THESIS

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF GENDER IDEOLOGY: THE UNIQUE

ASSOCIATIONS OF PARENTAL GENDER IDEOLOGY AND GENDERED BEHAVIOR

WITH ADOLESCENTS' GENDER BELIEFS

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

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Parents' modeled behavior of shared or non-egalitarian division of labor does not always reflect their gender ideology. I examined whether parents' modeled behavior or their own gender ideology was a better predictor of adolescents' egalitarian or non-egalitarian gender beliefs. Parents and their adolescent children were assessed in terms of gender ideology and perceptions of parent marital equality. Bivariate correlations showed that parent gender ideology was a significant predictor of adolescent gender ideology but parent marital equality behavior was not. Furthermore, in multivariate regression analyses, there were interactions between parent gender ideology and adolescent sex: parent gender ideology was significantly associated with gender ideology for male adolescents but was not significantly associated with gender ideology for female adolescents. Implications, limitations, and directions for future research are discussed.

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Introduction

Parents play a pivotal role in the development of their children's gender ideology (Carlson & Knoester, 2011), defined as the ideas individuals endorse about the roles men and women should hold in the family, as well as the value individuals place on gender equity in society (Davis & Willis, 2010). Previous research (Carlson & Knoester, 2011; Davis & Wills, 2010; Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Odenweller, Rittenour, Myers, & Brann, 2013; Rollins and White, 1982) has examined associations between parents' gendered behavior and parent ideology with their children's beliefs, noting that parental socialization typically results in parent and child beliefs that are similar (e.g., Carlson & Knoester, 2011). Both observational learning (Cunningham, 2001) and early conversations about gender (Odenweller et al., 2013) are instrumental in the creation of children's beliefs about gender. Dissimilarities in parental beliefs and behaviors about gender are not often considered, which implies a belief that parents' beliefs and their lived practices are correlated or directly related to each other. However, parents' ideas about gender often do not match the roles, or gendered behavior, that they enact at home (Perry-Jenkins & Crouter, 1990; Usdansky, 2011). Therefore, it is not yet known what elements of children's socialization lead them to adopt similar ideologies to their parents'. In other words, when parents say "Do as I say, not as I do," are their children listening—or watching? Understanding how and what children internalize regarding parents' messages about gender is especially important, as the values that parents wish to pass to their children may not match their actual lived experiences due to societal constructs and limitations that will be discussed in later sections. In this thesis, I will examine the ways in which gender ideology is transmitted intergenerationally; more specifically, I will examine whether parents' gender

ideology (e.g., beliefs in egalitarianism or non-egalitarianism) or parents' gendered behavior at home (i.e., the tendency of behaving more egalitarian or non-egalitarian in their division of labor) is more predictive of their children's gender ideologies in adolescence.

Discrepancies in Gender Ideology and Behavior

Parents' gendered behavior is not always congruent with their values (Usdansky, 2011). In their roles inside and/or outside the home, parents may wish to be more non-egalitarian, or "traditional", with primary breadwinner/homemaker roles between spouses (Deutsch & Saxon, 1999), or egalitarian, with flexible gender roles and a shared division of housework and participation in the labor force between two partners (Schwartz, 1995).

Because it is impossible to detail every scenario in which someone may live a different gendered role than their values reflect, I will discuss situations where this could be the case, and likely contributors to the following situations; though it should be noted that this cannot be a comprehensive list, it is reflective of the literature. One situation where gendered behavior would not be an accurate manifestation of gendered beliefs would be someone living an egalitarian lifestyle with their partner, though their beliefs align more with non-egalitarian roles. Non-egalitarian gender beliefs are more likely to be held in lower-income families (Bartlett, Shafer, & Seipel, 2013; Deutsch & Saxon, 1998). Though this difference is small, it is consistent across studies (Usdansky, 2011). Lower levels of education mediate this relationship, as those who do not pursue higher education are less likely to have egalitarian beliefs and less likely to have a high-earning job (Bartlett et al., 2013). Financial strain that comes with working class jobs (in which workers tend to have lower levels of education) makes it necessary for both parents to work outside of the home, sometimes splitting shifts to avoid the associated costs of extra childcare (Usdansky, 2011). With more working-class families splitting-shifts or opting to have

women work outside the home despite preferences, these families are participating in what Usdansky (2011) calls *Lived Egalitarianism*. In these circumstances, despite cognitive desires for traditionalism, parents still share responsibilities including participating in the workforce and handling domestic responsibilities and childcare. Ironically, despite the association between education and egalitarian beliefs, according to a relatively recent nationally representative survey, couples who are the most shared in their division of labor tend to be the least educated and make the least amount of money (Hall & MacDermid, 2009). In contrast, much research of the 1990s suggests that highly educated couples were more likely to have "peer-like" marriages where true division of labor was present (Deutsch, 1999; Risman & Johnson-Sumerford, 1998). This pattern suggests a recent shift in the last 20 years of the type of families that may be able to live truly egalitarian. However, it is also important to note that dual-earner families with non-egalitarian views may still find ways to divide domestic labor tasks based on gender (i.e., more traditionally), and as a result, lessen their marital conflict (Perry-Jenkins & Folk, 1994).

On the reverse, parents who wish to have more equal roles may still have non-egalitarian behaviors around domestic labor. Though gender ideology of men and women predicts the amount of housework a woman performs in a marriage, neither's ideology affects the amount of housework a man performs in marriage (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000). Furthermore, gender ideology does not predict the amount of time spent parenting for White and Hispanic men and women, nor the time dedicated to careers for white women (Franco, Sabattini, & Crosby, 2004). These findings indicate that individuals who have egalitarian ideologies may not differ significantly in their behavior from non-egalitarian individuals.

Many factors contribute to this pattern. Institutional practices such as parental leave make it difficult for U.S. parents to equally divide parenting time. Although parents are allowed 12

weeks' time off in the US, employees must work for a company who grants family leave and qualify for such leave (Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, 2006). Furthermore, the time off must be consecutive, and only a small fraction of states mandate any employer compensation during parental leave (Ray, 2008). Many households are financially unable to allow one parent to take a full 12 weeks off after the birth of a child; even fewer can afford to have both parents take extended unpaid leaves. To further illustrate this point, nearly 78% of employees who needed to take leave from work but did not do so state that not being able to afford unpaid leave was the biggest concern (US Labor Department, 2000). Without required paid leave policies, it is economically sensible for the father to remain working immediately after the birth of a child, as fathers typically earn higher wages than mothers, and losing their portion of the family income poses more financial hardship (Ray, Gornick, & Schmitt, 2009).

Having fathers work full time or even take on more hours may be necessary due to the wage penalty associated with motherhood. Mothers earn less income than non-mothers due to a variety of reasons including taking a break from employment or moving to part-time hours, difficulty reentering the workforce due to a perceived lack of experience that accrues from time off, trading pay benefits for a flexible job, or discrimination from hiring personnel (Budig & England, 2001). When women are paid less, it is more reasonable for them to be the full-time, part-time, or emergency-caretakers of their children, thereby adhering to the traditional caretaker role. Beyond financial matters, women may choose to take more parental leave than fathers to avoid distress. Although both men and women in dual-earner homes feel they do not have enough time for their spouse and children, women's psychological well-being is more dramatically reduced than fathers' when they feel they are not meeting the time demands of their family (Nomaguchi, Milkie, & Bianchi, 2005). Thus, even if parents are egalitarian, rigid

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parental leave policies in the Unites States may make it financially impossible for parents to both

take extended and equal leave from work. Societal norms further affect families' and employers'

decisions (Budig, Misra & Boeckmann, 2012), and impact the level of distress women in

particular may face when returning to work.

Although it may be more financially and emotionally practical for mothers to choose to

stay at home longer with infants, this early action sets the stage for long-lasting non-egalitarian

behavior patterns. Once children are born, parents tend to adopt more gender-typical roles

(Machung, 1989; Gangl & Ziefle, 2009). Furthermore, whereas fathers will explore job growth

and promotions, mothers may be less willing to do this if it involves working further from the

home; additional responsibilities that suggest greater loyalty to family than productivity, such as

taking time off work for childcare, socially falls on mothers and may further stagnate women's

wages and propagate workplace discrimination (Gangl & Ziefle, 2009; Nomaguchi et al., 2005).

Thus, although fully egalitarian marriages early in adults' parenting years may be difficult, there

are subsequent ripple effects that last much longer.

Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Ideology

There is much evidence of the relationship between parents' and children's gender

ideologies. After sex and education (women and more highly-educated people tend to have more

egalitarian beliefs), the best predictor of children's gender ideology is that of their parents

(Carlson & Knoester, 2011). Children receive gendered socialization from both parents.

Egalitarian mothers raise more egalitarian children (Davis and Wills, 2010), and when fathers are

more involved in childcare, children are likely to favor egalitarian domestic roles (Williams,

Radin, & Allegro, 1992). In addition, daughters are more likely to have an equal division of

housework in adulthood when their mothers are employed during their daughter's younger

childhood years, and sons are more likely to participate in household work later when they grow up in a household with equal shares of work (Cunningham, 2001).

Although studies have shown the importance of parental gender ideologies (Carlson & Knoester, 2011; Davis & Wills, 2010) as well as parental gendered behavior (Halpern & Perry-Jenkins, 2015; Williams, Radin, & Allegro, 1992; Serbin et al., 1993) for youth gender ideology, little research has examined both ideology and behavior as unique contributors. Of older research that does examine both ideology and behavioral indicators, only maternal influence on daughters was the focus; however, these researchers concluded that ideology is more impactful than behavior (Moen, Erickson, Dempster-McClain, 1997; Rollins & White, 1982).

Because parents' beliefs and behaviors about gender are frequently inconsistent, it is important to understand the nuances and implications each form of that gender socialization in the home has on children. Odenweller and colleagues (2013) state that family communication is children's first medium through which they learn about gender, and found that conversation and open dialogue between fathers and sons relates to shared gender ideology. Furthermore, Epstein and Ward (2011) found that increased exposure to egalitarian or non-egalitarian messages, via direct or implicit conversation, was related to their beliefs about gender. However, research on gender socialization through direct communication is relatively sparse (Epstein & Ward, 2011). Many researchers use Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), which emphasizes the importance of behavioral modeling and observational learning, to frame their research. Indeed, observational learning is an important mechanism that explains socialization (Davis & Wills, 2010), and parent behavior modeling is an important aspect of gender socialization (Cunningham, 2001; Fan & Marini, 2000).

Researchers often choose specific language in their research that suggests the presence of different methods of socialization, but do not elaborate on the specialized roles, or specifically test different possibilities by simultaneously examining both modeled behavior and parent ideology. For instance, Davis and Wills (2010) begin addressing the issue of agreement in behavior and beliefs as they state that when mothers are employed, they "might have or develop a less traditional ideology about gender, which they transmit to their children during socialization—be it through modeling egalitarian behavior or expressing such beliefs" (p. 583); however, they do not discuss what happens when ideology is inconsistent with lived behavior.

It is important to understand how these parental inconsistencies predict children's beliefs about gendered behavior. Cunningham (2001) does address both parent attributes, stating that "parents' behaviors *and* attitudes during an individual's childhood" may impact the way children later show gender (p. 185). However, Cunningham (2001) looked at the way these parental variables affect children's *behaviors* (e.g. division of labor), whereas this thesis is specifically focused on the way that they affect children's *ideologies*. Nonetheless, Cunningham's study found support for the role of both parental ideology and of behavior modeling in children's later division of labor. Parent behaviors, specifically shared division of domestic and workforce labor early in their children's life, predicted sons' participation in household labor as adults, and daughter's shared division of housework as adults, respectively. Cunningham (2001) also found that mothers' gender role attitudes (fathers' gender role attitudes were not assessed) during children's adolescence were significantly associated with their son's division of household labor as adults, so that more egalitarian maternal beliefs predicted a more egalitarian division of labor in their son's adulthood. Furthermore, it appears that maternal ideology was more predictive of later division of labor than the parents' own division of labor early in life.

Only one known study examined both parents' gendered ideas and behaviors as separate and specific constructs in relation to children's gender ideology. In a longitudinal study investigating parents and their children in the first year of life, and then again when the children were six, Halpern and Perry-Jenkins (2015) found initial data that suggests children's beliefs about gender are more closely related to behaviors of their parents, particularly the mothers', than to ideologies of either parent. Measures of children's ideologies were related to both parents' early behavior and maternal concurrent behavior. Measurements of both sons and daughters' ideology were only related to their same sex parent's ideology, and only as they pertained to the children's' stereotypes of girls, concluding that parents' behavior overall is slightly more correlated with 6-year-olds' ideology than are parent beliefs (Halpern & Perry-Jenkins, 2015).

Although Halpern and Perry-Jenkins sought new and important information concerning the transmission of gender ideology, their information is limited to young children. To meet respective developmental needs, measures of gender ideology and gender knowledge are different for children and adolescents. Furthermore, adolescents have display different views of gender and gender roles than children (Martin & Ruble, 2004; Serbin, Powlishta, & Gulko, 1993). Thus, it may not be appropriate or correct to apply findings from research on children's socialization to adolescents.

In the current study, I investigated adolescents' gender ideology. Adolescents are more apt than young children to pick up complexities and nuances of communication and observed actions (Cunningham, 2001). Therefore, it is possible that relative to children, adolescents tune in to their parents' ideologies more than parents' behaviors to form their own beliefs around gender. This age group is particularly important to study when it comes to gender ideologies as

adolescent socialization can have impacts on later career and educational attainment as well as sexual health (Lawson, Crouter, & McHale, 2015; Kågesten, Gibbs, Blum, Moreau, Chandra-Mouli, Herbert, et al., 2016).

Intergenerational Transmission of Non-Gendered Ideology

Although there is limited evidence of the unique contribution of parents' ideas and behaviors specifically to the development of gender ideology, studies examining the intergenerational transmission of ideologies about topics other than gender have produced mixed results about the importance of parental ideas and behaviors. These studies have focused on the transmission of ideas and behavior around religion. For instance, maternal church attendance has a moderately strong relationship with adolescent church attendance, and is more strongly related to adolescent church attendance than is maternal religious ideology (Pearce & Thornton, 2007). Additionally, a mother's church attendance is a better predictor of her child's placed importance on religion than her religious affiliation alone (Pearce & Thornton, 2007). This pattern suggests that seeing parents model a behavior is more predictive of a child's ideology, or at least perceived importance of religion. However, this latter comparison does not account for mediating effects of the child's church attendance which is highly related to mothers' attendance, nor does it account for congruence in mother's placed importance on religion and church attendance.

Additionally, it appears that parents' religious behavior such as talking about religion and living to religious ideals has a larger influence than parents' church attendance on whether adolescents approve of the religion. For instance, mother's church attendance is not significantly associated with her children's approval of the religion; however, her frequency in talking with her children about religion does yield a small, yet significant relationship with child's approval

of the religion, and is the highest predictor of a child's approval of religion (Hoge & Petrillo, 1978).

Furthermore, it appears that adolescents are watching their parents' actions beyond church, as tenth graders' belief that both mothers and fathers carry their religious beliefs over into other parts of their lives are the next highest predictor of child religious approval (Hoge & Petrillo, 1978). Although children's church attendance is less related to these measures than to their parents' behavior of church attendance, it could be reasonably assumed that church attendance can be enforced, whereas children's reported approval of religion is likely a better measure of their overall religious ideology.

Other Contributors to Gender Ideology

Beyond parental influences, people espouse gender ideologies in ways that are predicted from other variables as well. Past research on these characteristics is reviewed briefly here to support the inclusion of these characteristics as control variables. Demographics such as education, ethnicity, and sex are related to gendered beliefs. As stated previously, amount of education is related to gender ideology so that higher education is correlated with higher reports of egalitarianism (Bartlett et al., 2013). This pattern is true for one's own education, along with parental education (Fan & Marini, 2000). Sex is also predictive of one's gender ideology, with women tending to agree more with egalitarian beliefs and behaviors than men (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Fan & Marini, 2000). Ethnicity and religion are also predictive of gender ideology, so that African Americans tend to have have more egalitarian views than Whites, and Hispanics exhibit the least egalitarian views out of the three ethnicities (Fan & Marini, 2000, see Davis & Greenstein, 2009 for a review), and religious beliefs are associated with stronger non-egalitrain beliefs (Davis & Greensein, 2009).

In addition, maternal employment is related to more egalitarian child views relative to no maternal employment, not controlling for maternal gender ideology (see Davis & Greenstein, 2009 for a review; Fan & Marini, 2000); similarly, women's employment is related to their own development of a more egalitarian gender ideology (Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Davis & Wills, 2010; Fan & Marini, 2000). Furthermore, entry into marriage and parenthood may result in less egalitarian views for some women, but not all (Fan & Marini). For instance, women who marry later in life are less likely to experience this shift, likely because they are more set in egalitarian ways (Fan & Marini). This shift could be a result of the cognitive dissonance of having egalitarian beliefs but adopting the long-lasting non-egalitarian scripts of society (Davis & Greenstein, 2009). However, it is not likely that adolescents will have been married, had children, or had significant experiences in the work force. Therefore, our analyses will control for ethnicity, gender, religion, and maternal employment when analyzing the effects of parents' ideologies and modeled behaviors on adolescent gender ideologies.

The Current Study

This study aims to understand and compare the specific relationships between both parental gendered behavior and parental gendered beliefs with adolescent gender ideology. To my knowledge, the respective association between these two parental characteristics, when controlled for each other, and adolescent beliefs is unknown. Based previous research by Cunningham (2001), Moen, Erickson, and Dempster-McClain (1997) and Rollins and White (1982), I expected to find stronger associations between parental ideology and children's ideology than between parental behavior and children's ideology.

Method

Participants

Participants were taken from the Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development, a 15-year nationally representative, longitudinal study conducted by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). The NICHD recruited participants from hospitals in 10 different sites to follow their families from the birth of a child through 15 years (see sample details in NICHD ECCRN, 2001) to longitudinally examine developmental correlates of type, quantity, and quality of child-care. However, this study only used data from the Irvine, CA site taken during the fourth phase of the study in 2006 when the children were 15-years-old.

Families that were included in this study had to meet the requirements of having a 15-year-old child and biological mother, as well as a father figure. Both parents and adolescents were surveyed from 101 families that are ethnically and economically representative of the Southern California area. Participants identified as 68% European American, 18% Hispanic American, and 12% other or non-identified, with the majority coming from middle to upper-middle class families. Out of the 101 families surveyed, 82 met the requirements of family composition and answered enough of the items to be included in our study. There was an equal distribution of families with sons and daughters that were sampled.

Of the mothers included in our data, 24.4% were not employed, 33.4% were employed between 8-36 hours per week, 25.6% were employed 40 hours per week, and 16.7% were employed between 42-70 hours per week.

Fathers, on average, reported working for pay more than mothers: 1.5% were not employed, 13.5% were employed 8-35 hours per week, 34.3% were employed 40 hours per

week, 41.8% were employed between 45-60 hours per week, and 8% were employed 65-80 hours per week.

Procedure

All participants were given questionnaires in paper format. Parents completed questionnaires during a home visit, whereas adolescents completed these questionnaires at the end of a laboratory visit.

Measures

Gender ideology. Both parents and their adolescent children were asked questions to assess their gender ideology using the Gender Ideology Scale (Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012). Within the Gender Ideology Scale are individual items previously used in national scales including the National Longitudinal Study of Youth, the National Survey of Families and Households, the International Social Survey Programme, and the General Social Surveys, as well as items used in research by Blankenhorn (1995), Ferree (1991), Glass et al. (1986), Moen et al. (1997), and Wilkie et al. (1998) (Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012). This scale is a 35-item self-report scale that measures participants' opinions about domestic roles *("*Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men"), outside employment ("A wife who carries out her full family responsibilities doesn't have time for outside employment"), division of labor ("A husband whose wife is working full-time should spend just as many hours doing housework as his wife"), decision-making ("Husbands should have the main say in marriage,"), parenting ("Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons"), and political and religious involvement ("Women should be allowed to be pastors, ministers, priests or rabbis*), (*Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012; Lucas-Thompson & Goldberg, 2014). Questions are ranked on a Likert scale (1=*Strongly Disagree* to 5=*Strongly Agree*). Mean scores were calculated after reverse scoring

appropriate items so that higher scores on all items equate to more-egalitarian beliefs. Previous research has shown evidence for moderate to strong internal consistency using Cronbach's alpha (α= .72, α= .82) (Wenzel & Lucas-Thompson, 2012; Lucas-Thompson & Goldberg, 2014, respectively). Mean scores were created separate for each individual parent, as well as for the adolescent. One item was excluded from the mean scores for each family member, "*Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay*," as this item was not clearly egalitarian nor non-egalitarian. Cronbach's alpha scores were consistent with previous studies for fathers, mothers, and adolescents (α= .82, α= .75 α= .82 respectively).

Marital equality. Parents' gendered behavior was assessed using the Marital Equality Scale (Lucas-Thompson & Goldberg, unpublished manuscript). The Marital Equality Scale is a 5-point Likert-type scale assessment that assesses for equality in division of domestic labor of both traditionally feminine (e.g., laundry/ironing clothes, meal preparation) and traditionally masculine (e.g., yardwork, doing house repairs) tasks. Parents answered questions on their perceived levels of equity and division in these tasks, with item anchors ranging from "I do it all" to "My partner does it all." Responses were coded and reverse scored as necessary by sex so that low scores denote less egalitarian responses. A mean score was created for each family that takes into account both parents' responses. Cronbach's alpha found moderate internal consistency for mean marital equality (α= .62).

Demographic characteristics

Other demographic information including age, sex, family income, ethnicity, religious affiliation and participation were also collected from parents and adolescents by participant written response. Religious participation was more thoroughly questioned with five 5-point Likert-type

questions that ask about importance of religion in daily life and in making decisions as well as frequency in prayer and religious service attendance. A mean sum was created for family religiosity.

Data Analysis

Because of the possibility that parents might overestimate their own and underestimate their partners' contributions, I first compared parent reports of marital equality to adolescent reports of marital equality to examine the validity of mother and father reports. Next, I examined bivariate correlations between marital equality and parent gender ideology, including both overall equality and individual marital equality items to better understand if there were patterns of specific behaviors that tended to be more or less related to parent gender ideology. Next, using regression analysis I tested the primary hypothesis that parent gender ideology would have a larger main effect than parent gender behavior on adolescent gender beliefs. These analyses included adolescent sex, religiosity, and hours mothers worked per week as control variables.

Finally, because of evidence from past research that effects of gender socialization may vary based on parent and adolescent sex (see Kågesten, et al., 2016 for a review), I also examined if adolescent sex influences the association between parents' gender ideology and gendered behavior with adolescent gender ideology. To do so, multiplicative interactions were calculated for adolescent sex and the three parental characteristics: maternal ideology, paternal ideology, and marital equality, after centering parental characteristics around the mean. Another set of regression analyses were conducted to separately test each of these interaction terms, controlling for the main effects.

Because data had already been collected, a post-hoc power analysis was conducted using G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) and is as follows: power for small

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effects=.12, moderate=.71, large=.99. In other words, I had limited power to detect small effects but adequate to excellent power to detect moderate and large effects.

How do family members align in reports of marital equality?

Overall, there were strong associations between mother, father, and adolescent reports of marital equality (see Table 1). Because mother and father reports of martial equality on average were strongly correlated, and in general were not discrepant with adolescent reports, it appeared that neither parent had strong misperceptions about shared behavior nor grossly misreported the amount of help they or their partner contributed. Items with the lowest levels of agreement (e.g., car labor and house repairs) were still moderately correlated. This pattern gave me confidence to use the mean parent report on the Marital Equality Scale in further analyses as an appropriate measure of marital equality.

Table 1
Bivariate Correlations among Adolescent Perceptions of Marital Equality, Mother Perceptions of Marital Equality, and Father Perceptions of Marital Equality at the itemized level

	Teen and Father Correlation	Teen and Mother Correlation	Mother and Father Agreement
Marital Equality			
1. Meal Preparation	.65***	.69***	.80***
2. Grocery shopping	.74***	.74***	.82***
3. Dishes	.45***	.60***	.71***
4. Car Labor	.30*	.27*	.33**
5. Laundry	.33**	.57***	.61***
6. Yardwork	.67***	.65***	.66***
7. House Cleaning	.47***	.26*	.49***
8. House Repairs	.29*	.21+	.46***
9. Bills	.52***	.56***	.85***

10. Mean Marital Equality	.53***	.62***	.70***

$+ p < .10$ $*p < .05$ $**p < .01$ $***p < .001$

How does parent gendered behavior relate to parent gender ideology?

Overall marital equality (averaged across mothers and fathers) was significantly related to mothers' gender ideology and was related at a trend-level to fathers' gender ideology, with egalitarian parents reporting more shared behaviors around the home (see Table 2). Similarly, fathers' gender ideology was marginally associated with their own reports of gendered behavior, and mothers' gender ideology was significantly related to their own reports of gendered behavior, with reports of shared behavior relating to more egalitarian beliefs. At a behavior-specific level, fathers' reports of doing more dishes and more house cleaning were related mothers' egalitarian beliefs and fathers' reports of doing more car labor was related to their own non-egalitarian beliefs. In contrast, mother reports of shared behavior on specific tasks were not related to mothers' or fathers' gender ideology.

Table 2
Bivariate Correlations among Marital Equality items, Mothers' Gender Ideology, and Father's Gender Ideology.

	Father Gender Ideology	Mother Gender Ideology
Marital Equality		
1. Meal Preparation		
a. Father report	.07	.13
b. Mother report	-.01	.13
2. Grocery shopping		
a. Father report	-.03	.07
b. Mother report	-.06	-.02

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3. Dishes
   a. Father report   -.04   .33**
   b. Mother report   -.08   .22+

4. Car Labor
   a. Father report   .28*   .16
   b. Mother report   .17   -.03

5. Laundry
   a. Father report   .06   .15
   b. Mother report   .002   .42

6. Yardwork
   a. Father report   .15   -.03
   b. Mother report   .14   .16

7. House Cleaning
   a. Father report   .15   .32*
   b. Mother report   -.05   .19

8. House Repairs
   a. Father report   -.01   .08
   b. Mother report   .16   .08

9. Bills
   a. Father report   .13   -.06
   b. Mother report   .18   .001

10. Mean Marital   .22+   .25*
    Equality Score
    (total)
    a. Father   .22+   .27*
       average   .14   .20
    b. Mother
       average

$+ p < .10$ $*p < .05$ $**p < .01$ $***p < .001$

How are adolescent and parent gender ideology related to each other and to marital equality, mothers' employment, race, and religion?

At the bivariate level, adolescent gender ideology was positively correlated with both mother and father gender ideology (see Table 3), but not significantly correlated with marital equality. There is also a significant association between mother and father gender ideology,

suggesting that parents tend to be like-minded in gender ideology. Furthermore, there was also a difference in maternal gender ideology based on adolescent sex, such that mothers of female adolescents were more likely to be egalitarian than mothers of male adolescents. Adolescent sex did not appear to be related to father gender ideology. In addition, female adolescents reported significantly more-egalitarian beliefs than male adolescents.

In addition, the number of hours per week mothers work was significantly related to adolescent and father ideology. Family religiosity also was significantly correlated with mother and father gender ideology and trending with adolescent gender ideology, so that as one identifies as more religious, they report less egalitarian beliefs around gender ((see Table 3).

Table 3

Bivariate Correlations among Adolescent Gender Ideology, Parent Gender Ideology, Mean Parental Marital Equality, and control variables.

	2.	3.	4.	5	6	7	8
1. Adolescent Gender Ideology	.47***	.34**	.14	.42***	-.18+	.31**	-.03
2. Mother Gender Ideology	X	.39**	.25*	.35**	-.24*	.21	-.05
3. Father Gender Ideology		X	.22+	.06	-.34**	.32*	-.04
4. Mean Marital Equality			X	-.15	-.13	.18	.06
5. Adolescent Sex[a]				X	.07	.06	.08
6. Family Religiosity					X	-.01	-.15
7. Mother Hours Worked						X	.02
8. White/Non-White[b]							X

+ *p* < .10 *p* < .05 **p* < .01 ***p* < .001
a: 1=male adolescent 2=female adolescent
b: 1=white 2=non-white

Is parent ideology or parent behavior more strongly related to adolescent gender ideology?

The results of the multiple regression analysis indicated that adolescent sex accounted for 21% of variance in gender ideology among adolescents (see Table 4). Neither mother nor father gender ideology, nor parent gendered behavior, significantly accounted for variance in adolescent gender ideology; however, semi-partial correlations linking parent ideology and marital equality to adolescent ideology were similar and small to moderate in size.

Table 4
Regressions Predicting Adolescent Gender Ideology based on Marital Equality and Parent Gender Ideology

	Adolescent Ideology	
	b(SE)	r_{sp}
Father Ideology	.18(.12)	.22
Mother Ideology	.25(.16)	.23
Marital Equality	.26(.18)	.21
Adolescent Sex	.49(.14)***	.46
Family Religiosity	-.08(.08)	-.15
Mother Hrs. worked	.01(.01)	.18
R^2	.507	

+p<.10 *p < .05   **p < .01   ***p < .001

Does adolescent sex moderate the relationship between adolescent and parent gender ideology?

There were significant interactions between adolescent sex and maternal gender ideology, $b = -.64$, $SE = .29$, $p = .03$, as well as between adolescent sex and paternal gender ideology, $b = -.49$, SE = .2, $p=.03$. For females, there were no significant associations between adolescent ideology and maternal (see Figure 1) or paternal (see Figure 2) gender ideology. However, for male adolescents, their gender ideology was significantly positively correlated to maternal and paternal gender ideology.
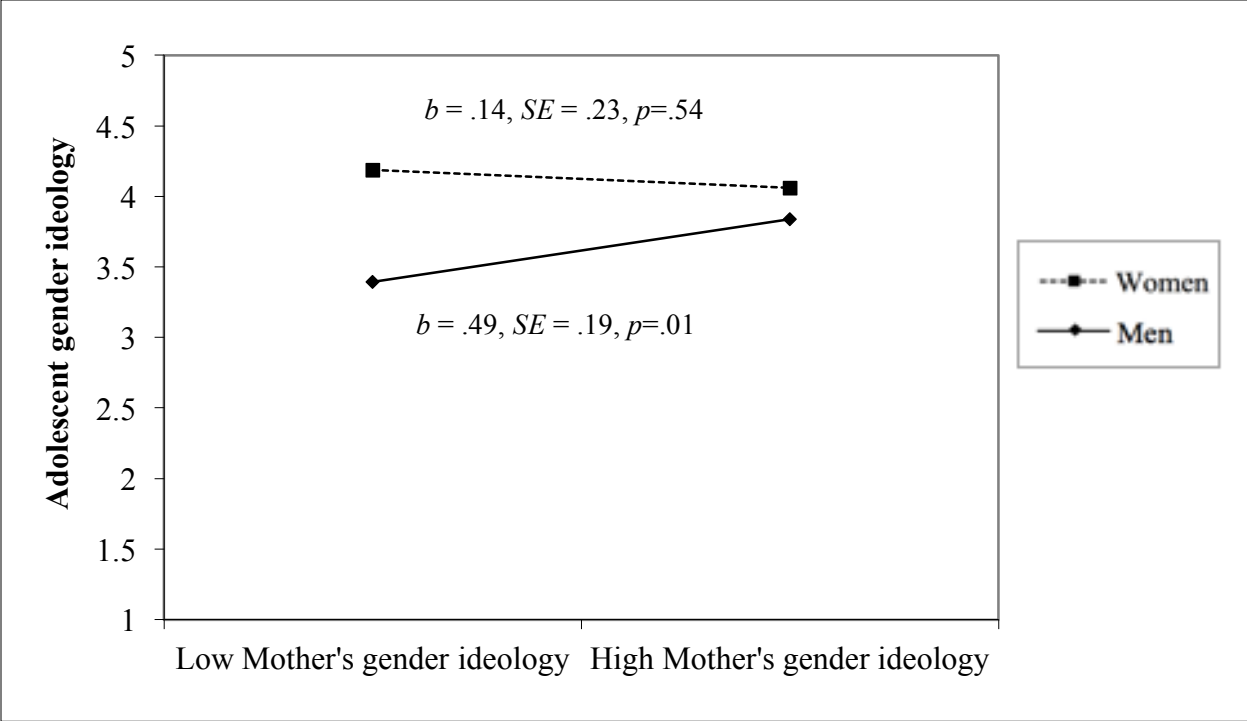
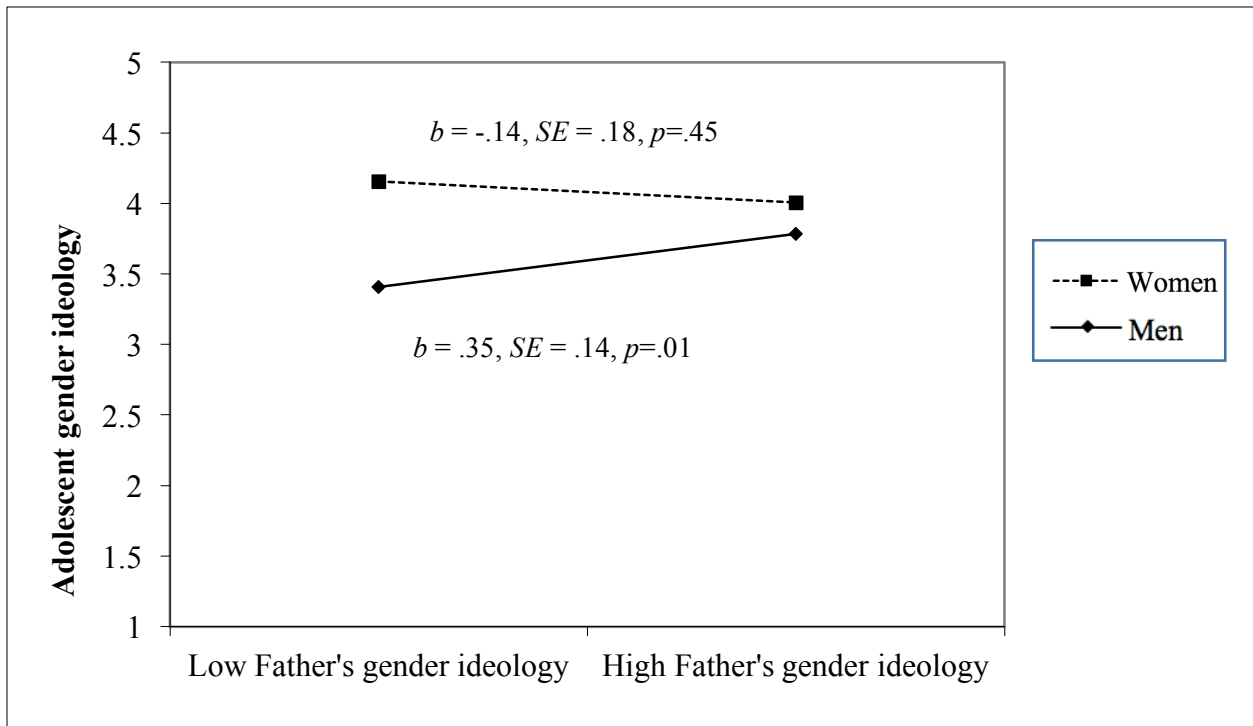Figure 1: Interaction between *Mother Gender Ideology* and *Adolescent Gender Ideology* in relation to *Adolescent Sex.*

Figure 2: Interaction between *Father Gender Ideology* and *Adolescent Gender Ideology* in relation to *Adolescent Sex*.

Discussion

This study sought to find new information regarding the specific methods of adolescents' gender ideology socialization, specifically whether parent gender ideology or parent gendered behavior (measured by marital equality) had the largest contribution to variance in adolescents' gender ideology. Institutional systems regarding education, income, and paid time off, as well as sociocultural norms prescribing parents to work or not work, may hinder parents from modeling gendered behavior that is reflective of the gender beliefs they would like to transmit. Although in bivariate analyses parent ideologies but not marital quality were correlated with adolescent gender ideology, regression analyses indicated that neither parent ideology nor parent gendered behavior had a significant main effect on adolescent gender ideology. In addition, multiplicative interactions showed a significant moderating effect of adolescent sex on the relationship between parent gender ideology and adolescent gender ideology.

I predicted that there would be a larger main effect size for parent ideology than parent behavior on adolescent gender ideology; however, neither parent behavior nor parent ideology had a significant main effect in multivariate analyses. This finding could indicate that neither parent gendered behavior nor ideology have significant, unique impacts on child ideology; however, other results suggest an opposing interpretation. In bivariate analyses, parent gender ideology was significantly and positively correlated with adolescent gender ideology; yet, parent behavior was not significantly associated with adolescent ideology. Furthermore, interaction models that incorporated parent gender ideology showed significant associations between parent gender ideology and male (but not female) adolescent gender ideology. Therefore, it appears that parent gender ideology is more strongly related to adolescent gender ideology for male

adolescents than is marital equality, but that neither are related to the gender ideology of female adolescents.

Female adolescents tended to remain relatively high and stable in terms of their egalitarian beliefs regardless of either parent's gender beliefs. Male adolescents conversely appear to align much more with the ideologies of their parents, expressing more egalitarian beliefs as each their mothers and fathers do. These interactions demonstrate that parents may have a more instrumental role in the socialization of their sons' gender ideologies than that of their daughters. Other studies have found that parent variables better predict son's outcomes compared to their daughters' outcomes in areas such as behavior problems, emotional stability, and self-worth (e.g., Reid & Crisafulli, 1990; Porter & O'Leary, 1980; Hay & Ashman, 2003), adding to what Belsky termed the "differential susceptibility hypothesis" regarding variance in susceptibility to parents' influence (Belsky, 2005, p. 139). Furthermore, girls' gender ideology appeared to be relatively unchanged by parent ideology. It could be that girls are more apt to support egalitarian ideology because they have more to gain from equality, as boys already hold the status of power (Kågesten, et al., 2016). In addition, it could be that the negative consequences of gender inequality may be more apparent for girls because it is more likely to directly and adversely affect them, making inequality easier to see (McIntosh, 1988). Girls may consequently identify with more egalitarian beliefs as a form of self-advocacy regardless of parent beliefs.

Beyond the answering of key research questions, this study also found adolescent sex to be the strongest predictor of adolescent gender ideology, with female adolescents reporting more egalitarian beliefs than males. This finding aligns with past research (Carlson & Knoester, 2011; Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Fan & Marini, 2000). Another interesting finding was that maternal

gender ideology was significantly associated with adolescent sex. Because it is not possible that maternal gender ideology impacts the sex of her child, this can be viewed as a directional finding, interpreted so that having an adolescent daughter may influence mothers to be more egalitarian. Although reasons for this correlation are unknown, I can speculate these findings could be due to a number of reasons. For one, because fathers are more likely to be involved parents with sons than daughters (Harris, Furstenberg, & Marmer, 1998; Harris & Morgan, 1991) it may be that mothers of daughters are more attuned to the difficulties of non-egalitarian parenting roles, and thus develop or become more aware of their egalitarian values. Another possible reason for this association is that mothers of daughters want equal and vast opportunity for their children and thus become increasingly opposed to the limitations on women that come from more rigid gender roles in a non-egalitarian context.

Finally, this study had slightly discrepant results regarding parent ideology and behavior than previous studies. Whereas previous research (Bianchi et al., 2000) found no association between men's gendered behavior and either spouse's gender ideology, this study did find such correlations. Mean marital equality was significantly correlated with mothers' gender ideology, and was marginally associated with fathers' gender ideology. This pattern would suggest that shared, and therefore egalitarian behavior, was related to egalitarian beliefs to some extent. This new finding could be a cause-effect reflection of men's greater participation in domestic labor over recent years. Because life changes can influence gender ideology (i.e., women entering the workforce is associated with egalitarianism; Fan & Marini, 2000), men's increasing roles in domestic labor could also be influencing their ideology to become more egalitarian. Future studies should examine if men's ideology is becoming more related to their household labor and reasons for this trend.

Limitations and Future Directions

Because I only had power to detect moderate or larger effect sizes, it is possible that my regression analyses are missing smaller effects. Previous studies with larger sample sizes (427 and 109 families; Moen, Erickson, Dempster-McClain, 1997; Halpern & Perry-Jenkins, 2015 respectively) have been able to find unique effects of behavior and ideology. The size (small-to-moderate) of semi-partial correlations for parent ideology and parent gendered behavior with adolescent gender ideology supports the argument that a larger sample may have power to detect contributions to variance of adolescent gender ideology, as my power analyses suggested limited power to detect small effects. Future studies with larger sample sizes may be able to determine relative contributions of adolescent gender ideology, when considering both parent beliefs and behaviors.

Furthermore, the sample of this study posed limitations to generalizability because of its relatively homogenous sample. Future studies should collect data from a more diverse sample in terms of geographic location, family income, and parents' sexual orientation. Finally, data were gathered via self-reports. Although there was overall high congruence in mother and father reports of gendered behavior, it is unclear if and how gender ideology or other factors impact perceptions of shared behavior. Additional research with larger samples should continue to seek to understand the nuances of socialization inside and outside of the home.

Conclusion

This study indicates that parent ideology may be related to adolescent gender ideology, at least for males, in ways that parent behavior is not. Perhaps most interesting, these results showed that parent gender ideology is more associated with their male son's gender ideology, conceivably suggesting that parents have more influence in their son's beliefs than their

daughters'. These findings add new information about gender socialization in adolescence. No study to my knowledge has searched for the unique implications of both parents' gendered behavior and ideology on older children's gender ideology.

This information on the acquisition of adolescent gender ideology is important for parents who find it important to pass on their beliefs about gender. These data suggest that intergenerational transmission of gender ideology is more impacted by parent gender ideology than parent behavior for male adolescents. Methods such as direct or indirect communication about gender, as opposed to lived behavioral patterns may be more influential in adolescents', particularly boys', gender ideology. Parents should continue to talk about their gendered beliefs to and around their children, particularly if because of reasons outside their control, they are unable to model the egalitarian or traditional behavior they believe is important.

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