preparation for gender bias to foster the development of less traditional attitudes and beliefs about gender, offspring who are provided with high levels of both types of preparation for bias may fare better than offspring whose parents focus only on one type of bias. Furthermore, offspring in families where both parents provide consistent preparation for bias may have more positive psychosocial adjustment than offspring who receive such messages from only one parent.

In the current study we examined linkages between the patterning of parents' preparation for gender and racial bias for offspring psychosocial adjustment. Psychosocial adjustment was defined broadly, and variables were selected based on past research and/or their relevance to issues of race and/or gender. The components of psychosocial adjustment that we investigated were offspring instrumentality and expressivity, attitudes toward marital and childrearing roles, beliefs about racism, positive values, and social competence. Offspring instrumentality and expressivity are sex-typed personality characteristics (Bem, 1978) and attitudes toward marital and childrearing roles are gender-based beliefs (Hoffman & Kloska, 1996). Thus, we were interested in whether these gendered characteristics would be linked with parents' gender socialization behavior. Similarly, we expected that offspring's beliefs about racism would link up

with parents' preparation for racial bias. Positive values, as measured for this study, emphasize a concern for the well-being of others as well as equality and social justice (Search Institute, 2001). We expected that offspring provided with both preparation for racial and gender bias may have high levels of positive values because they may be more sensitized to issues of social inequality. Finally, offspring social competence was selected based on past research on racial socialization which has indicated that greater experience of racial socialization is linked with greater peer competence (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002).

The Current Study

The goals of the current study were threefold. The first goal was to describe levels of preparation for gender bias in African American families. Because our measure of preparation for gender bias had never been used in an African American sample, the psychometric properties of the scale were first examined, along with basic descriptive data comparing mothers' and fathers' levels preparation for gender bias and exploring associations between parents' preparation for gender- and preparation for racial bias. Because concerns about gender inequality may be especially salient for women, we expected that mothers would engage in more gender socialization with both sons and daughters than would fathers. Furthermore, we expected that parents would engage in preparation for gender bias more frequently with daughters than sons. Finally, we expected to find significant within-parent associations between preparation for gender bias and preparation for racial bias.

The second goal of the current study was to examine parental correlates of preparation for gender bias in African American families. First, because past research has uncovered associations between socioeconomic status and a number of the parental correlates we were interested in (e.g, gender attitudes; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983, experiences of

discrimination; Williams, 1999) correlations between parents' characteristics and indicators of socioeconomic status (parents' income, education, occupational prestige) were explored. Next, we examined correlations between parents' preparation for gender bias and parents' personal characteristics, attitudes, and experiences, controlling for meaningful indicators of socioeconomic status. Finally, we conducted the same analyses with parents' preparation for racial bias in order to compare and contrast the correlates of preparation for gender and racial bias.

The third and final goal of the current study was to examine the *patterning* of parents' preparation for gender and racial bias and its linkages to offspring psychosocial adjustment. Taking a family-centered approach, families were typologized according to levels of mothers' and fathers' preparation for racial and gender bias, using cluster analysis. Cluster analysis is an exploratory technique for grouping cases with similar profiles across a number of variables (Blashfield, 1976). With little research to guide hypotheses about the patterning of parents' preparation for gender and racial bias, these analyses were meant to be exploratory. A priori classification techniques would impose a theoretical rationale that might not accurately reflect the most meaningful patterns of preparation for bias in families. After groups were identified, the correlates of group membership were then examined, including demographic characteristics of families and parental personal characteristics, attitudes, and experiences. Finally, a series of path analyses was conducted in order to examine linkages between cluster membership and offspring psychosocial adjustment taking into account parental correlates.

Method

Data were drawn primarily from the second phase of a short-term longitudinal study of gender socialization and development in two-parent African American families. The sample was

generated by targeting two cities in the Eastern U.S. with substantial African American populations. To participate, families had to have a child in the 4th through 7th grade with an older sibling and both a mother and father figure residing in the home. Two strategies were used to recruit families. First, African American research recruiters residing in the targeted areas were hired to recruit families by posting and circulating flyers in local businesses, churches, and during community activities, and making presentations to community groups. About half of the sample was recruited using this procedure. The other half of the sample was recruited through a list purchased from a marketing firm. It included the names and addresses of African American students in grades 4 through 7 who lived in the areas of interest. All families on this list received a letter that included a toll free number to call and/or a postcard to return to the project office if the family was interested in participating. However, because family structure and the presence and ages of siblings could not be determined based on the list, many families did not meet our criteria for participation. Of those eligible, 92% were interviewed. The final sample size for the first phase of data collection was 202 families. Six families and 29 additional fathers declined to participate in phase 2 due to divorce or refusal. One family did not provide complete data on our measure of preparation for gender bias. When analyzed separately, our sample consisted of 195 mothers and 167 fathers. Therefore, our sample size was reduced to 167 in analyses that require complete data from both mothers and fathers.

At phase 2, families were working and middle-class, on average, and the majority of families included 2 or 3 children. Mothers' and fathers' levels of education were 14.57 (SD = 1.84) and 14.23 (SD = 2.32) respectively, on a scale where 12 = "High School graduate." Mothers' and fathers'occupational prestige ratings, based on the National Opinion Research Council's codes (Nakao & Treas, 1990) were 48.87 (SD = 12.35) and 48.65 (SD = 13.00)

respectively (jobs in this range include police detective, dental assistant, and teacher's aide). The current paper focuses on parents and older offspring only, who were 15.13 (2.09) years of age, on average.

Procedures

Home interviews were conducted with parents and offspring. Each family member was interviewed individually. During the interview, participants completed assessments of their personal qualities and attitudes and family relationships. Families received a $200 honorarium.

Measures

Preparation for gender bias. The Preparation for Gender Bias Scale was developed to assess parents' perceptions of their direct role in providing instruction and information aimed at preparing offspring for gender bias in society (e.g., discussion of gender-related topics, provision of educational materials). The 6 items were adapted from a measure of preparation for racial bias developed by Hughes and Chen (1997). Parents reported how often they had engaged in behaviors aimed at preparing children for gender bias (e.g., "I have told my child that people might treat girls/women unfairly because of their sex/gender") over the course of the child's life on a 6-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Never*" and 6 = "*Very often.*" Mothers and fathers completed the measure independently. This measure was completed for the first time at the second phase of data collection. Internal consistency of this scale was good (α = .86 and .89 for mothers and fathers respectively).

Preparation for racial bias. The Preparation for Racial Bias subscale of Hughes and Chen's (1997) Racial Socialization Scale was collected during the first phase of data collection. Parents reported how often they had engaged in behaviors aimed at preparing children for racial bias they could encounter in society (e.g., "I've talked to my child about racism). We dropped

one item from the scale so that it would parallel the preparation for gender bias scale. Mothers and fathers responded on a 6-point Likert-type scale from 1 = "*Never*" to 6 = "*Very Often.*" Alphas for this scale were .85 and .90 for mothers and fathers respectively.

Parents' racial identity. The racial centrality subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998), collected during our phase 1 interview, was used to assess parents' racial identity. Eight items assessed the extent to which parents' self-concepts centered around race (e.g., "In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.") Mothers and fathers responded on a 4-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Strongly Disagree*" and 4 = "*Strongly Agree*". Alphas for this scale were .71 and .74 for mothers and fathers respectively.

Parents' experiences of discrimination. The Experiences of Discrimination Scale (Murry, Brown, Brody, Cutrona, & Simons, 2001) was used to measure parents' experiences of 11 types of racial discrimination (e.g., "How often has someone suspected you of doing something wrong just because you are African American?") over the past year. Parents responded on a 4-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Never*" and 4 = "*Several Times.*" Alphas for this scale were .89 and .90 for mothers and fathers respectively.

Parents'and offspring's sex-typed personal qualities. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI, Bem, 1974), collected at Time 1, was used to measure parents' instrumental and expressive personality traits. The BSRI consists of 60 personality characteristics on which respondents rate themselves using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1= "N*ever or Almost Never True*") to 7 = "*Always or Almost Always True.*" Twenty of the characteristics are expressive, or stereotypically feminine (e.g., affectionate, sympathetic), 20 are instrumental or stereotypically masculine (e.g., independent, assertive), and 20 are neutral (e.g., truthful,

reliable). Instrumentality and expressivity scores were derived by computing the average rating across instrumental and expressive items. Alphas for mothers' and fathers' expressivity were .85 and .86 (respectively). For instrumentality, alphas were .82 and .87 for mothers and fathers respectively. Offspring's instrumental and expressive traits were measured with the Antill Trait Questionnaire (Antill, Russell, Goodnow, & Cotton, 1994). Offspring used a 5-point Likert-type scale to rate how well 12 particular traits described them. Six of the traits were stereotypically feminine, or expressive (e.g., kind, gentle), and 6 were stereotypically masculine, or instrumental (e.g., brave, adventurous). Alphas for expressive and instrumental traits were .73 and .63 respectively.

Parents' and offspring's attitudes toward family roles. The Gender-Based Attitudes toward Family Roles Scale (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995) was used to assess both parents' and offspring's attitudes toward gender roles in the family. This measure consists of 2 subscales that were each collected from both parents and offspring at Time 1, but only from offspring at Time 2. The Marital Roles subscale (6 items) measures respondents' attitudes toward traditional gender roles in husbands and wives (e.g., "Some equality in marriage is okay, but by and large, the man should have the main say-so.") The Childrearing Roles subscale (7 items) measures respondents' attitudes toward differential parenting of sons and daughters (e.g., "Education is important for both sons and daughters, but it is more important for a son.") Respondents rated their agreement on a 4-point Likert-type scale from 1 = "*Strongly Disagree*" to 4 = "*Strongly Agree*." Reliability was acceptable. For offspring, alphas were .88 and .68 for marital and childrearing roles respectively. For mothers and fathers, alphas for the marital roles subscale were .82 and .85 respectively. Alphas for the childrearing roles subscale were lower, however (.65 and .63 for mothers and fathers respectively).

Offspring's beliefs about racism. To assess offspring's perceptions of racism against their racial group, a scale was developed based on questions from Hughes and Dodge's (1997) Racism in the Workplace Scale and Landrine and Klonoff's (1996) Schedule of Racist Events and Klonoff & Landrine's (1995) Schedule of Sexist Events (1995). The scale is comprised of 14 items about teachers (e.g., "Teachers at your school think African American kids aren't very smart or won't be very good in school.") and peers (e.g,. "Kids at your school call African Americans names, say mean things, make jokes, or make fun of African Americans."). Respondents rated their agreement on a 5-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Strongly Disagree*" and 5 = "*Strongly Agree*." Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .91.

Offspring's positive values and social competence. Positive values and social competence were measured with the Developmental Assets Questionnaire (Search Institute, 2001). This questionnaire consists of eight subscales, reflecting positive qualities of youth and their environments. Of interest to the current investigation, the positive values scale consists of 11 items and measures positive behaviors, personal qualities, and beliefs (e.g, "As a young person, I think it is important to help other people"). The social competence subscale consists of 8 items and measures skills in social situations (e.g., "As a young person, I resist bad influences from other kids.") Alphas for these subscales were .79 and .75 for positive values and social competence respectively.

<div align="center">Results</div>

Goal 1: Description of preparation for gender bias in African American families

Mothers and fathers reported engaging in fairly low levels of preparation for gender bias with their children. The means for mothers' preparation for gender bias was 20.74 (*SD* = 6.50) indicating that on average they "rarely" to "sometimes" engaged in this parenting behavior.

However, mothers' scores ranged widely; scores ranged from 6-35, indicating that some mothers prepared children for gender bias quite frequently. The mean for fathers' preparation for gender bias was 17.66 (SD = 6.98) indicating that fathers "very rarely" to "rarely" engaged in the behaviors described in our scale. However, fathers' scores occurred in the full possible range of 6-36, indicating that although the mean was low, some fathers engaged in preparation for gender bias quite frequently.

To examine both between and within family differences in parents' preparation for gender bias, a 2 (parent) X 2 (offspring's sex) mixed model ANOVA was conducted. A significant parent effect indicated that the difference between mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender bias (means described above) was significant. This effect was moderated by offspring's sex ($F(1,165) = 6.11$, $p < .05$). To follow up this interaction, separate analyses were conducted for mothers and fathers. These analyses revealed a significant sex difference for mothers' ($F(1,194) = 19.25$, $p < .001$), but not fathers' ($F(1, 165) = .27$, $n.s.$) preparation for gender bias. Mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias with daughters ($M = 22.80$, $SD = 6.39$) than with sons ($M = 18.89$, $SD = 6.06$). Follow-up analyses were also conducted on the difference between mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender bias to examine within-family differences. A gender effect emerged ($F(1,166) = 6.11$, $p < .05$) indicating that there was a greater difference between mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender bias with daughters ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 8.79$) than with sons ($M = 1.04$, $SD = 8.34$).

Correlations were performed to examine associations between parents' preparation for gender bias and preparation for racial bias (see Table 1.2). Within-parent associations were rather large and significant, indicating that for both mothers and fathers, engaging in one form of preparation for bias was highly associated with engaging in the other. In terms of cross-parent

associations, significant correlations were found between mothers' preparation for racial bias and both types of fathers' preparation for bias.

Goal #2: Parental correlates of preparation for bias

Because many of the proposed correlates of parents' preparation for gender bias were known to be associated with socioeconomic status, we first tested whether such associations existed in our data. Parents' average income, education, and occupational prestige were examined (see Table 2.2). The most frequent and consistent associations emerged for the average of mothers' and fathers' education. Further bivariate analyses therefore controlled for parents' average education. Although we were also interested in the association between parents' preparation for gender bias and offspring's age, no significant correlations emerged.

Partial correlations were performed (controlling for parents' average education) between mothers' and fathers' preparation for bias (gender and racial) and parents' sex-typed characteristics and attitudes (instrumental and expressive personality qualities, gender-based attitudes toward marital roles and childrearing roles), their racial identity, and their experiences of discrimination (see Tables 3.2 and 4.2). These analyses were first conducted on the entire group. Previous research has uncovered different patterns of association for parents' of male and female offspring (Shearer, Crouter, & McHale, 2007); therefore, these analyses were also performed separately for sons and daughters.

Few significant associations emerged for parents' preparation for gender bias, but parents' experiences of racial discrimination was a notable exception. Experiences of discrimination were associated with both mothers' and fathers' preparation for gender bias (see Tables 3.2 and 4.2). Parents who reported experiencing more discrimination engaged in more preparation for gender bias with their offspring. In addition, mothers' racial identity was

associated with mothers' preparation for gender bias. Mothers who engaged in more preparation for gender bias saw race as more central to their identity. With regard to cross-parent associations, mothers' preparation for gender bias with sons was positively associated with fathers' marital and childrearing role attitudes (see Table 3.2). In other words, mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias with sons when fathers held more traditional attitudes toward marital and childrearing roles. In contrast, mothers' preparation for gender bias with daughters was not associated with fathers' gender attitudes. Using r to z transformations, we found that the associations for sons and daughters were significantly different for marital role ($z = 2.29$, $p < .05$) but not childrearing role attitudes ($z = 1.14$, $n.s.$).

Like preparation for gender bias, mothers' preparation for racial bias was highly associated with mothers' experiences of discrimination (see Table 3.2). In addition, significant associations emerged for instrumentality and racial identity, and among mothers of daughters only, attitudes toward childrearing roles. Engaging in preparation for racial bias was associated with possessing instrumental personality traits and holding race as central to mothers' identity. For mothers of daughters, having more traditional attitudes toward childrearing was related to providing less preparation for racial bias. Furthermore, a significant cross-parent association emerged for fathers' expressivity and, among mothers of sons only, fathers' racial identity, indicating that mothers who engaged in more preparation for racial bias had husbands or partners who were more expressive and held race as central to their identity.

In addition to the associations found for experiences of discrimination, fathers' preparation for racial bias was associated with fathers' racial identity (see Table 4.2). Fathers who engaged in more preparation for racial bias with their offspring held race as more central to their identity. Furthermore, fathers' preparation for racial bias was associated with mothers'

racial identity, but in opposite directions for sons and daughters. Whereas the association was positive for sons (indicating that fathers who engaged in more preparation for racial bias with sons had wives or partners who saw race as central to their identity), it was negative for daughters, indicating that fathers who engaged in more preparation for racial bias with daughters had wives or partners who saw race as less central to their identity). An r to z transformation confirmed that these correlations were significantly different from one another ($z = 2.93$, $p <$ .01).

Goal #3: Patterning of parents' gender- and racial socialization

As a first step to understanding the patterning of preparation for gender and racial bias, a 2 (parent) X 2 (domain: gender/race) X 2 (offspring's sex) mixed model ANOVA was conducted. A main effect emerged for domain ($F(1,158) = 19.51$, $p < .001$), indicating that parents engaged in more preparation for racial bias ($M = 27.78$, $SD = 5.88$) than preparation for gender bias ($M = 18.93$, $SD = 5.03$). Furthermore, a significant interaction emerged between domain and offspring sex ($F(1,158) = 13.88$, $p < .001$). Follow-up analyses, conducted on the difference between parents' preparation for racial and gender bias, revealed that, pooling across parent, the difference in levels of preparation for racial and gender bias was more pronounced for sons ($M = 10.20$, $SD = 5.65$) than daughters ($M = 7.03$, $SD = 4.98$; $F(1, 159) = 13.88$, $p < .001$).

A pattern analytic approach. Cluster analysis was performed in an effort to reveal subsets of families with unique patterns of preparation for gender and racial bias. Cluster analysis is an exploratory data analysis tool, used to identify groups that are internally homogenous and externally heterogeneous (Blashfield, 1976). We used cluster analysis to classify families in terms of the degree of preparation for bias (gender and racial) provided to offspring by mothers and fathers.

Families were clustered on four variables: mothers' preparation for gender bias, mothers' preparation for racial bias, fathers' preparation for gender bias, and fathers' preparation for racial bias. A hierarchical clustering approach was first employed, using the cosine similarity index and the average linkage method. A four cluster solution produced clusters with adequate numbers of families and a substantively interesting pattern of means. This solution was replicated using k-means as a clustering approach. The clusters generated by this method of replication had a similar pattern of means to the original solution. Chi-squared analysis revealed significant agreement between the two clustering methods ($X^2(9)= 263.28$; $p < .001$, 79% agreement). The results of the hierarchical clustering method were used in all further analyses.

Analysis of variance including all four clustering variables as dependent variables and treating cluster membership as the between-subjects factor was performed to describe the clusters. Table 5.2 presents means on the four clustering variables; Figure 1.2 depicts group profiles.

Families in Cluster 1 (n = 50) were characterized by scores below the mean for fathers and scores above the mean for mothers in both preparation for gender- and racial bias. Thus, this group was labeled the Mother Involved group. It is important to note, however, that scores on each of the four clustering variables were somewhat close to the mean. Although mothers were indeed more involved than were fathers in preparation for bias, they did not report particularly high levels of either preparation for gender or racial bias.

Families in Cluster 2 (n = 39) were characterized by low scores on all measures of preparation for bias. Both mothers and fathers in this group reported engaging in low levels of both preparation for gender- and racial bias. Therefore, this group was labeled the Low Preparation group.

Families in Cluster 3 (n = 34) were characterized by scores below the mean for mothers and above the mean for fathers in both preparation for gender- and racial bias. This group was labeled the Father Involved group. Unlike the mothers in the Mother Involved groups, fathers in this group reported much higher levels of both preparation gender- and racial bias in comparison to mothers and to other fathers.

Families in Cluster 4 (n = 37) were characterized by high scores on all measures of preparation for bias. Both mothers and fathers in this group reported engaging in high levels of both preparation for gender- and racial bias. Therefore, this group was labeled the High Preparation group.

Demographic characteristics of the clusters. We next examined differences between the clusters on demographic variables. A chi-squared analysis, conducted to test differences in the child gender composition of the clusters, was not significant ($\chi^2 = 4.17$, *n.s.*). A series of 4 (cluster) X 2 (parent) mixed model ANOVAs was performed with parents' income, education, and occupational prestige as dependent variables. A cluster effect emerged for parents' occupational prestige only ($F(3,107) = 3.80$, $p < .05$. On average, parents in the High Preparation group had the highest occupational prestige ($M = 54.64$, $SD = 8.30$) and differed significantly from the Mother Involved ($M = 47.94$, $SD = 9.14$) and the Low Preparation ($M = 47.22$, $SD = 9.18$) groups but not the Father Involved group ($M = 47.82$, $SD = 11.82$).

Parental correlates of cluster membership. The goal of the next series of analyses was to describe mothers and fathers in each of the clusters, beyond their involvement in preparation for bias. A series of 2 (parent) X 4 (cluster) mixed model ANOVAs was conducted with parents' sex-typed personal characteristics, gender attitudes, racial identity, and experiences of discrimination as dependent variables. Because it was known to be associated with a number of

the possible parental correlates, parents' average education was treated as a covariate in these analyses.

Significant cluster effects emerged for parents' instrumental personal qualities and experiences of discrimination (see Table 6.2). No interactions between cluster and parent emerged for any variable. On average, parents in the High Preparation group held the most instrumental personal qualities and differed significantly from parents in the Low Preparation group and the Mother Involved group, but not the Father Involved group. Parents in the High Preparation group reported the most experiences of discrimination. This group differed significantly from the Low Preparation group as well as the Father Involved group, but not the Mother Involved group.

Linkages between cluster membership and offspring's psychosocial adjustment. We were interested in examining the linkages between cluster membership and offspring's psychosocial adjustment, taking into account parental correlates of cluster membership. A series of path analyses was conducted to examine associations between parental characteristics and cluster membership as well as between cluster membership and offspring psychosocial adjustment (see Figure 1). Parents' experiences of discrimination, racial identity, and instrumentality were selected for these analyses based on the ANOVA results above. Offspring variables included their sex-typed personal characteristics (instrumentality and expressivity), gender attitudes (attitudes toward marital- and childrearing-role attitudes), beliefs about racism, and developmental assets (positive values and social competence). For the first step, we used multinomial logistic regression to examine linkages between parental characteristics and cluster membership. The Low Preparation group was selected as the reference group for conceptual reasons. We were interested in comparing families who provided relatively little preparation for

bias to families where one or both parents provided more preparation for bias. However, multinomial logistic regression analyses were conducted with each of the clusters as the reference group to explore all possible differences. Then, we conducted regression analyses to examine linkages between cluster membership and the offspring outcome variable, controlling for the role parental characteristics, as well as direct linkages between parental characteristics and offspring outcomes. All analyses controlled for parents' average education and offspring sex. Sobel tests were used to test the significance of indirect paths from parental characteristics to cluster membership to offspring outcomes.

Mothers' instrumentality predicted membership in the Mother Involved and High Preparation groups, compared with the Low Preparation group (see Table 7.2). Compared to Mothers in the Low Preparation group, mothers in the Mother Involved and the High Preparation groups had more instrumental personal qualities. When the High Preparation group was selected as the reference group, results also showed differences between the High Preparation group and the Mother- and Father Involved groups. Mothers in the High Preparation group had more instrumental personal qualities than did mothers in the Mother- and Father Involved groups. Significant direct paths emerged between membership in the High Preparation group and offspring expressivity, beliefs about racism, positive values, and social competence. Controlling for mothers' instrumentality, offspring in the High Preparation group were more expressive, had a greater awareness of racism, held more positive values, and were more socially competent. Sobel tests revealed that the indirect paths from maternal instrumentality to offspring expressivity and beliefs about racism through membership in the High Preparation group were significant (zs = 2.54 and 2.12, p < .05), whereas indirect paths from mothers' instrumentality to

offspring positive values and social competence through membership in the High Preparation group only approached significance (zs = 1.85 and 1.81, p < .07).

Mothers' experiences of discrimination also predicted membership in the Mother Involved and High Preparation groups, compared with the Low Preparation group (see Table 7.2). Compared to Mothers in the Low Preparation group, mothers in the Mother Involved and the High Preparation groups reported experiencing more discrimination. When the Mother Involved group was selected as the reference group, results also indicated that mothers in the Mother Involved group had experienced more discrimination than did mothers in the Father Involved and Low Preparation groups. Significant direct paths emerged between membership in the High Preparation group and offspring expressivity, beliefs about racism, positive values, and social competence. Controlling for mothers' experiences of discrimination, offspring in the High Preparation group were more expressive, had a greater awareness of racism, held more positive values, and were more socially competent. Sobel tests revealed that the indirect path from mothers' experiences of discrimination to offspring expressivity through membership in the High Preparation group was significant (z = 2.45 and , p < .01). Indirect paths from mothers' experiences of discrimination to beliefs about racism, positive values, and through membership in the High Preparation group approached significance (zs = 1.70 – 1.81, p < .09)

Mothers' racial identity predicted membership in the High Preparation group as compared with the Low Preparation group (see Table 6.2). Mothers in the High Preparation group held race more central to their identity than did mothers in the Low Preparation group. When the High Preparation group was selected as the reference group, results also indicated that mothers in the High Preparation group held race as more central to their identities than did mothers in the Mother- and Father Involved groups. Significant direct paths emerged between

membership in the High Preparation group and offspring expressivity, beliefs about racism, positive values, and social competence. Controlling for mothers' experiences of discrimination, offspring in the High Preparation group were more expressive, had a greater awareness of racism, held more positive values, and were more socially competent. Sobel tests revealed that only the indirect path from mothers' racial identity to offspring expressivity through membership in the High Preparation group was significant ($z = 1.94$, p < .05). Indirect paths from mothers' racial identity to offspring beliefs about racism and positive values also approached significance (zs= 1.68, p = .09).

When the Low Preparation group was selected as the reference group, fathers' instrumentality did not predict cluster membership (see Table 8.2). When the Mother Involved cluster was selected as the reference group, however, results indicated that fathers in the Father Involved group had higher instrumentality than did fathers in the Mother Involved group. Controlling for fathers' instrumentality, membership in the High Preparation group predicted offspring expressivity, beliefs about racism, positive values, and social competence. Belonging to the High Preparation group was associated with higher expressivity, awareness of racism, positive values, and social competence among offspring.

Fathers' experiences of discrimination predicted membership in the High Preparation group, compared with the Low Preparation group (see Table 8.2). Compared to fathers in the Low Preparation group, fathers in the Mother Involved and the High Preparation groups reported experiencing more discrimination. When the Mother Involved group was selected as the reference group, however, results indicated that fathers in the Mother Involved group had experienced less discrimination than did fathers in the High Preparation group. Significant direct paths also emerged between membership in the High Preparation group and offspring

expressivity, beliefs about racism, positive values, and social competence. Controlling for fathers' experiences of discrimination, offspring in the High Preparation group were more expressive, had a greater awareness of racism, held more positive values, and were more socially competent. Sobel tests revealed that the indirect paths from fathers' experiences of discrimination to offspring expressivity, beliefs about racism, and positive values through membership in the High Preparation group were significant (zs = 2.06 – 2.47, p < .05). The indirect path from fathers' experiences of discrimination to offspring social competence through membership in the High Preparation group also approached significance (z = 1.82, p = .07)

Fathers' racial identity did not predict cluster membership with the Low Preparation group selected as the reference group (see Table 8.2). When the High Preparation group was selected as the reference group, however, results indicated that fathers in the High Preparation held race as more central to their identity than did fathers in the Mother- and Father-Involved groups. Controlling for fathers' racial identity, belonging to the High Preparation group was associated with higher expressivity, awareness of racism, positive values, and social competence among offspring.

Discussion

Extant research has identified the family as an important context for gender socialization, but has begged the question about processes of gender socialization. Add to this a focus on primarily White, middle class families, and the conclusions which can be drawn from the current literature to inform our understanding of gender socialization in African American families are seriously limited. This study was aimed at filling gaps in the current literature on gender socialization in African American families, exploring the interplay of gender socialization and

racial socialization, and examining the implications of parents' efforts to prepare offspring for gender and racial bias.

Levels of Preparation for Gender Bias in African American Families

As a first step to improving our understanding of gender socialization in African American families, the current study measured parents' preparation for gender bias using a tool adapted specifically for this purpose. Although scores ranged widely, mothers and fathers reported engaging in fairly low levels of preparation for gender bias with their offspring, on average.

Consistent with our hypothesis, mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias with daughters than with sons. Furthermore, mothers engaged in more preparation for gender bias with daughters than did fathers. These finding partially replicate what we have found previously for European American mothers (Shearer, Crouter, & McHale, 2007) and may be due in part to the fact that our measure assesses providing information about negative or disadvantaged minority treatment of women. Mothers may be more likely to prepare daughters for gender bias because daughters are more likely than sons to personally face the negative impact of gender inequalities as they are described in our measure. Fathers, on the other hand, may be less sensitized to these issues.

Correlates of Parents' Preparation for Gender Bias

We examined correlations between parents' preparation for gender and racial bias and their gendered personal characteristics and attitudes as well as their experiences of discrimination and racial identity. With regard to parents' gendered personal characteristics, we found that mothers' instrumentality was associated with engaging in preparation for racial bias. Mothers who possess more instrumental personality traits (e.g., assertiveness, independence) may want to

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encourage similar traits in their offspring. Part of doing so may involve providing education so that they can recognize and rise above racial bias in society.

Surprisingly, parents' gender attitudes and preparation for gender and racial bias were not associated, with one exception. A cross-parent association emerged between fathers' marital role attitudes and mothers' preparation for gender bias with sons. For mothers, having a spouse or partner who held traditional gender attitudes was linked to providing more preparation for gender bias to sons. The same finding emerged in our analysis of European American parents' preparation for gender bias (Shearer, Crouter, & McHale, 2007). Mothers with husbands who possess traditional gender attitudes may attempt to offset their influence over sons by providing education to sons about gender issues.

Both mothers' and fathers' racial identity were associated with their preparation for racial bias. Perhaps more interesting, however, mothers' racial identity was also associated with mothers' preparation for gender bias. Gender and race may be inseparable dimensions of African American mothers' identity that underlie their parenting behavior (Hill, 2001).

Fairly consistent associations also emerged between parents' preparation for bias (both gender and racial) and parents' experiences of discrimination. Although our measure of discrimination assessed racial discrimination, parents who reported more discrimination reported engaging in more preparation for gender bias and racial bias. Parents who have experienced discrimination may be prompted to prepare their children for similar experiences, regardless of whether the discrimination they experienced was based on gender or race. This is consistent with West and Fenstermaker's (1995) ideas regarding "doing difference." According to West and Fenstermaker, "no person can experience gender without simultaneously experiencing race and class." (p. 13). Although the questionnaire we employed was designed to focus on racial

discrimination, the experiences it tapped actually may have been interpreted as discrimination against the whole person (i.e., their race, gender, and class). This interpretation may have prompted greater motivation among parents to prepare children for bias based on a number of factors. Alternatively, individuals who perceive high levels of racial discrimination may be sensitized to other social biases and therefore provide instruction about bias in a more general or inclusive way.

The Patterning of Parents' Preparation for Gender and Racial Bias

With regard to levels of preparation for bias within families, we found that African American parents engaged in more preparation for racial bias than preparation for gender bias. This was true for both sons and daughters, although there was a smaller gap between the two types of preparation for bias with daughters. On average, African American parents may perceive greater racial biases in society than gender biases, or children's experiences (discrimination) may prompt greater attention to racial than to gender based biases. This is consistent with research that has indicated that individuals from minority racial/ethnic groups may be more sensitized to stereotypes about ethnicity than those about gender (Gonzales, Blanton, & Williams, 2002)

When a family-centered approach was taken to examine patterns of preparation for bias in families, four distinct clusters of families emerged. Families in the Mother Involved group displayed high levels of preparation for gender and racial bias among mothers but lower levels from fathers. The Low Preparation group was defined by the lowest scores among both mothers and fathers on both preparation for gender and racial bias. Families in the Father Involved group displayed high levels of preparation for gender and racial bias among fathers but lower levels from mothers. Finally, the High Preparation group had the highest scores among both mothers

and fathers on both preparation for gender and racial bias. As reflected in the overall means, parents in all four groups engaged in more preparation for racial bias than preparation for gender bias. Yet, across groups, relative levels of preparation for gender and racial bias across groups tended to coincide. That is, in groups where one parent's preparation for gender bias was high as compared with the other groups, that parent's preparation for racial bias was also high as compared with the other groups. Consistent with the view that multiple bases of oppression cannot be disentangled (Frable, 1997; West & Fenstermaker, 1995), it seems that those parents who are motivated to prepare their offspring for racism are similarly motivated to also provide them with information about sexism.

When we examined the parental correlates of cluster membership, we found that parents in the High Preparation group, who engaged in rather high levels of both preparation for gender and racial bias, had the highest levels of instrumentality and perceived discrimination. These findings are consistent with the bivariate correlations. Having experienced discrimination and possessing instrumental personal qualities (e.g., leadership, assertiveness) may be a combination of factors that leads to greater involvement in preparing offspring for bias.

Linkages with Offspring Psychosocial Adjustment

The High Preparation group also stood out when we examined the role of cluster membership in predicting offspring psychosocial adjustment. Taking into account both maternal and paternal correlates of cluster membership, our path analyses indicated that offspring in the High Preparation group were more expressive, aware of racism, socially competent and held more positive values than offspring in the other clusters. Expressivity is known as an interpersonal strength that facilitates communication with others and denotes warmth and understanding. Similarly, having high social competence is an indication of empathy, sensitivity,

and friendship skills. Positive values, as measured for this study, emphasize a strong sense of self and a concern for the well-being of others and for equality and social justice. Finally, greater awareness of racism suggests greater social consciousness and interpersonal insight. Parents who provide relatively high levels of preparation for both gender and racial bias may sensitize their children to issues of inequality in society and inspire a concern about others and awareness of social injustices. This pattern of findings is consistent with extant research on racial socialization alone, which has uncovered positive associations with positive peer self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002) as well as lower depression (Davis & Stevenson, 2006) and anger (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). Cluster membership did not predict offspring's gender attitudes. The focus of our gender attitude measure (on marital and childrearing roles) may have been too narrow to capture the possible influence of parents' preparation for bias. The preparation for gender bias scale addressed disadvantaged minority treatment of women in greater society. Offspring may not connect lessons about sexism in society with their beliefs about men's and women's gendered roles within families.

Results of our path analyses also suggest that the patterning of preparation for gender and racial bias in a family may link parental characteristics and offspring outcomes. Significant indirect paths emerged between mothers' instrumentality and offspring expressivity, mothers' instrumentality and beliefs about racism, and between mothers' experiences of discrimination and expressivity *through* membership in the High Preparation group (as compared with the Low Preparation group). Several other indirect paths between mother characteristics and offspring outcomes by way of membership in the High Preparation group also approached significance. For mothers, having instrumental personal qualities, having experienced more frequent discrimination, and holding race as central to their identity may have "given rise" to a focus on

bias in their parenting that, in turn, carried implications for offspring's psychosocial adjustment. Fathers' experiences of discrimination were linked with offspring expressivity, awareness of racism, and positive values *through* membership in the High Preparation group. Being victims of bias in society may have prompted fathers to prepare their offspring for similar victimization by engaging in high levels of preparation for bias that in turn, were associated with offspring's psychosocial adjustment.

Study Limitations and Conclusions

A limitation of the current study is our focus on a particular type of family. Participating families had both a mother and father figure and two children. Given the variety of family types that are common today, findings from this sample cannot be generalized to all African American families. We know little about how preparation for gender and racial bias is handled by single parents, for instance.

Another limitation of the current study involves the focus of our measure of preparation for gender bias. The items in the questionnaire only measured parents' socialization behaviors with regard to disadvantaged minority treatment of women. However, negative gender-based stereotypes about African American males are quite common (Rome, 2004; Staples, 1978). Thus, it is important that future research on preparation for gender bias in African American families includes parents' efforts to prepare their offspring for biases encountered by men as well as women. Furthermore, preparation for gender bias is just one gender socialization process that may occur within families. Some parents may transmit direct messages about non-equitable ideals, or a mixture of traditional and non-traditional messages to their offspring. From a gender socialization perspective, a multidimensional assessment of parents' gender socialization

behaviors, that includes a variety of possible gender-relevant messages, may prove useful in furthering our understanding of gender socialization in the family.

Finally, our failure to measure experiences of gender discrimination is another limitation of this research. Racial discrimination emerged as a strong correlate of both preparation for gender and racial bias and was linked with cluster membership in our examination of the patterning of preparation for bias. Assuming that experiences of discrimination prompt parents to engage in preparation for bias with their offspring, these findings led us to speculate whether parents who perceive higher rates of racial discrimination are simply sensitized to other sources of bias or whether they also experience higher rates of gender based discrimination. Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, and Taylor (2002) found that minority women's expectations for future general discrimination were informed more by their experiences of racial and ethnic than gender discrimination. Data on parents' experiences of gender discrimination would allow us to explore whether parents expectations for offspring's future discrimination are similarly informed.

Despite these limitations, the current investigation contributes to the literature in several ways. Often gender socialization behaviors are inferred based on positive correlations between gender-relevant parental and offspring variables. Albeit based on self report, assessing parents' preparation for gender bias in this study provided a snapshot of one process of gender socialization in the family. Another strength of the current investigation was its attention to both mothers and fathers. Many studies of gender socialization in the family focus on mothers only (e.g., Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Ex & Janssens, 1998), leaving the role of fathers in gender socialization unclear. Finally, by measuring both preparation for gender and racial bias with nearly identical measures, we were able to draw comparisons between the two parenting behaviors as well as examine the patterning of these socialization practices within

African American families. The results of our cluster analytic approach suggest that a combination of 1) relatively high levels of both types of bias preparation and 2) consistent levels of bias preparation from both parents is linked with positive values, instrumentality, expressivity, and awareness of racism among offspring.

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Table 1.2

Correlations among Preparation for Gender Bias (PGB) and Preparation for Racial Bias (PRB)

	1	2	3	4
1. Mothers' PGB	--	.458***	.147	.004
2. Mothers' PRB		--	.154*	.302***
3. Fathers' PGB			--	.548***
4. Fathers' PRB				--

***p < .001, *p < .05

Table 2.2

Bivariate Associations between Parental Characteristics and Socioeconomic Status

	Average Education	Average Income	Average Occupational Prestige
Mothers' characteristics			
Expressivity	-.06	-.08	-.11
Instrumentality	-.06	-.12	-.03
Attitudes toward marital roles	-.11	-.08	.02
Attitudes toward childrearing roles	-.24***	-.17*	-.39***
Racial identity	.32***	.18*	.15
Experiences of discrimination	.13	-.02	.15
Fathers' characteristics			
Expressivity	-.06	-.09	-.05
Instrumentality	.12†	.11	.05
Attitudes toward marital roles	-.06	-.13	-.12
Attitudes toward childrearing roles	-.20**	-.17*	-.29***
Racial identity	.19**	.05	.16†
Experiences of discrimination	.05	-.04	.11

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 3.2

Partial Correlations between Mothers' Preparation for Bias and Parent Characteristics, Controlling for Parents' Average Education

	Mothers' Preparation for Gender Bias			Mothers' Preparation for Racial Bias		
	All	Girls	Boys	All	Girls	Boys
Mothers' characteristics						
Expressivity	-.11	-.13	-.05	-.01	-.06	.03
Instrumentality	.13	.05	.14	.34***	.35**	.33**
Attitudes toward marital roles	.01	.04	-.03	-.14	-.09	-.19
Attitudes toward childrearing roles	.02	.04	.06	-.14	-.28*	-.02
Racial identity	.18*	.23*	.17	.25**	.10	.38***
Experiences of discrimination	.28***	.13	.47***	.32***	.26*	.37**
Fathers' characteristics						
Expressivity	.03	.06	-.07	.18*	.19	.16
Instrumentality	-.10	-.13	-.12	.06	-.04	.14
Attitudes toward marital roles	.11	-.06	.30**	.01	-.10	.10

	Mothers' Preparation for Gender Bias			Mothers' Preparation for Racial Bias		
	All	Girls	Boys	All	Girls	Boys
Attitudes toward childrearing roles	.09	.03	.21*	.03	-.07	.10
Racial identity	.02	.04	.08	.14	.02	.24*
Experiences of discrimination	.08	.15	.14	.15	.16	.15

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Table 4.2

Partial Correlations between Fathers' Preparation for Bias and Parent Characteristics,

Controlling for Parents' Average Education

	Fathers' Preparation for Gender Bias			Fathers' Preparation for Racial Bias		
	All	Girls	Boys	All	Girls	Boys
Fathers' characteristics						
Expressivity	.03	.19	-.13	.08	.17	.02
Instrumentality	.05	-.05	.15	.08	-.01	.19[†]
Attitudes toward marital roles	.03	.14	-.09	-.01	.09	-.07
Attitudes toward childrearing roles	-.04	.07	-.13	-.07	-.07	-.07
Racial identity	.04	.09	.01	.26**	.19	.29**
Experiences of discrimination	.32***	.40**	.27*	.22**	.26*	.18
Mothers' characteristics						
Expressivity	-.05	-.03	-.07	-.05	.01	-.11
Instrumentality	.08	.20[†]	-.02	.10	.22[†]	.05
Attitudes toward marital roles	.06	.17	-.03	-.06	-.06	-.05
Attitudes toward childrearing roles	.06	.20	-.06	-.05	-.08	-.04

	Fathers' Preparation for Gender Bias			Fathers' Preparation for Racial Bias		
	All	Girls	Boys	All	Girls	Boys
Racial identity	-.02	-.14	.10	.03	$-.22^{\dagger}$	.27*
Experiences of discrimination	.12	.12	.14	.04	.04	.06

$^{\dagger}p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Table 5.2

Means (and Standard Deviations) on Clustering Variables

	Mother Involved	Low Preparation	Father Involved	High Preparation	*F*
Mothers' preparation for gender bias	24.14$_a$	15.18$_b$	16.23$_b$	24.32$_a$	29.81***
	(4.12)	(4.97)	(4.72)	(4.98)	
Fathers' preparation for gender bias	14.74$_a$	13.15$_b$	21.41$_c$	23.92$_d$	30.71***
	(5.21)	(5.23)	(5.59)	(5.83)	
Mothers' preparation for racial bias	30.84$_a$	23.64$_b$	26.06$_b$	35.78$_c$	42.46***
	(4.04)	(4.93)	(4.62)	(4.62)	
Fathers' preparation for racial bias	23.28$_a$	17.92$_b$	33.41$_c$	33.59$_c$	74.36***
	(5.03)	(4.93)	(4.37)	(5.06)	

Note. Means with different subscripts are significantly different

***$p < .001$

Table 6.2

Cluster Differences in Parents' Gendered Personal Qualities and Attitudes, Racial Identity and

Discrimination, Controlling for Parents' Average Education

	MI	LP	FI	HP	F
Gendered Personal Qualities and Attitudes					
Instrumentality	$5.27_{a,c}$	5.12_c	$5.35_{a,b}$	5.53_b	4.04**
	(.49)	(.55)	(69)	(.43)	
Expressivity	4.86	4.90	4.95	4.88	.28
	(.44)	(.42)	(.46)	(.45)	
Marital role attitudes	11.68	12.07	11.31	11.61	.25
	(2.82	(2.95)	(3.07)	(2.96	
Childrearing role attitudes	12.25	12.62	12.25	12.35	.76
	(2.70)	(2.27)	(2.36)	(2.40)	
Racial Identity and Discrimination					
Racial Identity	2.68_a	$2.64_{a,b}$	2.66_a	2.92_b	$2.37^†$
	(.37)	(.50)	(.52)	(.38)	
Experiences of Discrimination	20.25_a	17.34_b	19.11_b	$22.02_{a,c}$	5.23**
	(4.63)	(3.30)	(4.09)	(5.08)	

Note. MI = Mother Involved, LP = Low Preparation, FI = Father Involved, HP = High

Preparation.

Means with different subscripts are significantly different.

$^†p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $***p < .001$

Table 7.2

Standardized Regression Coefficients for Path Analyses Examining Linkages Between Mother Characteristics, Cluster Membership, and Offspring Psychosocial Adjustment

				Path			
Mother Characteristic and Offspring Outcome	a_1	a_2	a_3	b_1	b_2	b_3	c
Mother Instrumentality	.25*	.14	.49***				
Offspring Expressivity				.12	.05	.33***	-.02
Offspring Beliefs about Racism				.10	.14	.25**	.02
Offspring Positive Values				.13	.14	.20*	.12
Offspring Social Competence				.04	.08	.19*	.04
Mothers' Experiences of Discrimination	.56***	.28	.56***				
Offspring Expressivity				.11	.05	.32**	.07
Offspring Beliefs about Racism				.06	.12	.19*	.16*
Offspring Positive Values				.14	$.15^{\dagger}$	.20**	.09
Offspring Social Competence				.04	.10	.19*	.11
Mothers' Racial Identity	.01	.09	.37***				
Offspring Expressivity				.11	.05	.32***	.01
Offspring Beliefs about Racism				.09	.12	.23*	-.01
Offspring Positive Values				$.15^{\dagger}$	$.15^{\dagger}$	.22*	.07
Offspring Social Competence				.07	.11	.19*	.11

Note. See Figure 2.2 for explanation of paths.

$^{\dagger}p < .10$, $*p < .05$, $**p<.01$, $***p < .001$

Table 8.2

Standardized Regression Coefficients for Path Analyses Examining Linkages Between Father

Characteristics, Cluster Membership, and Offspring Psychosocial Adjustment

				Path			
Father Characteristic and Offspring Outcome	a_1	a_2	a_3	b_1	b_2	b_3	c
Fathers' Instrumentality	-.05	.23	.14				
Offspring Expressivity				.10	.04	.31***	.03
Offspring Beliefs about Racism				.10	.12	.23**	.13
Offspring Positive Values				.14†	.14†	.21*	.03
Offspring Social Competence				.04	.07	.18*	.10
Fathers' Experiences of Discrimination	.04	.12	.35*				
Offspring Expressivity				.12	.06	.36***	.001
Offspring Beliefs about Racism				.11	.14†	.29**	-.05
Offspring Positive Values				.15†	.15†	.25***	-.04
Offspring Social Competence				.04	.09	.20*	.08
Fathers' Racial Identity	.05	.14	.19				
Offspring Expressivity				.10	.05	.32***	.01
Offspring Beliefs about Racism				.10	.13	.24**	.04
Offspring Positive Values				.15†	.15†	.22*	.02
Offspring Social Competence				.03	.08	.18*	.13

Note. See Figure 2.2 for explanation of paths.

$^\dagger p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p < .001$

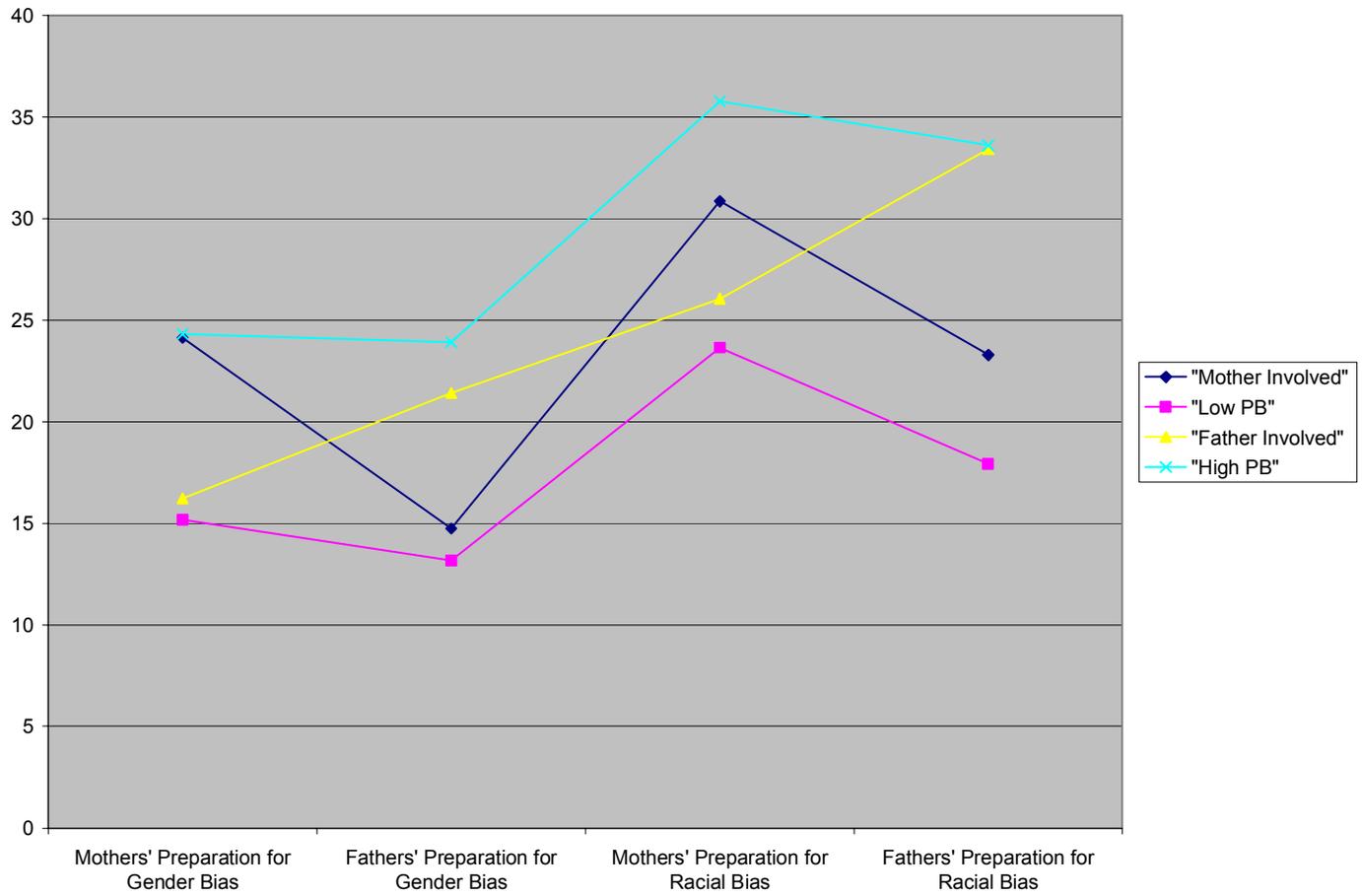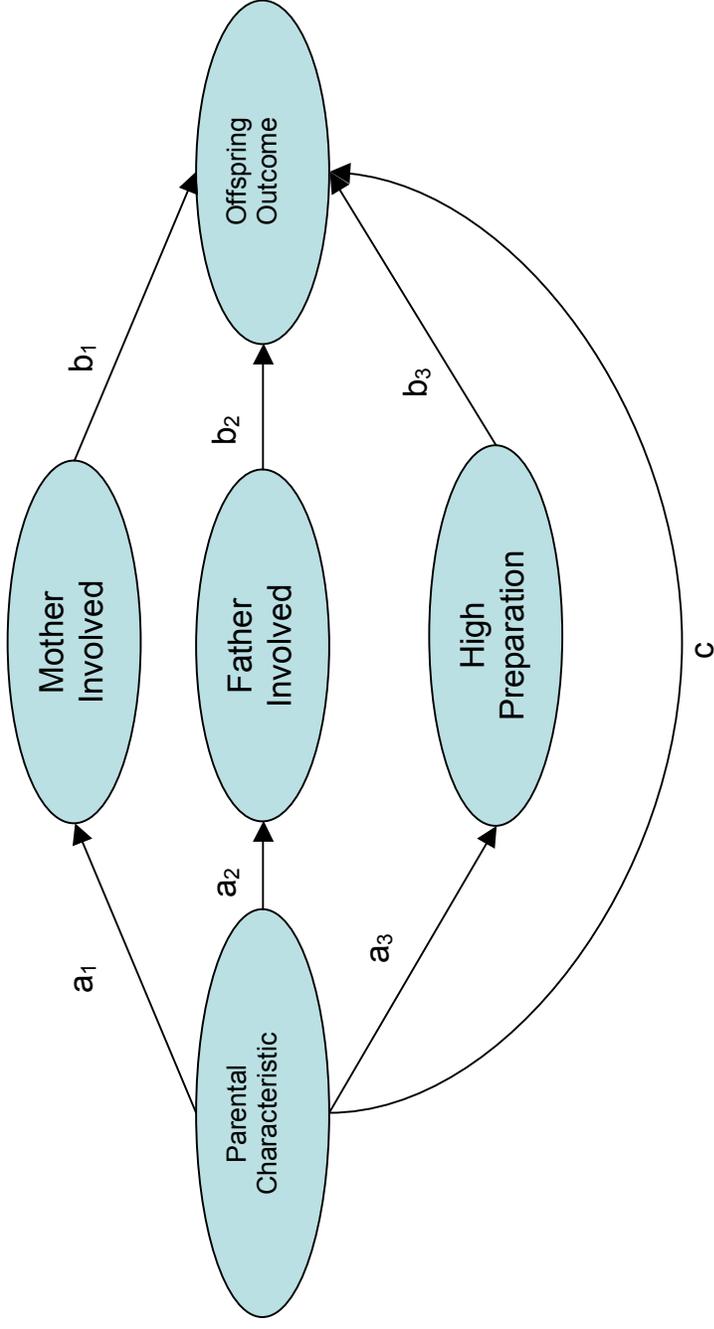Figure 1.2

Cluster profiles

Figure 2.2

Path Model Used to Examine Linkages between Parental Characteristics, Cluster Membership, and Offspring Outcomes

Paper #3: Messages about Men's and Women's Roles:

Emerging Adults' Perceptions of Gender Socialization in the Family

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Abstract

This study describes gender socialization in the family from the perspective of emerging adult offspring. An ethnically diverse sample of college students (N=170) responded to a series of open-ended questions about gender messages they had received from their families and how these messages were conveyed. Themes in their responses were identified and compared with messages from peers, school, and the media. General messages about gendered work and family roles were most common, and varied in degree of traditionality. Respondents most commonly indicated that they had received gender messages from their families through observation, although other processes were also identified. Family gender messages differed from peer, school, and media messages. For instance, general messages about work and family roles were most commonly perceived from families, whereas negative ideas about women were least commonly perceived from families. Conservatism in family and peer gender messages was associated with emerging adults' traditional ideas about childrearing roles, as well as aspects of their masculinity ideology.

Messages about Men's and Women's Roles:

Emerging Adults' Perceptions of Gender Socialization in the Family

Although the family has been identified as an important context for gender socialization (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003), little is known about how gender messages are transmitted and interpreted by offspring. Parents and siblings undoubtedly shape individuals' gender development through their actions and communication, but research to date has not revealed the content of family gender messages from the offspring's perspective. Moreover, it is unclear how gender messages perceived in families differ from those of other socializing agents such as peers, schools, and the media. In the current study we sought to describe emerging adults' perceptions of the gender socialization they received from their families and compared familial gender messages with those transmitted by other socializing agents.

Gender Socialization in the Family

Extant research on gender socialization in the family has focused on the implications of parents' gendered traits and attitudes (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002) as well as gendered characteristics of the family environment (e.g., the division of household labor between parents; Cunningham, 2001) for offspring's gender development. Indeed, evidence from both veins of research suggests that important connections exist between offspring's gender attitudes and the attitudes and behaviors they are exposed to at home. However, in order for gendered aspects of the family environment (including parents' attitudes and behaviors as well as interparental dynamics) to contribute to offspring's gender development, these ideas and beliefs must be communicated to offspring in some way. Although the current literature has assumed that offspring learn about gender through modeling and reinforcement (Ruble & Martin, 1998), other processes may also be at work (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003). Gender messages must

also be perceived (or received) by offspring in order to contribute to their own attitudes and views about gender. In order to draw a connection between gendered aspects of the family environment and offspring's gender development, attention must be paid to these intermediary steps in the gender socialization process.

Family Gender Messages

Because most research to date has assumed that offspring learn about gender through modeling and reinforcement (Ruble & Martin, 1998), the degree to which parents espouse and display traditional gender roles should translate into messages to offspring about gender traditionality. In their meta-analysis on the transmission of gender-related cognitions, Tenenbaum and Leaper (2002) found consistent evidence that offspring of parents who held more traditional attitudes about men's and women's roles held more traditional attitudes themselves. There also is abundant evidence that characteristics of family contexts contribute to children's development of ideas about gender. For the most part, studies have examined contextual variables that draw on socioeconomic factors such as maternal education and employment (e.g., Burt & Scott, 2002), and differences in parental roles (Cunningham, 2001; Updegraff, McHale, & Crouter, 1996). For instance, studies have found that more highly educated mothers tend to have daughters with less traditional attitudes than less educated mothers (e.g., Burt & Scott, 2002; Thornton et al., 1983). In terms of differences in parental roles, some research has investigated the implications of parents' division of household labor for offspring's gender development. For instance, Cunningham (2001) found across time associations between 18 year olds' gender role attitudes and parents' division of labor three years earlier. One way to interpret these findings is that gendered qualities of the family environment (including parents' attitudes, behaviors, and interparental dynamics) serve as important messages

to offspring about gender roles. In order for this argument to hold, however, offspring must perceive these messages and interpret them as gendered. Therefore, it is important to verify whether such messages are actually perceived by offspring.

Processes of Gender Socialization in the Family

In the current literature on gender socialization in the family, attention is rarely paid to the processes through which mothers and fathers impart messages about gender to their children. In addition to modeling and reinforcement (which most studies have assumed to occur, but have not measured directly), parents' roles as instructors and providers of opportunities may contribute to children's gender socialization (McHale et al., 2003). Indeed, parents may impart gender messages through direct communication. In a qualitative study of African American families, Hill (2002) found that most parents had instructed or told their children about issues of gender equality. Preliminary evidence from work examining parents' roles as instructors and information providers on issues of gender bias using a quantitative assessment also suggests that most parents engage in this form of gender socialization to some degree (Shearer, Crouter, & McHale, 2007). Gender socialization may also take place through other processes as well. For instance, parents may provide gendered messages to their children through the differential treatment of opposite sex siblings (McHale et al., 2003) and through encouraging involvement in sex-typed activities (Lytton & Romney, 1991).

How do Gender Messages from Families Compare with Messages from Other Sources?

The study of gender socialization is complicated by the fact that children and adolescents are exposed to gender messages from multiple sources simultaneously, making it impossible to isolate the effects of family gender socialization. Unfortunately, little is known about the gender messages that young people receive from sources such as peers, schools, and the media.

Peers. The peer group has emerged as a powerful socializer of sex-typed behavior (Huston, 1983). Children as young as 3 years have been found to reinforce one another for sex-typed play and punish each other for engaging in sex-atypical behavior (e.g. Langlois & Downs, 1980). Studies of middle childhood samples have found that children's sex-typed behavior in free play is positively associated with peer popularity (Moller, Hymel, & Rubin, 1992). There is surprisingly little literature discussing the influence of peers on sex-typed behavior during adolescence and emerging adulthood (Galambos, 2004). In one study of high school students, however, Holland and Andre (1994) found that boys and girls who participated in gender-typed sports achieved higher social status than those who participated in sports typically played by the opposite gender.

School. The focus of research on gender and schools depends largely on the developmental setting. Studies of elementary, middle- and high-school settings have examined sex differences in academic interests. These studies have suggested that teacher expectations contribute to girls' lower interest and performance in math and science (Becker, 1981; Parsons, Kaczala, & Meece, 1982). Teachers may send messages about gender to students regarding differences in men's and women's aptitudes or abilities. Further, because academic interests are linked with vocational aspirations (Eccles, Lord, Roeser, Barber, & Jozefowizc, 1997), the school environment may contribute to young people's gendered ideas about work.

Studies of university and college student populations, on the other hand, have focused on the implications of direct instruction about gender issues (Bargad & Hyde, 1991). Indeed, schools may expose students to liberal ideas about gender by means of women's studies classes and lessons on sexism. There is evidence, for example, that participating in women's studies classes is linked with changes in gender attitudes (Stake & Gerner, 1987). Thus, the school

environment may also present individuals with liberal and feminist messages about men's and women's roles.

Media. The media has received a good deal of attention by gender researchers interested in adolescence and emerging adulthood, due in part to the pervasiveness of gender messages in movies, television programs, and magazines (Galambos, 2004). Television, for example, has been identified as a source of gender stereotyped messages about sexuality, violence, and physical appearance (Galambos). Ward and colleagues (Rivadeneyra & Ward, 2005; Ward, 2002; Ward, Hansbrough, & Walker, 2005) have conducted extensive research on the implications of television, including prime-time sit-coms and dramas, as well as music videos, for adolescents' and emerging adults' gender attitudes and endorsement of sexual stereotypes. Results from this body of research indicate that television viewing (Ward, 2002; Rivadeneyra & Ward) and exposure to music videos (Ward et al.) may be linked with more traditional or stereotyped views of gender among adolescents and emerging adults.

Goals of the Current Study

The first goal of the current study was to provide detailed qualitative information on emerging adults' perceptions of gender socialization in the family. We asked a multi-ethnic sample of college students open-ended questions about messages they had received from their families about men's and women's roles and how those messages were conveyed. Open-ended questions allow respondents a greater range of responses than closed-ended questions or standardized assessments. The use of qualitative, or quasi-qualitative methods, in research on gender has provided a more nuanced understanding of many issues from men's and women's sexualities (e.g., Jackson & Cram, 2003) to abuse (e.g., Berkel, Furlong, Hickman, & Blue, 2005) and has been endorsed in methodological critiques (Rabinowitz & Martin, 2001).

The themes represented in participants' responses, as well as the modes of message delivery they identified, provide an overall picture of emerging adults' perceptions of the gender socialization they experienced in their families. Men's and women's responses were compared in order to explain whether certain messages are more likely to be perceived by one gender or the other. Furthermore, in order to shed light on the role of socioeconomic status, the association between mother's education and message conservatism was examined. We expected that less conservative gender messages would be perceived in families where mothers had obtained higher levels of education.

The second goal of the current study was to compare messages received in families to those received from other socializing agents. Participants answered the same questions about peers, school, and the media. We compared the occurrence of themes, as well as the degree of conservatism in these responses, to those of family responses. Thus, in the current study we identify which gender messages are particularly salient in families as compared to other sources and compare the degree of conservatism (or gender role traditionality) across the four sources of gender messages.

The final goal of the current study was to explore associations between the degree of conservatism coded in participants' open-ended responses and their self-reported gender attitudes. In general, we expected that perceptions of more conservative gender messages would be linked with more traditional gender role attitudes, including emerging adults' gender-based family role attitudes and masculinity ideology. Although it is impossible to ascertain each socializing agent's influence on individuals' beliefs about gender due to the correlational nature of these analyses, comparisons of the four sources of gender messages may shed light on whether

perceptions of messages from a particular socializing agent are more closely associated with emerging adults' views about gender.

<div align="center">Method</div>

Participants

Data for the proposed study were drawn from the second and third time point in a short-term longitudinal study of gender and sexuality during emerging adulthood. To recruit the original sample at Time 1, a university Registrar's records were used to contact all Black or Hispanic (Registrar's definition) students ages 17-19 and a random sample of 9% of all incoming students ages 17-19 who were Caucasian (Registrar's definition) at a large public Eastern university. Of the 839 students contacted, 52% agreed to participate ($N = 434$). During the first data collection session, participants filled out questionnaires in a group setting (referred to as the Time 1 "survey session"). Next, a sub-sample of participants ($N = 182$) who were at least 18 years of age were selected at random and invited to participate in a second session (referred to as the Time 1 "video session"). During this session, participants engaged in videotaped tasks in pairs (videotaped data not used in the current study), and filled out surveys afterward. Participants engaged in the same 2 types of sessions at Time 2 and Time 3, roughly 5 months and one year later, respectively. The retention rate between Time 1 and Time 2 was 93% for the video sample; attrition was due to refusal (n=5), transfer from or drop out of university (n=3), failure to locate participants (n=3), death (n=1), and scheduling difficulties (n=1). Thus, the sample for the current study consisted of 170 (50% female) first-year college students. At phase 1, participants ranged in age from 18 to 20 years (M=18.96, $SD = .37$). The ethnic composition of the sample was 25% Latino American, 26% African American, and 49% European American, Four percent of participants' mothers and 4% of participants' fathers had not completed high

school. Seventeen percent of participants' mothers and 10% of participants' fathers had earned a high school diploma as their highest degree. Forty-five percent of mothers and 35% of fathers had earned an associates or bachelors degree, and 20% of mothers and 31% of fathers had earned a graduate degree. Seventy-one percent of the participants reported that their parents were married to each other. At Time 2, the video and survey only samples did not differ in terms of age ($t(411) = 1.72$, *n.s.*), parents' marital status ($\chi^2 = .20$, *n.s.*), or fathers' education ($t(393) = 1.33$, *n.s.*). The survey only sample did, however, differ from the video sample in ethnic composition (33% European American, 36% African American, and 31% Latino-American, $\chi^2 = 9.68$, $p < .05$) and level of mothers' education ($M = 6.34$, $SD = 2.06$ on a scale where 6 = 'vocational/technical training' and 7 = 'associate's degree' for survey only; $M = 6.78$, $SD = 2.07$ for video sample; $t(409) = 2.08$, $p < .05$). Retention between Time 2 and Time 3 was 97%. Thus, sample size for analyses that include Time 3 data is 164.

Measures

Messages about Men's and Women's Roles

Participants were asked to provide written responses to four two-part open-ended questions about messages they had received regarding men's and women's roles. The questionnaire began with the following instruction: "People have many different ideas about issues related to men's and women's roles. For example, some people believe that girls/women are treated differently than boys/men in our society while others believe that they are treated the same. We are interested in learning how people develop opinions related to men's and women's roles." Next, participants were asked the same two-part question about four sources of gender messages: "What messages have you received from your family/your peers/in school/the media about issues related to men's and women's roles?" and "How were these messages conveyed?"

Coding of themes. The first author examined responses and developed a list of major themes and sub-themes applicable to all questions. A three-part coding scheme was developed. The coding scheme was consistent for all of the open-ended questions, in order to allow comparisons across the four sources of gender messages. The first part of the coding scheme consisted of 12 major themes and 21 subthemes that represented messages about men's and women's roles that one might receive from any of the four sources (see Table 1.3). The first major theme was "no messages," coded if the participant stated that he/she had received no messages about men's and women's roles from a given source. The rest of the major themes described possible categories of messages about gender roles (e.g., Men's and women's abilities), whereas subthemes described more specific messages that would fall under the major category (e.g., Men and women have equal abilities).

The second part of the coding scheme addressed the method of message delivery (see Table 2.3). The first option in this section was "not specified," coded if the participant did not describe how they received gender messages from a given source. The rest of this section was broken into 15 major categories (e.g., direct comments) and 10 subcategories (e.g., comments about the respondent).

The final part of the coding scheme consisted of a rating scale. The level of conservatism in the response was rated on a 5-pt Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Not at all Conservative*" and 5 = "*Very Conservative.*"

One graduate student and 2 undergraduate students served as coders. Coders were instructed not to code responses that described general feelings about gender but did not answer the question posed (e.g., "My dad works and my mom runs the business. We are self-employed."). Coders first indicated the presence/absence of each major theme, and then

proceeded to code the presence of each sub-theme in a major theme. If coders concluded that a statement fit within one of the major themes, but did not fall under any of the sub-themes, they coded the response at the major theme level only. Major themes and sub-themes were not mutually exclusive: a single response could contain a number of themes. Coders then categorized the method of message delivery. When more than one means of message delivery was described, coders could code multiple categories in this part of the coding system. Finally, coders rated the degree of conservatism in the response. Coding was done over one academic semester. All responses were coded by all 3 coders. Coders met with the first author twice a week for an hour on average to discuss discrepancies and make final coding decisions (codes based on these final decisions were used in all analyses). Eight to 32 responses were randomly assigned for each meeting, each from a different participant (coders did not code multiple responses from the same participant at one sitting).

Kappas were performed to assess inter-rater reliability for major and sub-themes. Because there were three coders, three kappas were computed for each theme (one for each coder pair). Here we describe the average across the 3 coder pairs. With regard to the first part of the coding scheme, one major theme and four subthemes did not achieve acceptable levels of reliability ($\kappa < .50$) and were therefore dropped from further analyses. Thus, all analyses focus on the 11 remaining major themes and their 16 subthemes (see Table 1.3). The average kappa was .67 (range = .56 - .96) for major themes and .73 (range = .56 - .85) for subthemes. With regard to the second part of our coding scheme, two major categories and one sub-category did not achieve acceptable levels of reliability and were therefore dropped from further analyses. Furthermore, 5 major categories that pertained more specifically to the other sources (e.g., content of school courses, class materials) and the category "jokes" were never coded in reference to families and

were therefore dropped from further analyses. Thus, all analyses focus on the 7 remaining major categories and their 3 subcategories (see Table 2.3). The average kappa was .73 (range = .53 – 1.00) for major categories and .82 (range = .55 – 1.00) for subcategories.

Ratings of conservatism achieved excellent reliability (Intraclass correlation = .96).

Gender Attitudes

All measures of gender attitudes were completed as part of the survey administered during the Time 3 survey session.

Gender-based Family Role Attitudes. An adaptation of the Gender-based Attitudes Toward Family Roles Scale (ATFRS; Hoffman & Kloska, 1995) was used to measure participants' gender-related attitudes toward marriage and childrearing. The ATFRS consists of two subscales that assess attitudes toward traditional marital roles (e.g., "By and large, the husband should have more say-so in a marriage than a wife should;" 6 items) and childrearing roles (e.g., "It is more important to raise a son to be strong and independent than to raise a daughter that way;" 7 items) for men and women. Respondents rated their agreement on a 4-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Strongly Disagree*" and 4 = "*Strongly Agree.*" Original items were reworded to be more direct and succinct. Alpha coefficients for this measure were .89 and .75 for marital and childrearing roles respectively.

Masculinity Ideology. Participants completed the Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS; Thompson & Pleck, 1986), which assesses the extent to which respondents endorse traditional ideals of masculinity. It consists of three subscales that measure Status Norms (e.g., "It is essential for a man to always have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows him;" 11 items), Toughness Norms (e.g., "When a man is feeling a little pain, he should try not to show it very much;" 8 items), and Antifemininity Norms (e.g., "It bothers me when a guy acts like a

girl;" 7 items). Respondents rated their agreement on a 7-point Likert-type scale where 1 = "*Strongly Disagree*" and 7 = "*Strongly Agree*." Alpha coefficients for this measure ranged from .73 to .86.

<div align="center">Results</div>

Family Messages About Men's and Women's Roles

Table 1.3 presents the proportions of emerging adults who mentioned content theme in their responses. We provide examples to illustrate the types of responses that represented specific codes. Examples of responses in major theme categories that were represented in at least 10% of responses are provided, including any subthemes that were coded in at least 5% of responses. Note that spelling errors and abbreviations are presented as they appeared in participants' responses, in italics. Gender differences were examined using a series of one-way ANOVAs.

A small proportion of our sample reported that they did not receive any messages from their families about men's and women's roles. Most commonly, however, respondents reported receiving messages about men's and women's work and family roles. In terms of sub-themes, emerging adults described messages about men and women having equal work and family roles. For example, one young woman commented, "The main messages I've received from my family regarding the roles of men and women have been very equal. My stepfather does a lot of the cleaning/washing clothes etc. tasks, my father cooks, *&* my stepmother makes more money and works more often than my father." Also, some responses described receiving messages about traditional work and family roles. For instance, one young man stated, "The message I received from my family is that there are roles for men, and there (are) roles for women. The roles for women include cooking, doing laundry, etc. Male roles were fixing things etc."

Young men and women also quite commonly reported receiving feminist messages from their families, or messages suggesting that men and women *should* be equal. For instance, one young man commented, "Should be equal, but aren't always equal. Women tend to be persecuted more than men."

Respondents also reported receiving messages from their families about men's and women's opportunities. A significant gender difference emerged for this theme indicating that 25% of young women mentioned this type of message whereas only 9% of men did, $F(1,162) = 8.14, p < .01$. With regard to the sub-themes of these responses, respondents indicated that they had received messages from their families about men's and women's freedom to "do" or "be" whatever they want. More women (16%) than men (4%) described the former subtheme, $F(1,162) = 6.72, p < .01$. For instance, one young woman wrote, "I was told that woman can do just as much as men and are just as equal."

Finally, emerging adults reported receiving messages from their families about men's and women's abilities. Specifically, respondents most commonly reported that they had learned about men's and women's equal abilities. More women (11%) than men (3%) described this sub-theme, $F(1, 162) = 4.58, p < .05$. For instance, one young woman wrote, "I have learned that I can do anything that my brother can do."

Conservatism in Responses

Messages reported in emerging adults' responses were rated on average as "a little" conservative ($M = 2.08, SD = 1.28$). As an illustration of ratings of conservatism, in a response that described messages that were rated as highly conservative, one male stated, "Women should pretty much be *subsurvient* and the men should do most of the work." In contrast, in a response that described messages rated as "not at all" conservative, one respondent wrote, "Women can

play sports. Education is just as important for women *then* men. A good job is important no matter what sex you are." No gender difference emerged in coder ratings of message conservatism.

Preliminary bivariate analyses between conservatism in gender messages from the four sources and mother's education revealed a significant association for family gender message conservatism only ($r = -.24$, $p < .01$). A step-wise regression analysis was conducted to further explore this association. The first step of the model included participants' gender and ethnicity, mother's education was added in the second step, and two- and three-way interactions between gender, ethnicity, and education were included in the third step. Only the second step of the model was significant, $R^2 = .09$, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $F = 7.68$, $p < .01$. Mother's education added significantly to the explained variance in family gender message conservatism, $\beta = -.21$, $p < .01$. Less conservative messages were described by participants whose mothers had obtained higher levels of education.

Modes of Message Delivery

Table 2.3 presents proportions of responses that described each of the possible modes of message delivery. Examples of responses, as well as significant results from a series of one-way ANOVAs examining gender differences are presented here.

Although some participants did not specify the mode of message delivery with regard to family gender messages, they most commonly indicated that they received messages about men's and women's roles through observation. In most cases, the respondent merely implied that this was the mode of message delivery. For example, one participant wrote, "I got the message that men and women are equal, although a man should be the head of the household. My parents make important decisions together but my Dad will have the final say on certain subjects." In

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other cases, respondents stated more clearly that observation took place. For example, one young woman wrote, "I've seen since I was little that the mom takes care of the children, cooks, cleans, etc, and the dad works."

Respondents also indicated that they had received gender messages from their families through direct comments, encouragement, and parents' treatment of opposite sex siblings. A gender difference emerged for each of these themes indicating that young women were more likely to report these modes of message delivery than men. With regard to direct comments (17% of women, 9% of men, $F(1,162) = 4.52, p <.05$), one young woman wrote, "We were always taught that we should be treated equal & told we could do anything we wanted." With regard to encouragement (16% of women, 1% of men, $F(1,162) = 9.29, p <.01$), one young woman wrote, "I have been raised that men and women are equal and can do the same things. I have always been encouraged to do whatever I wanted be it ballet or karate." Finally, with regard to parents' treatment of opposite sex siblings (10% of women, 1% of men, $F(1,162 = 3.85, p <.05$) one young woman wrote, "They never treated me any differently from my brother. Everything was equal."

How Do Family Gender Messages Compare With Messages from Peers, School, and the Media?

In order to compare the occurrence of themes across the four open-ended questions, a series of 4 (source) X 2 (gender) mixed-model ANOVAs was conducted. Thus, within-subjects comparisons were made across message source (family, peers, school, and media). Because of the current study's aim to compare families to other sources of gender messages, planned contrasts were included to test differences between family and each of the other three sources. Between-subjects comparisons were made between men and women. When source effects were

moderated by gender (shown in significant interactions between gender and source), separate analyses for men and women were conducted. Source differences are summarized in Table 1.3.

A difference emerged in the proportion of participants who noted not having received any messages about men's and women's roles from the four sources (see Table 1.3). Planned contrasts, comparing peer, school, and media sources to family, revealed that more participants indicated that they had received no messages about men's and women's roles from their family than from the media ($p < .05$).

General messages about work and family roles more commonly occured in response to our question about family gender messages than the proportion found for peer ($p < .001$), school ($p < .05$), and media ($p < .001$) messages. A main effect for source also emerged in our analysis of the sub-theme "men and women have equal roles." However, this effect was moderated by participant gender, $F(3, 139) = 2.67$, $p < .05$. Follow-up analyses revealed significant differences between sources for men, $F(3, 62) = 5.46$, $p < .01$, but not women, $F(3, 72) = 1.99$, $p > .10$. For men, this message occurred in 38% of responses to our question about family gender messages, significantly more frequently than in peer (21%, $p < .05$) and media (22%, $p < .05$), but not school messages (47%). A main effect for source also emerged for the sub-theme "men and women have traditional roles." This sub-theme was most likely to occur in family messages, a proportion that differed significantly from peer and school ($ps < .05$), but not media messages.

There was no source difference at the general theme level for comments pertaining to men's and women's abilities. However, a significant source difference emerged for the sub-theme "men have superior abilities" which occurred less frequently in family messages than in media messages ($p < .001$).

Comments pertaining to men's and women's personal qualities were significantly more common in family messages than school messages ($p < .01$), but less common in family messages than media messages ($p < .05$). Significant source differences also emerged in the sub-theme "men have masculine qualities" which occurred significantly more frequently in family messages than in school messages ($p < .05$).

A source difference also emerged in the analysis of the theme pertaining to masculinity and femininity norms, or social ideals about what characteristics and traits are appropriate for men and women. Furthermore, a source difference also emerged for the sub-theme "Men should be masculine." In both cases, planned contrasts revealed that these ideas were more likely to occur in response to our question about family messages than peer messages ($ps < .05$).

Comments describing negative views of women were less common in family gender messages compared to media ($p < .001$) and peer ($p < .01$) messages, but not compared to school messages. Likewise, a source difference also emerged for the subtheme "women are sex objects." This subtheme did not occur at all in family messages, significantly less frequently than in peer ($p < .05$) and media messages ($p < .001$). Furthermore, a source difference emerged for the subtheme, "women are judged on their appearance." This sub-theme also did not occur in family messages, significantly less frequently than in the media messages ($p < .05$).

A source difference emerged in the occurrence of feminist messages. This theme was more likely to occur in family messages than peer and media ($ps < .05$) but not school messages. A source difference also emerged for the theme "Women deserve special treatment." This theme occurred most commonly in family messages and differed significantly from school and media ($ps < .05$), but not peer messages.

Finally, a source difference emerged in the occurrence of mixed messages in participants' responses. This main effect was, however, moderated by respondents' gender, $F(3, 139) = 3.44$, $p < .05$. Follow-up analyses revealed significant source differences for both men, $F(3, 68) = 7.71$, p < .001 and women, $F(3, 72) = 6.08$, p<.001. Planned contrasts, however, revealed different patterns of findings. For men, mixed messages were least likely to occur in family gender messages (2%), a proportion that differed significantly from peer (21%, $p <.001$) and media (19%, p <.01), but not school messages (2%). For women, mixed messages were also least likely to occur in family messages (1%), but this proportion differed significantly from media messages only (20%, $p <.001$), and not peer (5%) or school (5%) messages.

The same ANOVA model was used to examine differences in ratings of conservatism across the four sources of gender messages. A significant source effect emerged, $F(3,137) = 33.78$, $p < .001$, that was moderated by participant's gender, $F(3, 137) = 2.69$, $p < .05$. Follow-up analyses revealed significant source effects for both men, $F(3,67) = 16.12$, p < .001, and women, $F(3,70) = 20.60$, $p < .001$. Planned contrasts, however, revealed a slightly different pattern for men and women. For men, messages from families were rated as significantly less conservative ($M = 2.13$, $SD = .16$) than messages from peers ($M = 2.67$, $SD = .17$, $p <.05$), and the media ($M = 2.96$, $SD = .20$, $p < .05$), but were significantly more conservative than messages from schools ($M = 1.47$, $SD = .11$, $p < .01$). For women, messages from families were rated as less conservative ($M = 2.07$, $SD = .16$) than media messages ($M = 3.28$, $SD = .18$, $p < .01$), but they did not differ significantly from peer ($M = 2.17$, $SD = .16$), or school messages ($M = 1.67$, $SD = .18$).

Associations Between Gender Message Conservatism and Self-reported Gender Attitudes

A regression framework was used to examine associations between gender message conservatism from each of the four sources of socialization and emerging adults' gender attitudes. First, correlations were conducted to examine the levels of association among the four coder ratings of gender message conservatism at the bivariate level. The level of association was low (.04 - .20) and therefore did not preclude including them in the same regression model. Next, five stepwise regressions were conducted to examine whether ratings of gender message conservatism predicted participants' self-reported gender attitudes. Dependent variables included the three subscales of the Male Role Norms Scale and the two subscales of the Attitudes Toward Family Roles Scale. In the first step of the regression models, gender, two dummy codes for ethnicity[1],and mother's education were entered as controls. One ethnicity variable was coded such that African American = 1 and European American and Latino/a American = 0; the other such that Latino/a American = 1 and African Americans and European Americans =0). Although the pattern is mixed, extant research has shown differences in gender attitudes between European Americans and African Americans (Wilkie, 1993; Konrad & Harris, 2002). Wilkie (1993) also suggests that Latino/a Americans have more traditional attitudes than do African Americans or European Americans. The dummy codes were therefore entered to control for these differences. The four coder ratings of gender message conservatism were included in the second step of the regressions. Interaction terms between gender and each of the coder ratings were included in the third and final step.

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[1] Regression analyses including interaction terms between the two ethnicity dummy codes and the four coder ratings of gender message conservatism in step 3 and an additional step (step 4) containing 3-way interactions between the two ethnicity dummy codes, sex, and the four ratings of gender message conservatism were also performed on all 5 dependent variables. For all dependent variables, Steps 3 and 4 did not contribute significantly to the explained variance. For this reason, and because we had no specific hypotheses pertaining to ethnicity, interactions between ethnicity and message conservatism, as well as interactions between ethnicity, sex, and message conservatism were dropped from our analyses.

Gender-based Family Role Attitudes and Gender Message Conservatism. Separate regressions were conducted to examine marital and childrearing role attitudes (see Table 3.3). The first step of the regression model predicting marital role attitudes explained 12% of the variance. In steps 2 and 3, however, message conservatism did not add significantly to the explained variance. The second step of the regression model predicting childrearing role attitudes explained 18% of the cumulative variance. Significant predictors included conservatism in messages from families and peers. More conservative family and peer messages about gender were perceived by individuals who possessed more traditional beliefs about childrearing. Conservatism in messages from school and the media were not significant predictors.

Masculinity Ideology and Gender Message Conservatism. Separate regressions were conducted examining status, toughness, and antifemininity norms. The third step of the regression model predicting status norm beliefs explained 17% of the cumulative variance, but was only marginally significant ($p = .06$). Conservatism in family gender messages was a significant predictor, indicating that individuals who perceived more traditional messages about gender in their families reported more traditional attitudes toward male status. Conservatism in peer gender messages was also a significant predictor, but this effect was moderated by gender. Follow-up analyses were conducted by running separate regressions for men and women (omitting the third step and gender from steps 1 and 2). For men, conservatism in peer gender messages was a significant predictor ($\beta = .31, p < .05$) in the second step of the model, which accounted for 14% of the cumulative variance. Young men who perceived more traditional gender messages from their peers held more traditional beliefs about male status. The second step of the model was not significant for women ($\beta = .07, p = .56$).

The second step of the model predicting antifemininity norm beliefs accounted for 15% of the cumulative variance. Significant predictors were family and peer gender message conservatism. More conservative family and peer gender messages were perceived by individuals who possessed more traditional beliefs about men behaving in feminine ways. The analysis predicting toughness norm beliefs was not significant.

Discussion

The current study sought to describe emerging adults' perceptions of gender socialization in the family, to compare messages received in the family environment to those transmitted by peers, schools, and the media, and to examine the potential implications of family gender messages for emerging adults' gender attitudes.

The Content of Family Gender Messages

Emerging adults reported receiving a wide range of gender messages from their families. The most common messages pertained to men's and women's work and family roles. Yet these messages were quite diverse. Similar proportions of respondents indicated that they had received messages about traditional and equal roles for men and women.

Other common themes reported by emerging adults included messages pertaining to men's and women's abilities, opportunities, and feminist messages. Equality was emphasized in these responses, whether they mentioned equality in men's and women's abilities, opportunities, or the need for greater equality between the sexes. As in Hill's (2002) analysis of gender in African American families, one might conclude based on these findings that many families, across ethnic groups, emphasize equality between the sexes to some degree.

These findings inform research on gender socialization in the family by providing an understanding of emerging adults' *perceptions* of messages about gender encountered in the

family environment. The range of responses suggest that families transmit varied messages about gender in a number of domains. A good deal of research has focused on the implications of gender socialization for the development of "gendered" outcomes within the family domain (e.g., attitudes about parenting, participation in sex-typed household tasks). In this study, however, young men and women reported perceiving more general messages about men's and women's abilities, opportunities, and greater social messages (i.e., feminist messages) in the family environment, suggesting that gender socialization in the family may have more far-reaching implications for individual development.

How Are Gender Messages Conveyed in the Family?

Some of the most interesting findings of the current study pertained to the modes through which messages about gender are transmitted in the family. Although the family has commonly been deemed an important arena for gender socialization, studies have rarely addressed the processes through which gender socialization takes place (McHale et al., 2003). The current study sought to shed light on the processes of family gender socialization by asking emerging adult offspring how gender messages were conveyed in their families. By far the most common mode of message delivery reported by emerging adults was observation, supporting what many studies have assumed (e.g., Cunningham, 2001). Indeed, most research on gender socialization in the family has been conducted from a social learning theoretical perspective. According to social learning theory, observational learning is one of the primary processes though which children acquire gender roles (Huston, 1983). However, studies rarely measure the processes of gender socialization, leaving open to speculation exactly what processes underlie associations between parents' and children's attitudes, for example. This study provides some evidence, based on

emerging adults' own recollections, that families transmit messages about gender through modeling.

Perhaps even more interesting however, is the variety of other modes of gender message delivery reported by emerging adults. In addition to observation, respondents (particularly young women) also reported receiving messages about gender through direct comments, encouragement, and parents' treatment of opposite sex siblings. These findings coincide with McHale et al.'s (2003) ideas about processes of gender socialization that may operate in families. In addition to modeling, McHale et al. highlighted parents' roles as instructors and opportunity providers as processes through which gender socialization takes place. Indeed, instruction may take place, as our respondents indicated, through direct comments. Further, part of providing opportunities to offspring may involve encouraging their involvement in certain activities, as emerging adults in the current study reported.

Gender Differences

Gender differences in our analyses indicated that issues of equality were particularly salient in young women's recollections of messages they had received from their families. More women than men reported receiving messages about men's and women's equal abilities as well as equal opportunities. Furthermore, more women than men reported receiving messages about gender through direct comments and encouragement. In a qualitative study of gender socialization in African American families, Hill (2002) found that parents encouraged gender equality in both sons and daughters. In doing so, however, perhaps parents focus more heavily on encouraging equality in gender roles at home (e.g., contributing equally to household chores) with boys and encouraging equality in achievement and aspirations with girls. Parents may focus more heavily on informing daughters about issues of equality because they see girls as more

likely to struggle with sexual discrimination in opportunities and achievement. Alternatively, daughters may be more sensitized to issues of gender and may therefore perceive higher rates of encouragement and direct comments about gender than do sons.

Mothers' Education

Consistent with our hypothesis, less conservative messages were perceived by participants whose mothers had attained higher levels of education. This finding is supported by an abundance of research on gender attitudes. More highly educated mothers have been found to have daughters with less traditional gender attitudes than do less educated mothers (Burt & Scott, 2002; Thornton et al., 1983). Because more highly educated women tend to have less traditional gender attitudes themselves (Thornton et al., 1983), past research has assumed that some form of intergenerational transmission of gender values is at work in these families. The current study reinforces this line of thought by indicating that emerging adults who have more highly educated mothers indeed perceive less traditional gender messages in their family environments.

Gender Messages from Families, Peers, Schools, and the Media

A goal of the current study was to examine how gender messages in the family environment compared with those received from other sources. Perhaps not surprisingly, general messages about men's and women's work and family roles were more commonly perceived in families than any of the other three sources. Participants commented on topics such as the division of household labor, child care, and work-family balance. Thus it is understandable that these messages were most salient in the family environment. In contrast, negative ideas about women were not reported at all in response to our question about family gender messages. Families differed from the rest of the sources in their personal investment in the respondent;

parents may intentionally avoid sending such messages because of their potentially negative impact whereas other sources may be less censored.

Families also differed from each of the other sources in unique ways. The following sections discuss unique differences between families and peers, school, and the media as sources of influence about gender.

Families versus peers. Emerging adults were more likely to discuss masculinity and femininity norms in their reports of peer gender messages than family gender messages. This finding may stem in part from the developmental period examined in the current study, or from our participants' current social context. Peer influence is still quite powerful at this developmental stage (Korcusca & Thombs, 2003; Rolison & Scherman, 2003), and may be exaggerated in certain social contexts (e.g., fraternities and sororities; Esteban McCabe et al., 2005). Peers' messages about masculinity and femininity may be perceived by emerging adults as pressure to conform to traditional gender norms.

In contrast, respondents were more likely to report that they had received feminist messages from their families than from their peers. Parents' investment in their offspring and desire to instill values of equality or peers' relative inexperience with gender discrimination may explain this difference. Furthermore, for men, mixed messages were more commonly received from peers than from families. Fluctuating views of gender roles may be part of the identity exploration of emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000) and may contribute to the perception of mixed messages from peers. These findings suggest that families may provide more defined messages about gender issues than do peers, whose own ideas about gender may be unclear.

Families versus schools. As compared with messages from schools, emerging adults reported that their families provided them with more messages about the personal qualities of

men and women, as well as the idea that women deserve special treatment. Men also reported receiving fewer mixed messages from their families than from schools. Finally, whereas no difference was found for women, the messages that men reported receiving from schools were rated as less conservative than those received from families. Messages regarding men's and women's personal characteristics and the notion that women deserve special treatment may be offered by parents and siblings (e.g., Dolgin & Lindsay, 1999) as advice on interpersonal relationships, whereas schools may rarely have input on such issues. Mixed messages were perhaps more prevalent in school settings because, schools may teach liberal messages in certain contexts (e.g., class sessions on the history of the women's movement) but endorse traditional roles in others (e.g., separating young men and women for physical education classes). School gender messages may have been perceived by young men as being less conservative than family gender messages because of schools' focus on achievement. These findings likely stem from the fact that the family realm includes areas of socialization (e.g., household labor, close relationships) which may be more inherently gendered than topics that are covered in school curricula.

Families versus media. Emerging adults also reported receiving fewer mixed messages from their families than from the media. Furthermore, messages from the media were rated as more conservative than messages from families. Both of these findings are well supported in the media literature. The media has been described as a source of mixed messages about many issues from sexuality (McKee & Pardun, 1996) to tobacco use (Wakefield et al., 2005). Thus it is not surprising that our participants identified the media as a source of mixed messages about gender. Furthermore, the media has been identified in extant research as an important source of stereotyped views of gender (Galambos, 2004; Ward 2002) which may explain why emerging

adults reported receiving more conservative messages from the media than from their families. Yet, research to date has not compared the media to families as sources of gender messages. These findings indicate that families provide less stereotyped and perhaps more coherent views of gender than does the media.

Implications of gender messages for emerging adults' attitudes

In the analyses of emerging adults' gender attitudes, we found messages from the family and peers to be the most closely associated with both individuals' ideas about men's and women's family roles and masculinity ideology. More conservative messages were perceived by individuals who reported more traditional gender-based attitudes toward childrearing roles. In other words, emerging adults who reported receiving more traditional messages from their families and peers had more traditional ideas about how men and women should parent boys and girls. Emerging adults who have traditional attitudes about childrearing may have formed their ideas on the basis of traditional messages transmitted in their family and among peers, or they may simply perceive more traditional messages because such messages are consonant with their own ideas.

Furthermore, more conservative messages were perceived by individuals who endorsed antifemininity, and, for men only, status norms of masculinity. Emerging adults who reported receiving more traditional messages from their families and peers believed that men should not behave in feminine ways. Furthermore, emerging adults who perceived more traditional messages from their families and young men who perceived more traditional messages from their peers also believed that men should possess and exhibit high status. That conservatism in family messages predicted these dimensions of masculinity ideology suggests that gender messages in families carry implications for more global attitudes about gender, in addition to

those focused specifically on the family realm (i.e. childrearing role attitudes). That peer

messages carried implications for these dimensions of masculinity ideology coincides with the

finding from our content analyses that messages about masculinity and femininity norms were

more commonly perceived from peers than any other source, and with extant literature indicating

that peers are influential at this stage of life (e.g., Korcusca & Thombs, 2003). It is important,

however, to consider the possible role of selection effects in interpreting our findings with regard

to peer messages. Friends are selected on the basis of shared interests, values, and beliefs

(Jaccard, Dodge, & Blanton, 2005). This is a concern to the extent that emerging adults may

have interpreted our question about peers to be about friends, or to the extent that they responded

on the basis of experiences with their friends. Associations between peer messages and emerging

adults' attitudes may reflect shared beliefs that initially drew emerging adults into relationships

with their peers rather than peers' influence on their gender attitude development.

It is important to note that family and peer messages about gender emerged as significant

predictors of gender attitudes whereas school and media messages did not. Family and peers are

more proximal socializing influences. Messages from these sources may therefore be more

salient in informing emerging adults' gender attitudes. In comparison with media and schools,

families and peers are also more interactive influences. Messages transmitted by the media and

schools are based on programming and curricula, whereas family and peer messages may be

responsive to individuals' actions and attitudes.

Limitations and conclusions

It is important to acknowledge some limitations of the current investigation. First, our

open-ended questions were designed to tap participants' general recollections of messages they

had received from families, peers, schools, and the media. Their lack of specificity, however,

restricted the interpretation of our findings. Because we do not know which peers (e.g., same vs. opposite sex), schools (e.g., high school vs. university), media (e.g., television vs. movies), and even family members (e.g., parents vs. siblings) respondents had in mind when answering our questions, a great deal of caution had to be exercised in attributing messages to each of these sources. We also could not ascertain the timing of gender messages reported by emerging adults. Because no time frame was specified, respondents may have provided recollections of messages they received in the distant past or very recently.

Another limitation of the current investigation is the correlational nature of our findings pertaining to emerging adults' gender attitudes. Traditional messages received from families may cause individuals to develop traditional attitudes. Alternatively, individuals with more traditional attitudes may be more likely to recall traditional messages because they coincide with their own beliefs. Either explanation is viable because causality can not be determined using this type of analysis. However, it is important to note that descriptions of messages were provided approximately seven months prior to self-reported attitudes.

A strength of the current study is its use of open-ended, rather than quantitative measures of gender messages. This methodology provided respondents with an opportunity for individual expression and broadened the scope of gender messages that would have been examined had forced choices been imposed. Had respondents been forced to choose from a list of predetermined messages, it is unlikely that we would have captured the mixed messages they reported receiving, particularly from the media and their peers.

Finally, another important strength of the current study is its attention to the *processes* of gender socialization. Questions were included not only to capture the content of gender messages that emerging adults had received from their families and other sources but also the avenues

through which these messages were conveyed. Findings indicated, as many studies have suggested, that observation is only one process through which messages about gender are conveyed. Emerging adults reported a variety of other ways that they received messages about gender. Young women quite commonly reported that they had received messages about gender through direct comments as well as encouragement from parents. It is important that future research on gender socialization acknowledge the different processes through which messages about gender are conveyed.

Future research should build on the strengths of the current investigation by incorporating the themes identified here into a new measure. For instance, although a qualitative approach was well suited to the current study's descriptive goals, it is probably not practical for larger studies. A promising direction for future research may be to incorporate the themes coded here in a quantitative measure of gender socialization in the family. A quantitative measure would provide a more efficient and standardized means of understanding family gender messages, particularly for studies that aim to understand how this phenomenon develops and changes over time.

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Table 1.3

Within-subjects comparisons of proportions of messages received from four socializing agents

	Family	Peers	Schools	Media	F
No messages	$.04_a$	$.07_a$	$.07_a$	$.01_b$	3.17*
Work and Family Roles – General	$.63_a$	$.49_b$	$.53_b$	$.44_b$	5.10**
Men and women have equal roles	$.34_a$	$.24_b$	$.37_a$	.18	4.74**
Men and women have traditional roles	$.29_a$	$.21_b$	$.09_b$	$.23_a$	7.68**
Feminist Messages	$.18_a$	$.13_b$	$.21_a$	$.10_b$	5.35**
Opportunities	.17	.18	.20	.10	1.13
People can do what they want (behavior)	.10	.10	.09	.04	1.74
People can be whatever they want (professional)	.06	.04	.06	.04	0.31
Abilities/Status	.14	.19	.11	.19	2.02
Men and women have equal abilities/status	.07	.06	.05	.01	1.59
Men have superior abilities/status	$.04_a$	$.09_a$	$.03_a$	$.17_b$	9.85**
Masculinity/Femininity Norms	$.04_a$	$.10_b$	$.01_a$	$.06_a$	4.96**
Women should be feminine	.03	.04	.01	.04	1.42
Men should be masculine	$.02_a$	$.07_b$	$.00_a$	$.05_a$	5.35**
Women deserve "special treatment"	$.04_a$	$.05_a$	$.01_b$	$.01_b$	2.85*
Personal Qualities	$.04_a$	$.05_a$	$.00_b$	$.10_b$	6.12**
Men have masculine qualities	$.04_a$	$.03_a$	$.00_b$	$.06_a$	4.43**
Mixed Messages	$.02_a$	$.12_a$	$.03_a$	$.20_b$	12.53**
Negative views of women	$.00_a$	$.05_b$	$.01_a$	$.19_b$	13.44**
Women are sex objects	$.00_a$	$.03_b$	$.00_a$	$.10_b$	9.11**
Women are judged on their appearance	$.00_a$	$.01_a$	$.01_a$	$.06_b$	3.09*

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

Note. Proportions having different subscripts from the family source are significantly different (according to planned contrasts).

Table 2.3

Modes of message delivery reported

Mode of message delivery	Proportion
Not specified	.34
Observation	.39
Observation stated	.08
Observation inferred	.31
Direct comments	.13
Comments about the individual	.01
Encouragement	.09
Teaching	.09
Treatment of opposite sex siblings	.06
Discussion	.04

Table 3.3

Standardized betas in regression models predicting gender attitudes from message conservatism

Variable	Gender-based Family Role Attitudes		Masculinity Ideology		
	Marital Roles	Childrearing Roles	Status Norms	Toughness Norms	Antifemininity Norms
Step 1					
Gender	-.27**	-.24**	-.16†	-.40***	-.23**
African American	-.17†	-.16†	-.11	.02	-.13
Latino/a American	-.17*	-.17†	-.12	-.12	-.13
Mother's Education	-.02	-.04	.02	.10	-.08
Step 2					
Gender	-.24**	-.19*	-.13	-.40***	-.21*
African American	-.18*	-.16†	.09	.01	-.16
Latino American	-.19*	-.16†	.11	-.14	-.16†
Mother's Education	.02	-.01	.06	-.15	.11
Family Message Conservatism (FMC)	.16†	.17*	.20*	-.19*	.20*
Peer Message Conservatism (PMC)	.14	.24**	.16†	.02	.17*
School Message Conservatism (SMC)	-.10	-.08	-.05	-.02	-.03
Media Message Conservatism (MMC)	.02	-.11	-.03	-.02	-.00

Variable	Gender-based Family Role Attitudes		Masculinity Ideology		
	Marital Roles	Childrearing Roles	Status Norms	Toughness Norms	Antifemininity Norms
Step 3					
Gender	-.25**	-.18*	-.15	-.40***	-.22*
African American	-.21*	-.17†	.03	.01	-.18††
Latino/a American	-.19*	-.15	.09	-.14	-.18†
Mother's Education	.01	-.00	.05	.16†	.11
FMC	.19	.18	.32*	.29*	.31*
PMC	.26*	.31*	.44**	.09	.32*
SMC	-.04	-.14	.07	-.09	.04
MMC	.04	-.19	-.08	-.07	-.05
Gender X FMC	-.02	.01	-.13	-.12	-.14
Gender X PMC	-.16	-.09	-.36**	-.07	-.17
Gender X SMC	-.07	.08	-.15	.08	-.09
Gender X MMC	-.03	.10	.06	.05	.06
Step 1 R^2	.12**	.10*	.04	.19***	.09*
Step 2 R^2	.17**	.18**	.10	.23***	.15*
Step 3 R^2	.18*	.19*	.17*	.24***	.17*
ΔR^2 (1-2)	.05	.09*	.06	.03	.06†
ΔR^2 (2-3)	.02	.01	.07†	.01	.02

†$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Note. FMC = Family Message Conservatism, PMC = Peer Message Conservatism, SMC = School Message Conservatism, MMC = Media Message Conservatism.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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EDUCATION

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2003	M.S.	Human Development and Family Studies	Pennsylvania State University
1999	B.A.	Psychology	University of New Brunswick

THESES

Ph.D.   Gender socialization in the family
M.S.   Mothers' and fathers' perceptions of change in parent-child relationships across the transition to adolescence

PUBLICATIONS

Gillen, M. M., Lefkowitz, E. S. & Shearer, C. L. (2006). Does body image play a role in risky sexual behavior and attitudes? *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 35,* 230-242.

Shearer, C. L., Crouter, A.C., & McHale, S.M. (2005). Mothers' and fathers' perceptions of relationship change in parent-child relationships during adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 20,* 662-684.

Shearer, C. L., Hosterman, S. J., Gillen, M. M., & Lefkowitz E. S. (2005). Are traditional gender role attitudes related to risky sexual behavior and beliefs about condoms? *Sex Roles, 52,* 311-324.

Lefkowitz, E. S., Boone, T., & Shearer, C. L., (2004). Communication with best friends about sex-related topics during emerging adulthood. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 33*, 339-351.

Lefkowitz, E. S., Gillen, M., Shearer, C. L., & Boone, T. (2004). Religiosity and sexual behaviors and attitudes during emerging adulthood. *The Journal of Sex Research, 41*, 150-159.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Sept 2006- current	Postdoctoral Fellow/Project Coordinator, Dr. Renee Lyons
2001-2006	Research Assistant, Family Relationships Project, Drs. Ann Crouter, Susan McHale
2001-2007	Research Assistant, Emerging Adulthood Project, Dr. Eva Lefkowitz
1999-2000	Research Assistant, Child Study Lab, Dr. Ann Cameron

INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES

Summer 2004	Co-Instructor, HDFS 239 Adolescent Development
Spring 2004	Co-Instructor, HDFS 496B Interviewing Children and Families
Fall 2003	Teaching Assistant, HDFS 412 Adult-Child Relationships, Dr. Robert Burgess
Fall 2001	Teaching Assistant HDFS 501 Human Development, Dr. Sherry Willis
Fall 2000	Teaching Assistant, HDFS 239 Adolescent Development, Dr. Eva Lefkowitz