

THESIS

PARENTING STYLES AND THE INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF GENDER
IDEOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

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The present study investigated the similarity between parents and children in gender ideology, and whether parenting style moderated the intergenerational transmission (i.e. similarity) of gender ideology between parents and children. Past research suggests that parents and children are similar in terms of overall gender ideology and that authoritative parenting promotes the best outcomes for children. Given this knowledge, the present study sought to investigate the relationship between these two concepts while examining whether the relations between gender ideology and parenting style differ based on parent and child gender. A sample of 76 adolescents from the United States and their parents were asked to complete questionnaires surveying parenting style and gender ideology. Analyses assessed the similarity of parents and their children in terms of gender ideology as well as examined parenting style as a moderator of this association. Results indicated that parent and child gender ideologies are similar, but parenting style does not consistently moderate the transmission of gender ideology from parent to child. Results also revealed that paternal gender ideology is more consistently related to teen, particularly male, gender ideology than maternal gender ideology.

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Introduction

Parents provide children with the framework from which they can begin to develop and cultivate their own value system. This framework is developed through socialization, observation, and interactions that children have with their parents (Bandura, 1971). The process of the transmission of values from parents to children begins at a young age and can have lasting effects on the future of individuals as well as socialization for generations to come. Within the last century, a social movement has transformed gender ideologies; what was once deemed “traditional” is now being replaced with less structured, more egalitarian ideals in the United States (Schneiderman & Barrera, 2009). Research has shown that, regardless of whether one believes in more egalitarian or more traditional gender ideology, perceived equality in relationships is associated with overall happiness (Haddock, Zimmerman & Lyness, 2003). Thus, it is important to assess the ways by which gender ideology develops in order to better understand changing gender norms and the potential impacts these shifts could have on relationship expectations and life satisfaction in the future.

The transmission of gender ideology has been a topic of little examination in the field of behavioral sciences, yet it plays a pivotal role in the future of American socialization. In order to further scholarly understanding, researchers must first examine the effects of parents on their children’s gender beliefs. In this study, I investigated the similarity between parents and children in gender ideology, and whether parenting style moderated the interactional transmission (i.e., value similarity) of gender ideology between parents and children.

Previous Research on Values and Gender Ideology

Feminist theory states that gender is a socially constructed concept and that genders are often unequal in terms of educational attainment, parental role attitudes, and employment status (Smith & Hamon, 2012). However, there are individual differences in people's beliefs about gender inequality, or gender ideology. In the past, some researchers have attempted to explore the transmission of gender ideologies by examining parental and familial characteristics as potential predictors of children's gender beliefs. Some research has suggested that parental educational attainment, parental role attitudes, as well as maternal employment status play a role in children's gender ideological outcomes; more educated women, women who are employed, and women who hold more egalitarian gender beliefs have children with more egalitarian ideals on average (Fan & Marini, 2000; Cunningham, 2001; Snyder & Vebsquez, 1997). Other researchers have suggested that, although parental ideologies may be important, other life experiences and role transitions are also highly influential in children's gender ideology (Cunningham, 2001; Fan & Marini, 2000; Davis, 2007). An additional experience that may be influential is the presence of a non-biological caretaker in the home, suggesting that parents who raise their children from birth are more influential in the transmission of gender values than those who do not (Carlson & Knoester, 2011). Overall, children's gender ideologies have been shown to be predicted by a multitude of factors.

Research also suggests that the influence of parental ideologies does not come into full effect until an individual matures enough to become sensitive to social pressures and demands (Cunningham, 2001). This finding highlights the importance of examining gender ideologies in adolescence, a sensitive period of time in which the transmission of gender ideology may be

more prominent and observable (Cunningham, 2001). This study focuses on mid-adolescence, a time when adolescents are beginning to experience romantic relationships more seriously and when gender values may become more prominent in adolescents' lives (Arnett, 2012). Familial characteristics, life experiences, as well as time sensitive considerations have been found to be important in the examination of the development of gender ideology in children.

Other researchers have begun to explore the development of values in children by examining the *similarities* that exist between parents and their offspring regarding beliefs. Researchers have found that similarities exist between parent and adolescent values in several industrialized nations (Boehnke, Hadjar, & Baier, 2007; Laghi, Pallini, & De Sclavis, 2012). Some research suggests that parental values can predict adolescent occupational aspirations by examining the adolescent's academic and extracurricular standards and the similarities to their parents' values (Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001). Other researchers have found that religious values are similar across multiple generations as well (Copen & Silverstein, 2008). In regards to gender ideology, researchers have found that parents and their children tend to be similar across time in terms of gender beliefs (Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Williams, Radin, & Allegro, 1992; Booth & Amato, 1994; Snyder, Vebsquez, & Clark, 1997; Kulik, 2002). Although the literature suggests that parents and children are similar in terms of many different values, researchers have yet to address the ways in which this similarity develops.

According to social learning theory, the development and socialization of an individual is highly influenced by the observations and reciprocal interactions he or she has with his or her environment (Bandura, 1971). Therefore, the time children spend observing and interacting with their parents may influence the development of their values. Although children may become

more similar to their parents simply via observation, the quality of the interactions that occur between parent and child may increase or decrease the similarity of these values as well.

Interactions between parents and children are often characterized by the ways in which parents structure their expectations of their children as well as their level of warmth and support. These styles of parenting may help or hinder the ability of a parent to transmit their gender ideologies to their children and, therefore, should be further studied in order to determine whether differing parenting styles may make children's values more similar to their parents.

Parenting Style

Many decades of previous research have been conducted on the subjective experience of parenting (Baumrind, 1966). Three main parenting styles have been addressed in the literature regarding child outcomes: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive (Baumrind, 1966).

Permissive parenting is characterized by low demands and high warmth, whereas authoritarian parenting is characterized by high demands and low warmth; authoritative parenting is associated with high demands and high warmth (Baumrind, 1966).

Parenting styles are linked with a range of child outcomes (Baumrind, 1993). Consistently, the most positive outcomes are found for children of authoritative parents. Individuals who are reared by parents who utilize both high expectations as well as high degrees of warmth and support of children (hallmarks of authoritative parenting) have been found to be better adjusted than their counterparts (Baumrind, 1993). Parenting characterized by warmth, affection, high levels of responsiveness, and overall support of children (also hallmarks of authoritative parenting) has been shown to be positively correlated with enhanced social outcomes, including the ability to empathetically relate to others, superior emotion regulation, and better academic performance (Oppenheimer et al., 2013; Davidov & Grusec, 2006; Pittman,

2001). Conversely, it has been shown that low levels of these parenting characteristics are correlated with psychopathology and negative social outcomes, as well as internalizing and externalizing problems (Oppenheimer et al., 2013; Davidov & Grusec, 2006). These results have been found to be true for children of varying temperaments, cognitive abilities, and disability statuses (Pittman, 2001; Rudasill et al., 2013; Castro et al., 2013).

Research that has directly compared the different parenting styles has supported the beneficial effects of authoritative parenting as well. Longitudinally, research has suggested that authoritative parenting is associated with positive outcomes for children, whereas neglectful and authoritarian parenting styles are associated with detrimental effects (Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). Authoritative parents' high level of involvement in their children's lives has been shown to foster secure attachments and promote healthy development (Baumrind, 1993). This style of parenting has also been associated with more-positive outcomes in terms of behavioral inhibition, school performance, as well as internalizing and externalizing in children (Williams et al., 2009; Sheffield Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers, & Robinson, 2007; Chao, 2001). The attitudes and behaviors that characterize authoritative parenting have also been correlated with a higher incidence of spiritual values, religious beliefs, and social responsibility in offspring (Hardy, White, Zhang & Ruchty, 2011; Schmid, 2012; Heaven, Ciarrochi, & Lesson, 2010). Overall, the literature suggests that authoritative parenting may be beneficial for children longitudinally.

However, it is important to acknowledge potential racial/ethnic differences in these patterns. Research suggests that Latino American parents utilize more methods of control compared to their European American counterparts, but that this parenting strategy does not predict negative outcomes in the same way that similar tactics do for European Americans (Grau,

Azmitia, & Quattlebaum, 2009). Historically, research has also suggested that African American families utilize parenting tactics that are more characteristic of authoritarian parenting styles, but adolescents may still perceive parents as warm (Smetana, 2011). Much like European American families, more educated mothers and middle- to upper-class African American families' display more authoritative parenting traits, such as autonomy and warmth, than lower class African American families (Smetana, 2011). Research also suggests that, although African American and Latino American parents are typically classified as authoritarian, this parenting style is not necessarily worse than authoritative parenting for Latino and African American adolescents (Smetana, 2011; Grau et al., 2009). In addition, Asian American parents historically score higher on measures of authoritarian parenting styles than European Americans (Russell, Crockett, & Chao, 2010). Some research suggests that differing meanings that are attributed to parenting practices greatly affect the notion of "best" parenting style (Russell et al., 2010). For example, Asian Americans do not display affection for children in ways that are traditional to American society; rather they display warmth via instrumental support and dedication to education (Russell et al., 2010). This difference in definition and example of a parenting trait (e.g., warmth) may lead to differing categorization of parenting styles, as defined by Baumrind. Many of the aforementioned differences in parenting styles across cultures may also be highly influenced by socioeconomic status, education, acculturation issues, and differing meanings that are attributed to parenting practices (Grau et al., 2009; Russell et al., 2010; Smetana, 2011). Due to the ethnic makeup of the sample used in this study, it is essential to be aware of the differences in parenting styles based on ethnicity.

In addition, due to the consistency of support for the benefits of authoritative parenting, one can hypothesize that this parenting style may have positive effects on the intergenerational

transmission of gender ideologies from parents to their children. In order for a child to assimilate parental values, he or she must observe and understand the value in the context of the family while simultaneously deciding if the value will be useful (Kochanska, Aksan, & Nichols, 2003; Goodnow, 1997). Research suggests that this process of socialization is “bidirectional” in that parents do not simply transmit their values to their children; rather parents and children interact and mutually influence the diffusion of values (Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997). The parent-child relationship affects this bidirectional characteristic of transmission and is thought to help shape the transaction of values between generations (Kuczynski, et al., 1997). Throughout the process of socialization, research proposes that parenting styles distinguished by high positivity (characteristic of authoritative parenting) may increase the likelihood that children will internalize parental morals; parents who use more power assertions (characteristic of authoritarian parenting styles) may have offspring who are less likely to internalize parental morals (Kochanska et al., 2003). Also, the argument that authoritative parenting facilitates intergenerational transmission of ideology is theoretically grounded in that authoritative parenting may aid in the successful socialization of children through effective disciplinary tactics that may be directly related to successful patterns of value transmission (Baumrind, 1993). Therefore, children who are raised by highly supportive, yet expectant parents may be more prone to aligning with their parents gender ideologies than those who have permissive or authoritarian parents.

Sex

Previous research provides reasons to expect that the association between parenting style and gender ideology may differ depending upon parent and adolescent sex. First, some researchers have suggested that same-sex dyads may be more important than cross-sex dyads in

promoting the transmission of values to children (Campbell & Gilmore, 2007; Copen & Silverstein, 2008; Gniewosz & Noack, 2012). Other research has found that there is no statistically significant difference across different sex dyads and that mothers and fathers affect the development of their children's values similarly (Snyder & Vebsquez, 1997; Cunningham, 2001). However, other research suggests that mothers and fathers may differentially effect their children's internalization of values (Jodl et al., 2001). The effects of mothering and fathering may also be dependent upon the sex of the child (Rudasill, Adelson, Callahan, Houlihan, & Keizer, 2013; Schmid, 2012). Finally, researchers have found that marital gender-role attitudes may be more influential for males than females, but overall, gender-role attitudes of children tend to be similar to those of their parents (Snyder et al., 1997; Kulik, 2002). Although some research implies that sex may change the nature of transmission of values from parents to children as well as the presentation and effects of parenting styles, further research needs to be conducted in order to reach more empirically-grounded deductions.

Hypotheses

Previous research leaves room for better understanding of the mechanisms by which gender ideologies are transmitted from one generation to another. Based on the literature reviewed, first, I hypothesized that parent and child gender ideologies are associated. Secondly, I hypothesized that parenting styles moderate this association, such that children with parents that exhibit authoritative parenting styles report gender ideologies that are more similar to their parents' gender ideologies than their permissive or authoritarian counterparts. Thirdly, I explored the role that sex of both parent and child play in these associations. Due to inconsistencies in past research I did not hypothesize a particular pattern by which sex changed the nature of these associations.

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 15-year-old adolescents ($n = 76$) and both of their parents from one site of the NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development. When study children were born, families were recruited from hospitals around the country using a conditional random-sampling plan. This method of selection of participants ensured that the economic, educational, and ethnic diversity of the sample was similar to such diversity in each of the recruitment areas. The adolescent sample was split approximately evenly in terms of gender (50.5% males) and was comprised of 66% European American teens, 18% Hispanic American teens, 1% Asian American teens, 5% other or mixed ethnicity teens, and 10% of teens who did not report ethnicity. The majority of the sample identified as middle to upper middle class families with a median yearly income of \$85,000 ($SD = \$69,444$).

Procedure

Research assistants visited the homes of the participants when they reached 15 years of age. During this visit, parents and adolescents separately completed several questionnaires after completing tasks not relevant to the current study. Families were compensated for their participation in the study.

Measures

Gender ideology. Parental and adolescent gender ideology was measured using a self-report questionnaire (e.g., Goldberg & Lucas-Thompson, in press; Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012; see Appendix A) that asked the participants to rate their level of agreement to 24 statements regarding what is appropriate for men and women. For example, participants rated

their level of agreement to statements about gender roles around employment, handling of finances, and care-giving roles (e.g., “A wife who carries out her full family responsibilities doesn’t have time for outside employment”). Mean scores were calculated so that higher scores reflect more egalitarian values (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .82$).

Parenting style. Parenting style was assessed by examining adolescent-reported measures of parental warmth, hostility, and autonomy. Adolescents were asked to complete two questionnaires examining their view of their parent’s level of warmth/support and hostility as well as their ability to be autonomous in decision making. The first questionnaire that was used is titled “Getting Along with My Parent” and contains questions examining parental warmth and hostility (Conger, Wallace, Sun, McLoyd, & Brody, 2002). This questionnaire consisted of 34 items that were measured on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = “Never” to 4 = “Always”. Adolescents answered how often their parents engage in a variety of behaviors towards them (e.g., acting loving and supporting, criticizing them). Nine questions were used to create the parental warmth/support score; these items have high internal consistency (Mothers: Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.92$; Fathers: Cronbach’s $\alpha = .94$). Eight questions were used to create the hostility score; these items have sufficient internal reliability (Mothers: Cronbach’s $\alpha = .79$; Fathers: Cronbach’s $\alpha = .80$).

The second questionnaire, entitled “Making Decisions” assessed the degree to which adolescents had autonomy in making decisions, and was based on parent report (Brody, Moore, & Glei, 1994; Eccles, Buchanan, Midgley, Fuligni, & Flanagan, 1991). Parents answered the extent to which adolescents or parents, or both together, make decisions about decisions in different domains (e.g., what they do after school; Cronbach's α : .70).

To measure parenting style, two variables were considered: 1) a continuous variable representing the amount of warmth in the parent/child relationship, an important dimension of parenting style, and 2) a dichotomous variable that represented authoritative parenting vs. non-authoritative parenting, based on adolescent reports of warmth and parent reports of autonomy granting.

To create the continuous measure of warmth, first, for each parent separately, reported values of hostility were subtracted from values of warmth, with high scores reflecting relationships with high levels of warmth and low levels of conflict. To test hypothesis 1, these scores were then standardized and the scores for mothers and fathers were averaged. To examine the importance of sex, maternal and paternal warmth were examined separately.

To create the dichotomous measure of authoritative parenting vs. non-authoritative parenting, high and low levels of both warmth and autonomy granting were determined based on median splits (the median value was included with the high category). Parents who reported high warmth and autonomy were considered authoritative, whereas parents who were scored low on either dimension were considered not authoritative. To test hypothesis 1, authoritative parenting of both parents was considered (i.e., whether on average both parents were high on autonomy granting and warmth, or whether on average parents were low on one or both of those dimensions). To examine the importance of sex, maternal and parental authoritative parenting was examined separately.

Demographic information. Demographic information that was used as control variables was teen sex and family income.

Data Analysis

To test the hypothesis that parental and child ideology are similar, regression analyses were conducted predicting adolescent ideology based on parental ideology (controlling for relevant demographic characteristics). To test the hypothesis that parenting style moderates this association, multiplicative interaction terms of parenting styles and parental values were created (after centering continuous variables); moderation was supported if these terms are significant controlling for lower-order terms. These analyses utilized a mean of mother and father reports, and considered both male and female adolescents together. To test the hypothesis that sex plays a role in these associations, several steps were taken. First, the analyses described above were conducted separately on males and females to determine if the results differed. Second, rather than utilizing the mean of mother and father reports, characteristics of mothers and fathers were examined separately.

Results

Bivariate Associations

Bivariate correlations (see Table 1) suggested that there were significant and positive correlations between adolescent and parent (both maternal and paternal) egalitarian gender ideology. However, there was no association between authoritative parenting style or warmth and gender ideology.

Multivariate Analyses

In support of the hypothesis that parents and children are similar in terms of gender ideology, parents who scored higher on egalitarianism had adolescents who were more egalitarian (see Table 2). However, overall analyses indicated that there was not a significant interaction between either measure of parenting style and parent gender ideology in relation to child gender ideology. In addition, neither warmth nor authoritative (vs. non-authoritative) parenting was related to child gender ideology.

To examine the role of sex, analyses were first conducted separately for males and females but using average parental reports. Results indicated that parental gender ideology was related to the gender ideology of males but was not related to the gender ideology of female adolescents (see Table 2). In addition, for male adolescents only, there was a significant interaction between parental warmth and parental gender ideology in relation to adolescent gender ideology. As displayed by figure 1, there appeared to be no association between parent and adolescent egalitarianism when parents were very warm. In contrast, for parents who were lacking in warmth, there was a positive association between parent and adolescent egalitarianism. Considering it another way, when parents were relatively egalitarian, adolescents

had relatively high levels of egalitarianism regardless of parental warmth. However, when parents were relatively traditional, parental warmth predicted more egalitarian adolescent values.

Analyses were then conducted examining mothers and fathers separately. When male and female children were considered together, paternal egalitarianism was related to teen egalitarianism, but maternal egalitarianism was not. Finally, analyses examined male and female children as well as mothers and fathers separately. Results indicated that neither maternal nor paternal gender ideology predicted the gender ideology of female adolescents; in contrast, paternal egalitarianism was related to male gender ideology when controlling for parental warmth. Both maternal and paternal gender ideology predicted male adolescent egalitarianism when controlling for the presence or absence of authoritative parenting.

Because of the small number of adolescents in each ethnic group, I was not able to conduct regression analyses examining differences in these patterns between ethnicities. Correlations between primary variables of interest were conducted separately for European American and Hispanic American adolescents, and then were compared. The correlations between adolescent and mother reports of egalitarianism were similar, as were correlations between adolescent egalitarianism and parenting styles variables. However, there was a notable difference between European American and Hispanic American participants in terms the correlation between of adolescent and father-reported egalitarianism. For European Americans, there was a moderate (using Cohen's (1998) guidelines) correlation between adolescent and paternal ideology ($r = 0.38$). For Hispanic Americans, there was a small correlation between adolescent and paternal ideology ($r = 0.11$).

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine similarity in gender ideology between parents and their children, as well as possible moderating effects of parenting style on the intergenerational transmission (e.g. the similarity) of gender ideology from parents to children. In line with hypotheses, results suggested that adolescents report ideas about gender that are similar to the ideas about gender reported by their parents. However, there was little support for the hypothesis that children with parents who exhibit authoritative parenting styles report gender ideologies that are more similar to their parents' gender ideologies than their permissive or authoritarian counterparts. There were some suggestions that these patterns differed by both parent and child sex.

Consistent with previous literature, analyses confirmed that parent and child gender ideology were similar (Boehnke et al., 2007; Laghi et al., 2012, Jodl et al., 2001, Copen & Silverstein, 2008). This finding suggests that parental gender ideology may be one of many explanations of how children develop their own value system. This finding helps to contribute to the wealth of knowledge regarding the similarity between parents and children in the realm of values. This finding also helps to confirm social learning theory; reinforcing the idea that children are highly influenced by the observations and interactions they have with the environment (Bandura, 1971).

Although my first hypothesis was confirmed, parenting style was not consistently found to be a moderator of this similarity in gender ideology across generations. Overall, warmth was not found to be a moderator of gender ideology for either sex, but warmth was found to be a

moderator for male adolescents when examined separately. This finding may highlight the importance of sex and the differing ways in which adolescents internalize parental warmth.

There are several reasons that parenting style may not act as a moderator in the ways that were anticipated given theory and past research. First, it may be due to the age of the child at the time of assessment. Although some research suggests that adolescence is a “sensitive period” for offspring, it may be that, by the time children reach adolescence, they have already developed ideas about gender that are not as easily influenced by parenting as during childhood (Cunningham, 2001). Secondly, it may be that parental behavior is more influential for males than females. Previous research has suggested that, overall, fathers exercise more harsh punishment for boys and differentiate the treatment of their children based on their sex more so than mothers (McKee et al., 2007; Maccoby, 1998). Parental warmth, both from mothers and fathers, has been found to help buffer for the impacts of harsh punishment for boys (McKee et al., 2007). Due to the differing types of parenting for boys and girls, boys may be impacted by warmth more than girls when parents are not egalitarian (see figure 1). Although it is very speculative at this point, it is possible that, by being warm, parents communicate non-traditional gender roles to their sons. Among many other traits, traditional gender roles deem males as unemotional and stoic, while females are more emotionally expressive (Haddock et al., 2003). It is possible that, when parents are warm to their sons and promote expression of feelings, the parents may be inadvertently communicating egalitarian gender roles to their sons. This parental warmth may, in part, be encouraging these males to have a sense of freedom to be who they are in adolescence. Future research will need to replicate this pattern and do further work to help explain it. Finally, this finding may also be due to the subjective way in which parenting style was assessed in this study. If a more objective measure of parental behavior was utilized,

outcomes could have been more representative of actual parental behaviors instead of adolescent opinions of parenting.

Also, sex did not appear to play a large role in the similarities between parents and children overall, but sex specific findings suggested some ways by which transmission differed based on the sex. Although bivariate correlations suggested that adolescents were similar to both mothers and fathers, multivariate models indicated that only paternal egalitarianism was related to adolescent egalitarianism, particularly for adolescent males. This finding is consistent with some previous literature, suggesting that mothers and fathers effect the internalization of values in their children differently (Jodl et al., 2001). Analyses of the present study indicated that paternal egalitarianism was related to male gender ideology when controlling for warmth, but not for any other parent-child combination. This finding partially supports previous findings that suggested that same-sex gender dyads are more important in promoting the transmission of gender ideology (Campbell & Gilmore, 2007; Copen & Silverstein, 2008; Gniewosz & Noack, 2012), but indicates that this similarity may only be important for fathers and sons. However, ethnic differences in correlations between adolescent and paternal gender ideology suggests that the importance of fathers over mothers may be driven by the European American families in the sample.

These differences in similarity based on parent and child sex may be due to several contributing factors. First, boys may be more similar to their parents, and particularly their fathers, in terms of gender egalitarian ideals because girls may be impacted differently by other influences outside of family. For instance, research suggests that boys and girls are influenced differently by peers (Lee & Troop-Gordon, 2011). Some research even suggests that girls are more influenced by their peers than boys (Svensson, 2003). This peer influence may, in part,

account for the differences in familial impact on value development for adolescents. Secondly, fathers may be more influential than mothers due to the fact that mothers tend to be more egalitarian overall (Blair, 1998; Vanyperen & Buunk, 1991). Women who have more education and are higher class tend to be more egalitarian and have children that are more egalitarian as well (Fan & Marini, 2000; Cunningham, 2001; Snyder & Vebsquez, 1997). Considering our sample was comprised of mostly middle- to upper-middle class families, it is likely that women in this sample were more egalitarian overall. Fathers tend to vary more in terms of egalitarian ideals and, therefore, may be more influential on the development of children's ideologies. Finally, links between paternal ideology and adolescent ideology for female adolescents may be lacking because power and self-interest promote traditionalism for men and egalitarianism for women (i.e., women from traditional families who are exposed to egalitarianism outside of the home may be motivated by self-interest to become more egalitarian). Additionally, results indicated that there was less variability in the ideology of female adolescents; therefore, individual differences in female gender ideology may be harder to predict.

Limitations

A major shortcoming of this study is the limited power and small sample size. With access to only a small number of adolescents and parents, the conclusions drawn by this study need to be interpreted with caution. For instance, parenting style may operate as a moderator, but effects may be smaller than this study had power to detect. Another limitation of this study was the way in which parenting style was inferred based on measures of warmth. Warmth and hostility are components of parenting styles, but do not replace measures that specifically examine parenting style. An additional limitation of this study was the inability to add more measures examining gender ideology in order to more completely assess parent and child values.

Another caveat to this study is the lack of knowledge about the influence of siblings and birth order on the development of gender ideologies. Finally, there were also demographic limitations. The sample consisted of mainly European American families; different results may have been evident in samples with different ethnic compositions. Although there was a substantial minority of the sample that was Hispanic American, sample sizes were too small to examine effect differently based on race/ethnicity. Also, the sample was comprised of relatively wealthy and well educated individuals, raising the possibility that these findings may not generalize to other types of families.

Suggestions for Future Research

Although this study contributes to the overall knowledge of the ways in which gender ideology is transmitted from parents to children, there is still much to be explored. Future research should focus on more intricately examining the effects of parenting style on the transmission of values from parents to children. Measures that objectively examine behaviors in addition to opinions of parenting styles may lead to more accurate conclusions regarding the effects of parenting style on the intergenerational transmission of gender ideology. Also, there should be further research conducted on parental influences of male versus female adolescents' development of gender ideology. Specifically, examining the effects of each parent on boys and girls by using both subjective assessments and behavioral observations could lead to a more complete understanding of the transmission of values from generation to generation. In addition, future research should focus on exploring the effects of subjective view of closeness in the parent-child relationship. The closeness of the parent-child relationship may greatly impact the influence the parent has on the child's value development (e.g., adolescents may be more similar to the parent that they feel the most similar to). Finally, future research should consider the

effects of siblings and birth order on the development of gender ideology as well. Studying the influences of sibling dynamics as well as parental differential treatment of children might contribute to a more complete idea of the pathways in which value development occurs.

Conclusion

Overall, this study helped to solidify previous findings suggesting that parent and child gender ideology are similar. This study also helped to raise more questions regarding the ways in which this transmission occurs. Few researchers have examined the moderating effects of parenting style on the intergenerational transmission of gender ideology. Findings of this study suggest that parenting style does not consistently moderate this transmission in ways that theory would predict and that further research needs to be conducted on other potential pathways of this transmission. Analyses also suggested that the ways in which paternal and maternal transmission occur differ, and that, potentially, fathers may be more influential on the development of their children's values than mothers, particularly for male adolescents. Additional research should be conducted to further examine sex differences in the transmission of gender ideology.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for and Correlations Between Main Variables of Interest

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Teen Egalitarian Gender Ideology	X											
2. Parental Egalitarian Gender Ideology	.455**	X										
3. Parental Warmth (Continuous)	.136	-.015	X									
4. Authoritative Parenting ^a	.177	.084	.420**	X								
5. Maternal Egalitarianism	.425**	.801**	.119	.095	X							
6. Paternal Egalitarianism	.322*	.800**	-.071	.013	.156	X						
7. Maternal Warmth	.068	-.060	.849**	.368**	.006	-.053	X					
8. Paternal Warmth	.158	.048	.842**	.309*	.217	-.069	.422**	X				
9. Maternal Authoritative Parenting ^a	.000	-.005	.368**	.739**	-.043	.055	.432**	.165	X			
10. Paternal Authoritative Parenting ^a	.091	.048	.411**	.664**	-.017	.042	.195	.510**	.491**	X		
11. Teen Sex ^b	.394**	.102	.008	.199	.240*	-.060	-.014	.031	.071	.167	X	

12. Income	-.077	-.049	.199	.159	-.052	.038	.135	.205	.079	.228	-.108	X
<i>M</i> ^c	.569	3.829	-.001	.243	3.661	3.770	.4038	15.24	.329	.294	1.500	135615.94
<i>SD</i>	.063	.328	.844	.432	.376	.424	.168	1.000	.473	.460	.503	120545.94

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ ^a 1 = authoritative parenting; 0 = non-authoritative parenting. ^b 1 = male; 2 = female. ^c *M* and *SD* are presented before standardizing, but the standardized variables were used in analyses.

Table 2

Parental Warmth as a Moderator of the links between Parental Egalitarianism and Teen Egalitarianism

	Overall		Males		Females	
	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>
	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>
<i>Average Parental Characteristics^a</i>						
Parental Egalitarian Gender Ideology	.075(.021)**	.078(.021)***	.125(.029)***	.142(.028)***	-.003(.022)	-.001(.022)
Parental Warmth (continuous)	.011(.021)	.012(.008)	.025(.013)	.027(.012)*	.006(.007)	.004(.007)
Teen Sex ^b	.050(.014)**	.052(.014)***	----	----	----	----
Family Income	.001(.001)	.001(.001)	-.001(.001)	.001(.001)	.001(.001)	.001(.001)
Warmth x Gender Ideology	----	-.031(.030)	----	-.090(.038)*	----	.037(.031)
R^2	.373	.385	.422	.518	.039	.098
<i>Considering Parents Separately</i>						
Maternal Egalitarian Gender	.034(.025)	.035(.025)	.053(.031)	.056(.031)	-.025(.040)	-.040(.039)

Ideology						
Paternal Egalitarian Gender	.054(.019)**	.058(.020)**	.089(.026)**	.096(.027)**	.011(.022)	.008(.021)
Ideology						
Maternal Warmth	.015(.010)	.018(.011)	.035(.018)	.022(.022)	.002(.009)	-.018(.016)
Paternal Warmth	-.002(.010)	-.004(.010)	-.003(.014)	.001(.015)	.008(.013)	.023(.015)
Teen Sex	.067(.018)**	.069(.018)**	----	----	----	----
Family Income	.001(.001)	.001(.001)	-.001(.001)	.001(.001)	.001(.001)	-.001(.001)
Maternal Warmth x Gender	----	-.026(.026)	----	-.053(.053)	----	.059(.038)
Ideology ^c						
Paternal Warmth x Gender	----	-.010(.022)	----	-.008(.035)	----	-.010(.024)
Ideology ^c						
R^2	.464	.479	.543	.568	.067	.220

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ ^a The average of both mothers' and fathers' characteristics (e.g., egalitarian gender ideology is the average of both maternal and paternal reports). ^b 1 = male; 2 = female ^c Interactions were tested in separate models but presented together here for efficiency; main effects were similar in both models.

Table 3

Authoritative Parenting as a Moderator of the links between Parental Egalitarianism and Teen Egalitarianism

	Overall		Males		Females	
	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>
	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>	<u>b(SE)</u>
<i>Average Parenting^a</i>						
Parental Egalitarian Gender Ideology	.073(.021)**	.081(.025)**	.114(.031)**	.117(.034)**	.002(.021)	-.016(.029)
Authoritative parenting ^a	.023(.016)	.023(.016)	.017(.029)	.017(.030)	.019(.013)	.019(.013)
Teen Sex ^c	.046(.014)**	.045(.014)**	----	----	----	----
Family Income	-.001(.001)	.001(.001)	-.001(.001)	-.001(.001)	.001(.001)	.001(.001)
Authoritative Parenting x Gender Ideology	----	-.030(.047)	----	-.015(.084)	----	.036(.043)
R^2	.372	.377	.352	.353	.104	.133
<i>Considering Parents Separately</i>						
Maternal Egalitarian Gender Ideology	.045(.024)	.050(.032)	.087(.033)*	.074(.044)	-.017(.031)	-.031(.041)

Paternal Egalitarian Gender Ideology	.055(.019)**	.055(.019)**	.092(.025)**	.094(.026)**	.006(.021)	.001(.024)
Maternal Authoritative Parenting	.006(.020)	.005(.020)	.011(.026)	.016(.029)	-.013(.025)	-.013(.026)
Paternal Authoritative Parenting	.009(.021)	.010(.022)	.039(.031)	.036(.032)	.028(.027)	.025(.028)
Teen Sex ^c	.065(.018)**	.064(.019)**	----	----	----	----
Family Income	.001(.001)	.001(.001)	.001(.001)	-.001(.001)	-.001(.001)	-.001(.001)
Maternal Authoritative Parenting x Gender Ideology ^c	----	-.010(.049)	----	.028(.066)	----	.036(.064)
Paternal Authoritative Parenting x Gender Ideology ^c	----	.028(.044)	----	.113(.066)	----	.016(.045)
R^2	.481	.482	.590	.594	.091	.114

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ ^a The average of both mothers' and fathers' characteristics (e.g., egalitarian gender ideology is the average of both maternal and paternal reports). ^b Authoritative parenting = 1; non-authoritative parenting = 0. ^c 1 = male; 2 = female. ^c Interactions were tested in separate models but presented together here for efficiency; main effects were similar in both models.

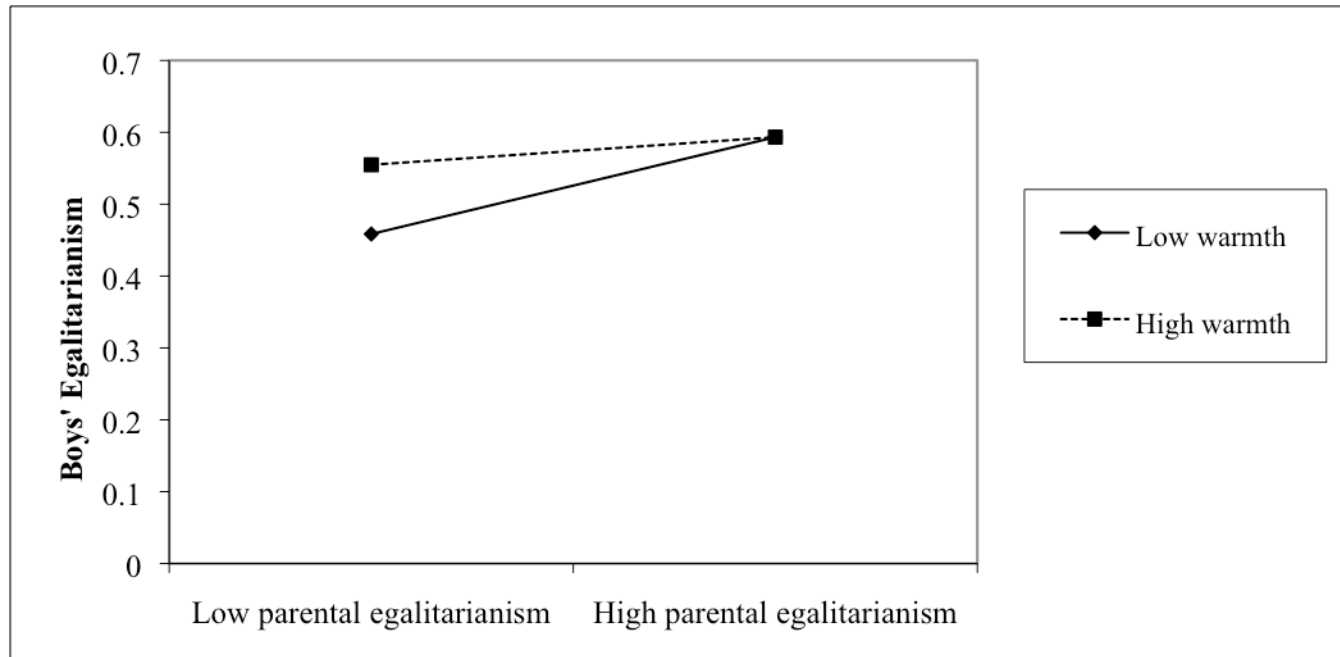


Figure 1. Links Between Parental Egalitarianism and Egalitarianism for Male Adolescents as Moderated by Parental Warmth

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Appendix A

Gender Ideology Scale

This next section is about what men and women do. There are no right or wrong answers; please circle the answer that best represents how you feel.

1. A wife who carries out her full family responsibilities doesn't have time for outside employment.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

3. Both the husband and wife should contribute to family income.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

4. A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

5. A wife's most important task is caring for children.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

6. Husbands should earn higher pay than wives.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

8. Working mothers can have just as warm and good of a relationship with their children as mothers who do not work.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

10. Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

11. It is all right for a woman to supervise the work of men.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

13. Men and women should have an equal chance for any job.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

19. Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

20. Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

21. Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men.

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

22. *It is all right for a married woman to earn money if she has a husband capable of supporting her.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

23. *Women should be allowed to be pastors, ministers, priests or rabbis.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

24. *I would vote for a woman nominated by my party for President, if she were qualified for the job (and I could vote).*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

25. *Regardless of who earns more money, husbands and wives should make decisions about the family together.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

27. *It's important for a husband to listen to the opinions and feelings of his wife, even if she doesn't work outside the home.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

28. *Whether or not she has a job, taking care of the housework should really be the wife's responsibility.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

32. *Men cannot respect a fiancée who has had sex.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

29. *Willingness to do household chores is an important quality of a good husband.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

30. *Some work is women's work, and some is men's.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

31. *It is not good if the man stays at home and cares for the children and the woman goes out to work.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

33. *Husbands should have the main say in marriage.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree

34. *A real man is a good father.*

Strongly disagree Disagree a little Neutral Agree a little Strongly agree