

California State University, San Bernardino

**CSUSB ScholarWorks**

---

Theses Digitization Project

John M. Pfau Library

---

2003

## **Sex stereotypes: A comparison of Hispanic and Caucasian mother's expectations and wishes**

Ngoc Thuy Pham

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd-project>



Part of the [Family, Life Course, and Society Commons](#), [Gender and Sexuality Commons](#), and the [Psychology Commons](#)

---

### **Recommended Citation**

Pham, Ngoc Thuy, "Sex stereotypes: A comparison of Hispanic and Caucasian mother's expectations and wishes" (2003). *Theses Digitization Project*. 4342.  
<https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd-project/4342>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the John M. Pfau Library at CSUSB ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses Digitization Project by an authorized administrator of CSUSB ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@csusb.edu](mailto:scholarworks@csusb.edu).

SEX STEREOTYPES: A COMPARISON OF  
HISPANIC AND CAUCASIAN MOTHERS' EXPECTATIONS AND WISHES

---

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

---

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
in  
Psychology:  
Life-Span Development

---

by  
Ngoc Thuy Pham

March 2003

SEX STEREOTYPES: A COMPARISON OF  
HISPANIC AND CAUCASIAN MOTHERS' EXPECTATIONS AND WISHES

---

A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

---

by  
Ngoc Thuy Pham


March 2003

Approved by:

  
Robert Ricco, Chair, Psychology

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

  
Laura Kamptner

  
Gloria Cowan

## ABSTRACT

Previous research (Servin and Bohlin, 1999) had reported that Swedish mothers expected more gender-typed behavior than they wished for. The present study extends this work to mainstream and minority cultures in American society. Caucasian and Hispanic mothers of 2- to 4-year old children completed questionnaires regarding their expectations and wishes of their own child at age 6, their belief of the basis of gender differences, and their level of acculturation.

The data showed that both Caucasian and Hispanic mothers wished and expected their daughters to engage in more feminine activities and their sons to engage in more aggression, masculine activities, and roughness, suggesting that gender-based distinctions are still salient for mothers in the United States. Results also indicated that gender-typing was more pronounced among Hispanic mothers. Hispanic mothers both wished and expected their sons to engage in less feminine activities and more masculine activities than Caucasian mothers did. Caucasian mothers were more inclined than Hispanic mothers to wish their daughters to engage in Roughness.

These findings suggest that Hispanic mothers have a more traditional view of gender roles. Nonetheless, even within the Hispanic population, gender stereotypes are slowly fading. Thus, results also showed that both Caucasian and Hispanic mothers wished their daughters to engage in more masculine activities, such as playing sports or participating in sports that involve activity and strength. Furthermore, no differences were found between Caucasian and Hispanic mothers' beliefs concerning the origin of gender differences. This study has important implications regarding gender-typing and mothers' beliefs concerning the basis of gender differentiation.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My foremost gratitude goes to my thesis advisor, Dr. Robert Ricco for his guidance, support, and willingness to work under such time constraints. Thank you for your contributions to this project- without your knowledge and hard work, this thesis would never have been completed. Much appreciation is also given to my committee members, Dr. Laura Kamptner and Dr. Gloria Cowan for their time and support. Thank you Dr. Laura Kamptner for your encouragement and kindness throughout my two years in the Life-Span program. Additionally, without Dr. Gloria Cowan's wisdom and ideas, the resolution of many difficult issues regarding the analysis and the measures would not have been resolved.

Also, a special thank you to Dr. Willie C. Brown, Professor of Biology at the University of California, San Diego, whose mentorship led me to graduate school. Dr. Brown- without your influence and motivation, I may not have considered furthering my education, thank you. Finally, I will always be grateful to my mother, Trinh Pham, for her encouragement of my educational goals. Thank you always, for your love and support. You have

filled my life with inspiration- to always persevere  
through the most difficult of challenges. I appreciate  
all your sacrifices and everything you have done for me.

DEDICATION

For my mother, Trinh Pham,  
whose strength at heart  
is the greatest I have ever known.  
You have taught me  
what a female role model ought to be.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Influence of Gender Stereotypes on Parental Expectations and Practices.....	3
Gender Schema as the Cognitive Basis for Gender- Typed Expectations/Practices in Parents and Gender Role Development in Children.....	5
Sociocultural Research.....	8
A New Method for Assessing the Presence and Operation of Gender Stereotypes in Parents.....	13
Overview.....	15
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY	
Design.....	18
Participants.....	18
Measures.....	19
Acculturation Measure.....	19
Mothers' Expectations and Wishes.....	20
Sources of Gender Differences.....	22
Procedure.....	23
CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS	
Preliminary Analysis.....	24

Acculturation.....	25
Factor Analysis.....	25
Mothers' Expectations and Wishes.....	28
Feminine Gender-typed Activities.....	28
Aggression.....	29
Masculine Gender-typed Activities.....	31
Roughness.....	33
Sources of Gender Differences.....	33
 CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION	
Mothers' Expectations and Wishes.....	36
Differences Between Ethnic Groups.....	36
Sources of Gender Differences.....	41
Limitation and Future Research.....	42
Conclusion.....	43
 APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION.....	
APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION.....	46
APPENDIX B: ACCULTURATION MEASURE.....	49
APPENDIX C: MOTHERS' EXPECTATIONS AND WISHES.....	52
APPENDIX D: SOURCES OF GENDER DIFFERENCES.....	57
REFERENCES.....	61

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Mean Scores on Feminine Gender-Typed Activities by Child Gender, Ethnicity and Wishes/Expectations.....	30
Table 2. Mean Scores on Aggression by Child Gender and Wishes/Expectations.....	31
Table 3. Mean Scores on Masculine Gender-Typed Activities by Child Gender and Wishes/Expectations.....	32
Table 4. Mean Scores on Roughness by Ethnic Group and Child Gender.....	34
Table 5. Mean Scores on Sources of Gender Differences by Child Gender and Ethnicity.....	35

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Even in 21st century America, girls and boys are expected to act differently (Fagot & Leinbach, 1993; Stern & Karraker, 1989). Although the influence of gender stereotypes is arguably declining, they continue to operate in our society, particularly within certain socioeconomic groups and subcultures (Idle, Wood, & Desmarais, 1993; Hoffman & Kloska, 1995). Girls are expected to wear dresses, to look pretty, and to play with dolls (Fagot & Leinbach, 1993; Burnham & Harris, 1992; Bell & Carver, 1980; Stern & Karraker, 1989). Boys on the other hand, are expected to be rough, to play with "action figures," such as GI Joes, and are allowed to act rowdy and noisy (Burnham & Harris, 1992; Bell & Carver, 1980). These gender expectations are harmful to both girls and boys (Ortner & Whitehead, 1981) for several reasons. First, they hinder a child's potential to develop freely, without gender-based social constraints. For example, girls who may want to pursue a career in mathematics or engineering may be discouraged from doing

so (Eccles, Jacobs, & Harold, 1990). Second, children who choose not to conform to these gender expectations are often rejected or looked upon negatively (Raag & Rackliff, 1998). For instance, boys who choose to wear pink or play with dolls are called "sissies" or referred to as homosexuals by other boys of the same age (Ahlberg & Sandnabba, 1998). In order to fit in, children must conform to society's preconceived notions of how each gender should act (Woodhouse, 1989). Third, conforming to gender expectations leads to the fostering of gender stereotypes and the legitimization of an inequality between the sexes. Although concerted efforts to raise awareness of gender-based bias may have limited the extent to which stereotypes operate on a conscious level within contemporary societies, they may continue to influence expectations and behavior at a non-conscious level. This is because gender stereotypes have become deeply ingrained in our highly sexualized society and there is a fundamental obsession in America with gender-appropriate behavior (Woodhouse, 1989).

## The Influence of Gender Stereotypes on Parental Expectations and Practices

Parents' expectations of their children based on gender stereotypes can lead to differential treatment of boys and girls which, in turn, contributes to children's sex-typing. Research in the area of gender role socialization has greatly increased awareness of how gender stereotypes can influence parents' expectations for, and their behavior toward, their children (Stern & Karraker, 1989; Fagot & Leinbach, 1993). Early research consisted of experiments in which infants were labeled as a "girl" or "boy" and dressed according to his or her labeled sex (Culp, Cook, & Housley, 1983). Researchers found that participants in the studies treated the baby in a manner consistent with the child's labeled sex, rather than the child's real sex (Culp, Cook, & Housley, 1983; Burnham & Harris, 1992; Vogel et al, 1991; Haugh, Hoffman, & Cowan, 1980). For example, in Culp, Cook, and Housley's 1983 research, when the child was labeled a girl, the participants gave the infant a doll to play with and behaved differently toward it compared to when the child was labeled as a boy (Culp, Cook, & Housley,

1983). However, when the mothers were questioned, they "showed no awareness of their differential treatment of boys and girls" (Culp, Cook, & Housley, 1983, pg. 478). This shows that even if parents believe that they do not have sex-stereotyped attitudes, they may still treat their sons and daughters differently (Culp, Cook, & Housley, 1983). That is, differential treatment may persist without the parents' knowledge.

More contemporary research has shown that "parents communicate overtly and covertly their own gender stereotyped attitudes which affect their children's self-concepts, motivations, and behavior" (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995, p.274). For example, children whose parents react more to the child's sex-appropriate play, have children who learn to distinguish between male and female labels earlier (Fagot & Leinbach, 1993) and androgynous mothers have sons who show less sex stereotyping, compared to more traditional mothers (Vogel, 1991). In addition, children's household tasks have been found to be related to mothers' values (Weisner, Garnier, & Louckey, 1994). The more gender egalitarian beliefs the mothers held, the less sex stereotyped were the children's assignment of

household chores (Weisner, Garnier, & Louckey, 1994). Hoffman and Kloska (1995) have also demonstrated that parents who have less sex-stereotyped beliefs had daughters who were more assertive and obtained higher achievement scores. Children's abilities in specific school-related activities are also related to mothers' values (Jacobs & Eccles, 1992). For instance, mothers' sex stereotyped beliefs regarding their children's abilities in three areas- math, sports, and the social domain- can influence children's perceptions of their own abilities in these areas which, in turn, affect their actual performance (Jacobs & Eccles, 1992). Thus, parents' gender-typed beliefs and expectations can drive children's socialization and outcomes.

#### Gender Schema as the Cognitive Basis for Gender-Typed Expectations/Practices in Parents and Gender Role Development in Children

Gender schema theory suggests that children and adults alike organize and interpret the world through networks of associations known as schema (Fagot & Leinbach, 1993). One such network concerns gender and develops in response to gender-based distinctions in the



individual's environment. Gender schema consist of beliefs and expectations about how males and females differ. Theoretically, these schema could consist of biological differences only. However, if children's environment invokes numerous gender-based distinctions and expectations, then children tend to integrate this information into their knowledge and development of gender roles.

In most homes in America, and certainly in the larger society, gender-based distinctions are common. Consider any number of categories for organizing the objects and events of the every day world and you can identify an internal structure to the category based in gender. For categories from clothing to jobs, colors to foods, leisure activities to psychological traits, some members of the category are considered to be more masculine and others are more feminine. For instance, Leinbach and Hort (1989) found that children as early as four years old learn to associate bears and fire with boys and men, and butterflies, hearts, and flowers with girls and women. In learning each of these categories, therefore, children are learning that gender goes far

beyond biological distinctions. Leinbach and Hort argued that these children "associate qualities, such as strength or dangerousness with males, and gentler qualities with females" (p.220). This information and other gender-related information becomes part of an individual's gender schema. As children develop gender identity (an appreciation that they are a boy or a girl) and gender constancy (an appreciation that gender is a permanent characteristic), they are motivated to conform to the information contained in their schema. By conforming, the child can achieve consistency between his or her gender identity and behavior. For instance, Fagot and Leinbach's research shows that boys have been observed to play with dolls at rates about equal to girls before they understand gender labels or have established their gender identity. However, by the time that boys showed some knowledge of gender labels, playing with dolls became almost nonexistent (Fagot & Leinbach, 1993). Because parents provide infants with the "earliest processing of gender-related information," parents play a critical role in shaping children's knowledge and beliefs concerning gender (Witt, 1997, p.253). Parents differ in

respect to their own gender-typing and how "traditional" an environment they provide for their child. This also varies with culture. More traditional homes provide more gender-based distinctions that might be incorporated into a child's gender schema.

### Sociocultural Research

The prevalence of gender stereotypes and the extent to which they influence parenting expectations/practices may depend on the population being studied (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995). For instance, Hoffman and Kloska's (1995) research demonstrated differences between African Americans and European Americans in attitudes concerning gender bias. Specifically, more gender stereotyping was found among African Americans, especially those who were in the lower socioeconomic group, those who were less educated, and those who were full-time homemakers (Hoffman & Kloska, 1995). In the Mexican American population, researchers have suggested that the traditional Mexican family stresses gender roles that are distinct for males and females (Gonzalez, 1982). The male gender role, known as machismo, emphasizes

aggression and domination towards females (Gonzalez, 1982). The female gender role, *hembrismo*, emphasizes passivity and duties in the home (Gonzalez, 1982). Thus, Mexicans are proposed to have more traditional gender attitudes (Segura & Pierce, 1993; Stephens & Greer, 1995). Research with Mexican Americans regarding sex roles has generated a number of findings. First, Mexican American men are found to be the most averse to the idea of women working outside the home compared to Euro-American men and Euro-American and Mexican American females (Valentine & Mosley, 1998). In other words, there were more Mexican men who opposed women being in the workplace than the other groups (Valentine & Mosley, 1998). In addition, Stephens and Greer (1995) have also reported that Mexican Americans favor traditional sex roles, such as the idea that women should stay at home and not go out to the work world. This may be due to Mexican American's belief in the family unit and traditional beliefs in the father as the head of the household (Valentine & Mosley, 2000). Furthermore, Flannagan et al (1995) found that educational topics were discussed less frequently with girls than with boys in

Hispanic families (Flannagan et al, 1995). That is, Hispanic mothers encouraged and emphasized education more to their boys than with their girls and that gender differences in this regard were "more pronounced" in Hispanic mothers compared to Anglo mothers.

In contrast to these studies, however, Harris and Satter (1981) found no differences in gender stereotyping between white and Hispanic kindergarten children. In addition, Gonzalez (1982) found that Chicanos disagreed with many of the gender stereotypes that traditional Mexican families may endorse. The results of Harris and Satter (1981) and Gonzalez (1982) do not necessarily contradict past results. This is because, as Leaper and Valin's (1996) research suggests, less assimilated Mexican Americans have less gender egalitarian attitudes compared with more assimilated Mexican Americans. In other words, results suggesting that Mexican Americans have more traditional gender role attitudes were based on samples of Mexican Americans who are less assimilated (Segura & Pierce, 1993; Stephens & Greer, 1995; Valentine & Mosley, 1998; Flannagan et al, 1995). By contrast, results suggesting that Chicanos are moving away from

traditional gender role attitudes have examined Chicanos that are more assimilated (Gonzalez, 1982; Harris & Satter, 1981; Leaper & Valins, 1996). For instance, whereas Gonzalez (1982) found that Chicanos disagreed with many of the gender role norms, he also found that the Chicanos generally agreed with traditional gender role attitudes more than Anglo Americans. This suggests a continuum, with the traditional Mexican family endorsing traditional gender roles the most, while more assimilated Chicanos endorse traditional gender roles the least (but still more than Caucasian Americans). Although the above research has investigated Hispanic Americans' attitudes towards gender, few studies have examined Hispanics' gender based attitudes with respect to their child and child rearing behaviors (Flannagan et al, 1995). The present study seeks, in part, to address this gap in the literature.

Other socio-cultural differences can be seen with research on gender stereotypes in several different countries (Servin & Bohlin, 1999; Idle, Wood, & Desmarais, 1993; Turner & Gervai, 1995). Researchers in

Canada for instance, suggest that gender stereotypes may be declining in this particular region (Idle, Wood, & Desmarais, 1993). These authors tested children's toy preference and discovered that parents were engaging in a less traditional pattern of toy preference (Idle, Wood, & Desmarais, 1993). The researchers found that parents were spending less time with feminine toys when engaging in play with a child, regardless of whether the child was a girl or a boy (Idle, Wood, & Desmarais, 1993). This may suggest a change in the more traditional pattern of encouraging girls to play with dolls (Idle, Wood, & Desmarais, 1993). In comparison to Canada, cross-cultural research in England and Hungary shows that there is a relationship between parents' gender based attitudes and children's awareness of sex stereotypes (Turner & Gervai, 1995). Specifically, this study found that the more traditional the parents' attitudes concerning gender roles, the more their children showed a knowledge of sex stereotypes (Turner & Gervai, 1995). This was true for both parents in England and parents in Hungary (Turner & Gervai, 1995).

## A New Method for Assessing the Presence and Operation of Gender Stereotypes in Parents

In Sweden, Servin and Bohlin (1999) have approached gender stereotypes from a different methodological perspective. A novel recent approach to the study of sex role development has compared parent expectations with wishes (Servin & Bohlin, 1999). Parents' wishes for their children would seem to reflect the extent to which the parent actively endorses or opposes stereotypes (Servin & Bohlin, 1999). Expectations may reflect the influence of stereotypes at a lower level of awareness. They may reflect some manner of acceptance or tolerance of gender differences as inevitable either due to biological influence or unalterable social influences (greater society). Servin and Bohlin (1999) found that Swedish mothers' expectations for their child with respect to sex stereotypes did not correspond to their wishes for their child in this regard. Mothers generally wished their children to be less gender stereotyped in their behaviors than they expected them to be (Servin & Bohlin, 1999). While mothers wished their daughters to engage in activities that are less traditionally feminine



and their sons to engage in activities that are less traditionally masculine, the Swedish mothers also expected their child to engage in activities that are typical of their traditional gender role (Servin & Bohlin, 1999). These results would seem to indicate that Swedish parents are consciously opposed to gender typing- as might be expected given the progressive attitudes underlying Swedish social institutions. However, those parents expect gender differences which conform to current stereotypes. Even in Sweden, gender stereotypes may operate outside the awareness of the individual. That is, Swedish parents consciously oppose stereotypes but are influenced by them nonetheless as revealed by their expectations for their children. What is not clear from this study is the specific basis for these gender-typed expectations in Swedish society. Do they reflect stereotypes that gender differences derive from biology, the nature of social institutions, or some combination of the two? Thus, Servin and Bohlin's research warrants further investigation.

## Overview

The present study has a two-fold purpose: 1. To compare gender-relevant parental expectations with parental wishes in two American subcultures- Hispanic and Anglo- in an attempt to replicate the Swedish wishes- expectation gap and to determine whether the relationship between wishes and expectations differs across these two cultures and with degree of assimilation within the Hispanic culture. 2. To explain the basis for gender-relevant expectations in these subcultures. Concerning the first purpose of the study, it was hypothesized that American mothers, like Swedish mothers, would wish for fewer gender differences than they expect, indicating that there is some degree of conscious opposition to traditional sex roles among American mothers. However, the gap should not be as prevalent among traditional (non-assimilated) Hispanic American mothers as among assimilated Hispanic American mothers or Anglo-American mothers because of the greater influence of gender roles within the Hispanic population. That is, the former group should be more inclined to expect AND to wish for

gender differences. The latter groups may expect gender differences but should be less inclined to wish for them.

The second purpose of the present study concerned the basis for the gender relevant expectations parents have for their children. Although the Swedish mothers in Servin and Bohlin's study appeared to endorse a value system that opposes sex-typing (as indicated by the expectations-wishes gap), these mothers expected gender differences (Servin and Bohlin, 1999). As noted above, there are several possible reasons for these expectations. They may derive from a belief in the biological basis of gender differences or a belief that such differences derive largely from social influences. By using a measure to assess mothers' beliefs about whether gender differences arise from biology or the environment, the present study attempted to explain the findings where Servin and Bohlin left off. The new measure was designed to examine whether parents believe that gender differences are derived from biological processes or from environmental and societal norms. No predictions were made for this second component. Instead

an exploratory analysis was conducted comparing Caucasian and Hispanic mothers' beliefs in how gender differences develop, whether from biology or the environment.

## CHAPTER TWO

### METHODOLOGY

#### Design

The current research focused on Anglo and Hispanic mothers of 2- to 4-year old children. This study is interested in whether there is a difference between mothers' expectations/wishes for boys and their expectations/wishes for girls and whether parent expectations differ from parent wishes. Anglo and Hispanic mothers are compared in this respect. In addition, mothers are assessed concerning their belief or disbelief about gender differences and their explanations (biology, environment) for these differences.

#### Participants

Subjects consisted of 119 mothers having a child between the ages of 2 and 4. Sixty-one participants were Caucasian and 58 participants were Hispanic. A total of 58 of the mothers responded about their daughters and 61 responded about their sons. Mothers ranged in age from 19 to 51 years of age ( $M = 28.5$ ;  $SD = 6.43$ ). The mothers

of these children were mainly middle class (mean family annual income was approximately 40 Thousand) from San Bernardino and Los Angeles, California and generally had college experience (60.5% had two or more years of college education). Approximately 62% of the mothers were recruited through Psychology classes at California State University, San Bernardino and were given extra credit for their participation. The remaining 38% were recruited on a voluntary basis through day care centers including: Clare Cherry and Redlands Day (located in the Inland Empire) and Palms Tiny Tot Pre-School, Westside Children's Center, and Morning Glory Pre-School (located in Los Angeles, California).

## Measures

### Acculturation Measure

First, mothers were asked questions concerning their ethnic background. If the mothers identified themselves as a Mexican, Chicano, or Hispanic American- they were asked to proceed to questions 13-19. The next 7-items assessed the degree of the Hispanic mothers' assimilation to the American culture and were selected from the ARSMA,

a measure of acculturation, developed by Cuellar et al(1980). The items that were selected from the ARSMA focused primarily on language. This is because fluency in English is both an index of and mechanism for assimilation to American culture. However, other items also referred to the generation and the affiliations of the Hispanic individual. For instance, Hispanic participants were asked, "Where were you raised," "What language do you speak," or "Whom do you now associate with in the outside community?" Finally, participants were then asked to indicate the degree to which they felt assimilated to the American culture. Please refer to Appendix B for the complete questionnaire.

#### Mothers' Expectations and Wishes

A questionnaire similar to that developed by Servin and Bohlin (1999) was used. This questionnaire consisted of 35 gender-related statements presented in Part I as expectations and in Part II as wishes. The mothers were asked to imagine their child at age 6. Twenty-two of the items described interests and activities, and the other thirteen items concerned friendships and relationships. Thus, in Part I, mothers were asked to indicate their

degree of agreement with expectation-statements such as, "I believe my child will play with cars a lot." This was followed in Part II by wish-statements such as, "I wish my child will play with cars a lot." All items were scored on a 5-point likert scale, ranging from *not at all* to *constantly*, with higher scores indicating the mother wanting or expecting her child to engage in the behavior. The original Servin and Bohlin version of this measure consisted of three factors: 1) Roughness- measuring the stereotyped male play and interaction style, 2) Gender-typed Activities- measuring stereotyped games and interests, and 3) Timidity- measuring stereotypically feminine temperament and personality. However, when a factor analysis was conducted regarding the current measure, different factors showed significant contributions to variance. These new factors were 1) Feminine Gender-typed Activities- measuring stereotypically feminine games and interests, 2) Aggression- measuring stereotypically masculine dominant, injurious, or hostile behavior, 3) Masculine Gender-typed Activities- measuring stereotypically masculine games and interests, and



4) Roughness- measuring the stereotyped male play and interaction style. Please refer to Appendix C for the complete questionnaire.

#### Sources of Gender Differences

Finally, a last additional measure was used to assess the mothers' beliefs regarding the existence of and basis for gender differences. This measure presented the same 35-items from the expectations and wish measure. For each item, the mothers were asked the extent to which biology or the environment contributed to a gender difference on this characteristic (Part III). For instance, mothers were asked to identify a cause (whether biology, environment, or both) for statements, such as "girls prefer to play with dolls more than boys" or "boys are more active than girls, in sports that involve activity and strength." This was scored on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from biology as the primary cause, through biology and the environment as relatively equal contributions, to the environment as the primary cause. This measure was used to determine whether mothers believe that gender differences are due to biological pre-dispositions (nature), or in contrast, to the social

environment (nurture) or perhaps both. Please refer to Appendix D for the complete questionnaire.

#### Procedure

After recruitment of the mothers from psychology classes at California State University, San Bernardino and various day care centers, subjects were given a consent form to sign, acknowledging their rights and privacy regarding the study. Mothers then filled out questionnaires. The order of the questionnaire was as follows. Items from the acculturation scale were at the beginning of the questionnaire, then the expectations questions, then wishes, and finally, the sources of gender difference items. After participants replied to the measures, they were given a debriefing statement and thanked for their participation in the study.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESULTS

#### Preliminary Analysis

As an initial analysis, the two ethnic groups were compared on the various demographic variables. Results indicated that the Caucasian mothers ( $M = 4.52$ ;  $SD = .79$ ) had more years of education than the Hispanic mothers ( $M = 4.16$ ;  $SD = .99$ ),  $t(117) = 2.26$ ,  $p < .026$ . A comparison of the groups on income indicated that the Caucasian mothers ( $M = 5.44$ ;  $SD = 2.79$ ) also had a higher average family income level than the Hispanic mothers ( $M = 4.37$ ;  $SD = 2.37$ ),  $t(114) = 2.23$ ,  $p < .028$ . The groups did not differ on any other demographic variables. To determine whether education and income represent confounds, a series of correlations were conducted of income and educational level with the various measures of parent wishes and expectations. No significant relationships were found, Pearson  $r$ -values ranged from .02 to .18. Income and education were, therefore, dropped from further analyses.

## Acculturation

In order to assess the significance of acculturation level to the mothers' wishes and expectations, a total score on the acculturation items was computed. In general, the Hispanic mothers were relatively non-traditional as a group ( $M = 3.51$  and  $SD = .72$ , on a five-point scale with 5 being more anglicized). On the basis of their acculturation score the Hispanic participants were divided into low ( $M = 2.85$ ;  $SD = .51$ ) and high ( $M = 4.09$ ;  $SD = .40$ ) acculturation groups. The groups represented the lower and upper 34% of the distribution, respectively. The groups were then compared on the measures of wishes and expectations. No significant differences were found. In addition, acculturation was not significantly correlated with any of the wish or expectation scales.

## Factor Analysis

Separate factor analyses (principal components with varimax rotation) were then conducted on the wish and the expectation items. For the wish and expectation analyses, the same three primary factors emerged. Each

accounted for a significant percentage of the total variance and was readily interpretable. Based on factor loadings, separate wish and expectation scales were constructed for each of the three factors. For each factor, the wish and expectation items loading on the factor were virtually identical. These three factors were labeled as 1.) Feminine Gender-typed Activities, 2.) Aggression, and 3.) Masculine Gender-typed Activities. The Feminine Gender-typed Activities scale consisted of 9-items including playing with dolls, dress-up, house, etc and contributed 20.53% of variance for wishes and 28% of variance for expectations. The next factor, Aggression, consisted of 11-items such as getting into fights, becoming angry at others, and being dominant with other children. Aggression contributed 15.32% of variance for wishes and 13% of variance for expectations. Masculine Gender-typed Activities consisted of only 3-items, including playing with toys (e.g. Legos) that involve building or constructing, playing sports, and being active in sports that involve activity and strength. This factor contributed 8.48% of variance for wishes and 4.68% of variance for expectations. Finally,

one additional small factor emerged for wishes only. This was a Roughness factor consisting of 6-items and contributed 5.86% of variance. Sample items of Roughness included rough and tumble play, getting clothing dirty when playing, and playing outside in yard, street, or park.

A three factor ANOVA of Child Gender (2) X Ethnic Group (2) X Expectations versus Wishes (2) was then conducted separately on each of the first three factors (Feminine Gender-Typed Activities, Aggression, and Masculine Gender-Typed Activities). It was expected that Hispanic mothers would have more traditional beliefs regarding gender stereotypes than Caucasian mothers. In addition, it was also expected that the gap between wishes and expectations would be greater in Caucasian mothers than Hispanic mothers. That is, Caucasian mothers should wish less gender stereotyped beliefs than they expect because they oppose stereotypes and do not wish their son or daughter to follow these rigid stereotypes, however, Caucasian mothers may still expect gender stereotypes. In comparison, because Hispanic mothers are less conscious of gender stereotypes, they

may both wish and expect for gender-typing. Thus, the gap between wishes and expectations should be smaller for Hispanic mothers.

### Mothers' Expectations and Wishes

#### Feminine Gender-typed Activities

Results for the ANOVA on Feminine Gender-typed Activities indicated significant main effects for Child Gender,  $F(1, 114) = 73.39, p < .001$  and Ethnic Group,  $F(1, 114) = 5.75, p < .018$ . Mothers both wished and expected their daughters ( $M = 3.75; SD = .64$ ) to engage in more feminine activities than their sons ( $M = 2.56; SD = .90$ ). Results also showed that there was a significant 2-way interaction between Child Gender and Ethnic Group,  $F(1, 114) = 3.88, p < .051$ . Hispanic mothers wished and expected their sons to engage in less feminine activities than Caucasian mothers did,  $F(1, 59) = 7.88, p < .007$ . The ethnic groups did not differ with respect to their daughters. Finally and most importantly, there was a significant 3-way interaction among Child Gender, Ethnic Group and Parent

Wishes/Expectations,  $F(1, 114) = 4.25, p < .041$ . An analysis of the latter indicated that Caucasian mothers expected their daughters to engage in more feminine activities than they wished them to,  $F(1, 34) = 9.78, p < .004$ . There was no effect in this respect for the Hispanic mothers. Also there were no differences between wishes and expectations for either ethnic group regarding their sons. Means appear in Table 1.

### Aggression

Concerning the second factor, Aggression, there were several significant effects. Results indicated that there was a significant main effect for mothers' Wishes/Expectations,  $F(1, 114) = 345.17, p < .001$ . Mothers wished ( $M = 1.85; SD = .56$ ) their child to engage in less Aggression than they expected ( $M = 2.97; SD = .65$ ). This was true of both ethnic groups. Results also showed that there was a significant main effect regarding Child Gender,  $F(1, 114) = 6.64, p < .011$ . Mothers wished/expected their sons ( $M = 2.53; SD = .67$ ) to engage in more aggression than their daughters ( $M = 2.29; SD = .49$ ). Finally, there was a significant



Table 1. Mean Scores on Feminine Gender-Typed Activities by Child Gender, Ethnicity and Wishes/Expectations.

	Wishes	Expectations
Girls		
Caucasian		
Mean	3.64	3.90
SD	.50	.57
Hispanic		
Mean	3.74	3.69
SD	.74	.83
Boys		
Caucasian		
Mean	2.97	2.82
SD	.61	.59
Hispanic		
Mean	2.31	2.32
SD	1.12	.91

Note: The higher the score, the more mothers wish/expect their child to engage in Feminine Gender-typed Activities.

interaction between the Wishes/Expectations factor and Child Gender,  $F(1, 113) = 4.11, p < .045$ . While the mothers did not wish their sons to be more aggressive than their daughters, these mothers expected their sons to be more aggressive,  $F(1, 116) = 11.14, p < .001$ . Means appear in Table 2.

Table 2. Mean Scores on Aggression by Child Gender and Wishes/Expectations.

	Wishes	Expectations
Girls		
Mean	1.79	2.79
SD	.46	.51
Boys		
Mean	1.91	3.16
SD	.64	.70

Note: The higher the score, the more mothers wish/expect their child to engage in Aggression.

#### Masculine Gender-typed Activities

Results for the Masculine Gender-typed Activities showed that there were significant main effects for Wishes versus Expectations,  $F(1, 114) = 14.60, p < .001$ , Child Gender,  $F(1, 114) = 23.21, p < .001$  and Ethnic Group,  $F(1, 114) = 7.67, p < .007$ . Mothers wished ( $M = 4.12; SD = .68$ ) their child to engage in more masculine activities than they expected ( $M = 3.88; SD = .79$ ). This was true of both ethnic groups. Mothers also wished/expected their sons ( $M = 4.25; SD = .54$ ) to engage in more masculine activities than their daughters

( $M = 3.74$ ;  $SD = .77$ ). Hispanic mothers ( $M = 4.14$ ;  $SD = .71$ ) wished and expected their child to engage in masculine activities more than Caucasian mothers ( $M = 3.85$ ;  $SD = .71$ ). In addition, there was a significant 2-way interaction between Wishes/Expectations and Child Gender,  $F(1, 114) = 20.96, p < .001$ . Both the Caucasian and Hispanic mothers wished their daughters to engage in more masculine activities than they expected,  $F(1, 56) = 25.10, p < .001$ . Means appear in Table 3.

Table 3. Mean Scores on Masculine Gender-Typed Activities by Child Gender and Wishes/Expectations.

	Wishes	Expectations
Girls		
Mean	4.01	3.48
SD	.74	.81
Boys		
Mean	4.23	4.28
SD	.61	.48

Note: The higher the score, the more mothers wish/expect their child to engage in Masculine Gender-typed Activities.

### Roughness

For the last factor, Roughness, results indicated that there were significant main effects for Child Gender,  $F(1, 115) = 7.09, p < .009$  and Ethnic Group,  $F(1, 115) = 5.79, p < .018$ . Mothers wished their sons ( $M = 2.88; SD = .63$ ) to engage in more roughness than their daughters ( $M = 2.58; SD = .60$ ). Surprisingly, Caucasian mothers ( $M = 2.86; SD = .52$ ) wished their child to engage in roughness more than Hispanic mothers ( $M = 2.60; SD = .70$ ). In addition, there was a significant 2-way interaction between Ethnic Group and Child Gender,  $F(1, 115) = 3.77, p < .055$ . Caucasian mothers wished more roughness in their daughters than Hispanic mothers did,  $F(1, 56) = 10.42, p < .002$ . Means appear in Table 4.

### Sources of Gender Differences

In a final set of analyses, the ethnic groups were compared with respect to their beliefs about the origins of gender differences. Total scores for the mothers on

Table 4. Mean Scores on Roughness by Ethnic Group and Child Gender.

	Girls	Boys
Caucasian		
Mean	2.82	2.90
SD	.47	.59
Hispanic		
Mean	2.34	2.85
SD	.67	.66

Note: The higher the score, the more mothers wish/expect their child to engage in Roughness.

the Sources of Gender Differences measure were computed separately for the items pertaining to boys and the items pertaining to girls. Results indicated that there were no differences between Caucasian and Hispanic mothers' beliefs regarding the origins of gender differences for boys  $t(115) = -.291, p > .05$ , or for girls,  $t(115) = .973, p > .05$ . In general both ethnic groups considered biology and the social environment to be important, while giving slightly more weight to the environment. Means appear in Table 5.

Table 5. Mean Scores on Sources of Gender Differences by Child Gender and Ethnicity.

	Caucasian	Hispanic
Girls		
Mean	3.40	3.44
SD	.61	.84
Boys		
Mean	3.55	3.41
SD	.63	.86

Note: The higher the score, the more mothers weigh social environment over biology for the origin of gender differences. Mean scores can range from 1 to 5.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DISCUSSION

#### Mothers' Expectations and Wishes

Analyses on all four of the factors (Feminine Gender-typed Activities, Aggression, Masculine Gender-typed Activities, and Roughness) produced significant effects regarding the Child's Gender. Mothers wished/expected their daughters to engage in more feminine activities and their sons to engage in more aggression, masculine activities, and roughness. This shows that divisions between the sexes are still evident for mothers in the United States and that gender expectations still reflect, to some degree, gender stereotypes.

#### Differences Between Ethnic Groups

However, the extent to which these stereotypes were operating varied across ethnic group. Three of the four factors showed significant results regarding ethnicity. Hispanic mothers both wished/expected their sons to engage in less feminine activities and more masculine activities than Caucasian mothers did. Caucasian mothers

were more inclined than Hispanic mothers to wish their daughters would engage in Roughness activities. In other words, Hispanic mothers expected and wished for stereotypes more so than Caucasian mothers. This supports the hypothesis that Hispanic mothers would have more traditional views regarding gender stereotypes in comparison to Caucasian mothers. In addition, a significant 3-way interaction among Child Gender, Ethnic Group and Parent Wishes/Expectations for Feminine Gender-typed Activities indicated that, Caucasian mothers, but not Hispanic mothers, expected their daughters to engage in more feminine activities than they wished them to. This is consistent with the responses of the Swedish mothers in Servin and Bohlin's study. This also supports the hypothesis that the gap between wishes and expectations is greater for Caucasian mothers than for Hispanic mothers. Furthermore, a significant 2-way interaction between Ethnic Group and Child Gender for Roughness also showed that Caucasian mothers wished more roughness for their daughters than Hispanic mothers did. In other words, perhaps because Caucasian mothers are more inclined than Hispanic mothers to oppose gender



stereotypes, they wish their daughters to engage in less feminine activities and more roughness, while still expecting some gender-typing to occur. In contrast, Hispanic mothers are not only expecting gender stereotypes, they are also wishing for their daughters to engage in typical feminine activities and less roughness.

While there was some evidence in this study which supports the differences in ethnicity hypothesis, there was also some evidence which suggests that even within the Hispanic population, gender stereotypes are slowly fading. For instance, a significant 2-way interaction between Wishes/Expectations and Child Gender for masculine activities showed that both Caucasian and Hispanic mothers wished their daughters to engage in more masculine activities, such as playing sports or participating in sports that involve activity and strength. These findings are consistent with research in Canada, suggesting a change in the traditional beliefs regarding girls' play activities (Idle, Wood, & Desmarais, 1993). As previously mentioned- Idle, Wood, and Desmarais (1993) found that parents were spending

less time encouraging their daughters to play with feminine toys. However, both ethnic groups in the present study expect that a certain degree of conformity to stereotypes is inevitable in their daughters. While both the Caucasian and Hispanic mothers wished that their daughters would participate in masculine activities, their expectations fell significantly short of their wishes.

It should be noted though that, as a group, the Hispanic mothers who participated in this study were relatively assimilated into mainstream American culture. This is evident from their mean acculturation score, educational, and income levels. This could explain why more differences were not found between the ethnic groups. Furthermore, a limitation of this study is that due to time constraints, the survey was not translated from English to Spanish and no Spanish version was made available for Spanish speakers. This insured that the Hispanic participants involved in this particular study were English speaking Hispanic mothers and thus, not a very traditional group. This may be an important factor

because again, as Leaper and Valin's (1996) research suggests, acculturation may play an important role regarding differences in beliefs about gender stereotypes for Mexican Americans. For instance, less acculturated Mexican Americans may have less gender egalitarian attitudes compared with more acculturated Mexican Americans (Leaper & Valin, 1996). In addition, the majority of participants, including Hispanics, were recruited from a university campus and many of the participants may have gained awareness of gender stereotypes due to their education. Further research should examine mothers at different levels of education, mothers who are not affiliated with college campuses, and traditional, less assimilated Mexican Americans. Nonetheless, the number of ethnic differences found in the present study becomes particularly interesting in light of the relatively non-traditional nature of the Hispanic group. In other words, despite the fact that the Hispanic participants were a relatively high acculturated group, differences were still found.

## Sources of Gender Differences

The present study also attempted to determine mothers' beliefs regarding the sources of gender differences. For instance, a significant interaction between the Wishes/Expectations and Child Gender for Aggression showed that the mothers in the current study expected their sons to be more aggressive than their daughters. Did mothers believe that their sons were more aggressive due to biology or the environment? Results indicated that the mothers generally believed that gender differences arise from both biology and the social environment, but the mothers weighed the social environment as slightly more important. There were no differences found between Caucasian and Hispanic mothers' beliefs in this regard. This finding suggests that both ethnic groups believe that several factors contribute to gender differences- that children are born with biological sex differences and that pressures from the social environment are also acting to produce differences between girls and boys. Perhaps these parents believe that these forces are beyond their control- this may be indicated by the fact that mothers still expected certain

gender stereotypes, even though they did not wish for them. For instance, regardless of how much they want their boys to remain as well behaved as their girls, these parents may still expect biological factors, such as hormones or genetics, to make their sons be more rough and aggressive than their daughters. Or, despite the mothers' wish that their daughters participate in sports activities and their sons play dress-up or dolls, these parents still expect the social environment (school, television, or the larger society) to be less accepting of this. In general, these parents believe that parenting is not the only factor at hand, and that biology and other social environmental factors are interacting to produce gender differences.

#### Limitation and Future Research

Finally, while this research was important in addressing ethnic differences between Caucasian and Hispanic mothers, fathers were not included in this study. Further research should also address fathers. This is because, as suggested by Turner and Gervai (1995) and other researchers, fathers may differ from mothers

regarding gender typing. In fact, research suggests that fathers may even see more distinctions between girls and boys, thus possibly expecting more stereotypes. For instance, research has found that fathers tend to view boys as stronger. They have also been found to be less affectionate and stricter with their daughters than their sons (Turner & Gervai, 1993; Siegal, 1987). Therefore, future studies should examine the wishes and expectations of fathers in comparison to mothers.

#### Conclusion .

In order to understand how children develop gender stereotypes, research needs to be conducted regarding parents' beliefs about gender differences and gender expectations. This is because while there may be other environmental factors (such as peers, the media, or the greater society) involved, parents still have a powerful influence on their child. Gender identification starts early-children learn that this is the way males or females are supposed to behave. Parents may shape and influence a child's beliefs concerning feminine and masculine identities, even from the very first moments of

a child's life. For instance, parents choose the child's clothes and toys, usually based on the child's sex. In addition, as children grow, parents' beliefs and values may affect the child's behavior and outcome. While parents may wish for their child to grow without being confined to gender roles, their expectations may still result in gender-typing. This is important because expectations are a stronger force driving gender socialization than wishes. If parents still expect their son to be strong and unemotional and their daughters to be sensitive and nurturing, than regardless of their wishes, parents' expectations may reinforce gender-appropriate actions. These expectations, whether at a conscious or a non-conscious level, may continue to drive and foster gender roles and stereotypes. Furthermore, beliefs regarding the basis of gender differences may influence parenting styles and this may in turn influence the child's gender identity development. By encouraging gender-typed activities and behaviors or even expecting stereotypes, parents may reinforce children to have sex-stereotyped values. Their children may, in turn, develop stereotyped beliefs and the vicious cycle will continue.

This will diminish opportunities for equality and sustain an overall view of gender-based ideology. Thus, it is important to understand the expectations and beliefs that parents may have regarding gender identity formation. With this knowledge, researchers may be able to help reduce gender inequality and prevent further endorsement of gender-stereotyped expectations.



APPENDIX A:  
BACKGROUND INFORMATION

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is your sex? (Circle one) M F
3. What is your marital status?  
\_\_\_\_ married    \_\_\_\_ single    \_\_\_\_ divorced    \_\_\_\_ separated  
\_\_\_\_ widowed
4. What is the highest grade you completed in school:
  1. Elementary 0-6 \_\_\_\_\_
  2. 7-9 years \_\_\_\_\_
  3. 10-12 years (high school) \_\_\_\_\_
  4. 1-2 years of college \_\_\_\_\_
  5. 2 years of college or more \_\_\_\_\_
5. What is the highest grade your spouse completed in school:
  1. Elementary 0-6 \_\_\_\_\_
  2. 7-9 years \_\_\_\_\_
  3. 10-12 years (high school) \_\_\_\_\_
  4. 1-2 years of college \_\_\_\_\_
  5. 2 years of college or more \_\_\_\_\_
6. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
7. What is your spouse's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
8. What was your total family income last year (from all sources, before taxes)?  
This refers to the summed incomes of all individuals living in your home:

_____ less than 15,999	_____ \$50,000 to \$59,999
_____ \$15,999 to \$19,999	_____ \$60,000 to \$69,999
_____ \$20,000 to \$29,999	_____ \$70,000 to \$79,999
_____ \$30,000 to \$39,999	_____ \$80,000 to \$89,999
_____ \$40,000 to \$49,999	_____ \$90,000 or more

9. What is the gender and age of the child about whom you will be responding in this study?
- a.) Circle one: M F
- b.) Age: \_\_\_\_\_
- c.) What is your relationship to this child?
- \_\_\_\_\_ biological parent \_\_\_\_\_ step parent \_\_\_\_\_ adoptive parent
- \_\_\_\_\_ other (please indicate relationship)
- \_\_\_\_\_
10. What is your religious preference? \_\_\_\_\_
11. Do you consider yourself
- \_\_\_\_\_ extremely religious
- \_\_\_\_\_ somewhat religious
- \_\_\_\_\_ not religious
12. What race do you consider yourself to be? (Check one)
- \_\_\_\_\_ White
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mexican / Hispanic / Chicano
- \_\_\_\_\_ African/ African-American/ Black
- \_\_\_\_\_ Asian
- \_\_\_\_\_ Native American
- \_\_\_\_\_ Pacific Islander
- \_\_\_\_\_ Other (Please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B:  
ACCULTURATION MEASURE

APPENDIX B

ACCULTURATION MEASURE

- 13 a.) Where were you born?  
\_\_\_\_\_ Mexico \_\_\_\_\_ U.S.
- b.) Where was your father born?  
\_\_\_\_\_ Mexico \_\_\_\_\_ U.S.
- c.) Where was your mother born?  
\_\_\_\_\_ Mexico \_\_\_\_\_ U.S.
- d.) Where was your father's mother born?  
\_\_\_\_\_ Mexico \_\_\_\_\_ U.S.
- e.) Where was your father's father born?  
\_\_\_\_\_ Mexico \_\_\_\_\_ U.S.
- f.) Where was your mother's mother born?  
\_\_\_\_\_ Mexico \_\_\_\_\_ U.S.
- g.) Where was your mother's father born?  
\_\_\_\_\_ Mexico \_\_\_\_\_ U.S.
14. Where were you raised?
- a.) In Mexico only \_\_\_\_\_
- b.) Mostly in Mexico, some in U.S. \_\_\_\_\_
- c.) Equally in U.S. and Mexico \_\_\_\_\_
- d.) Mostly in U.S., some in Mexico \_\_\_\_\_
- e.) In U.S. only \_\_\_\_\_
15. What language do you speak?
- a.) Spanish only \_\_\_\_\_
- b.) Mostly Spanish, some English \_\_\_\_\_
- c.) Spanish and English about equally (bilingual) \_\_\_\_\_
- d.) Mostly English, some Spanish \_\_\_\_\_
- e.) English only \_\_\_\_\_
16. What language do you prefer?
- a.) Spanish only \_\_\_\_\_
- b.) Mostly Spanish, some English \_\_\_\_\_
- c.) Spanish and English about equally (bilingual) \_\_\_\_\_
- d.) Mostly English, some Spanish \_\_\_\_\_
- e.) English only \_\_\_\_\_

17. How do you identify yourself?
- a.) Mexican \_\_\_\_\_
  - b.) Chicano \_\_\_\_\_
  - c.) Mexican American \_\_\_\_\_
  - d.) Spanish American, Latin American, Hispanic American \_\_\_\_\_
  - e.) American, Anglo American \_\_\_\_\_
18. Whom do you now associate with in the outside community?
- a.) Almost exclusively Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans (LA RAZA) \_\_\_\_\_
  - b.) Mostly Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans (RAZA) \_\_\_\_\_
  - c.) About equally Raza and other ethnic groups \_\_\_\_\_
  - d.) Mostly other ethnic groups \_\_\_\_\_
  - e.) Almost exclusively other ethnic groups \_\_\_\_\_
19. How would you rate yourself?
- a.) Very Mexican \_\_\_\_\_
  - b.) Mostly Mexican \_\_\_\_\_
  - c.) Bicultural \_\_\_\_\_
  - d.) Mostly Anglicized \_\_\_\_\_
  - e.) Very Anglicized \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX C:  
MOTHERS' EXPECTATIONS AND WISHES

APPENDIX C

MOTHERS' EXPECTATIONS AND WISHES

For mothers of 2- and 3-year olds

Part I- Expectations:

Please try to think about what your child will be like at age 6 years. What are your *expectations*? Each statement below describes an expectation and completes the stem, "At six years of age, I believe that my child will..." Please indicate how frequently you believe your child will engage in the activity described in the statement by using the following rating scale. Write in the appropriate number in the space provided.

not at all	rarely	some of the time	often	constantly
1	2	3	4	5

"At six years of age, I believe that my child will..."

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. play with cars or toy trains.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. play with jump ropes, hopscotch, or skipping.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. play cops and robbers.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. play rough-and-tumble.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. play 'house'.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. play dress-up.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. play with dolls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. play with kitchen toys, such as cooking sets.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. play with stroller, plastic bottle, or baby bib.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. play with beads, for example, stringing them together.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. prefer toys that involve building or constructing things (e.g., Legos, model kits).
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. participate in pretend play with beanie babies or puppets.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. be active in some sport.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. be active in sports which involve activity and strength.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. prefer dancing or gymnastics.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. participate in physical play, such as playfighting or playchasing.



- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. play outside in the yard, street, or park.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. get clothing dirty when playing.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 19. play in large groups of children (instead of playing with just one or two children at a time).
- \_\_\_\_\_ 20. have one or two best friends rather than many friends.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 21. be dominant when playing with other children.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 22. play games that are quiet rather than 'wild'.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 23. prefer having playmates of the same gender as my child.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 24. get into fights.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 25. cry easily.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 26. become angry at others when disappointed or frustrated.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 27. be sad/upset, rather than be angry, when he/she is disappointed.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 28. be mischievous.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 29. try to act tough.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 30. tease other children.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 31. participate in play activities that involve risk.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 32. comfort another child who is upset.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 33. be polite and know his/her manners.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 34. prefer watching cartoons that involve battles and combat.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 35. prefer watching Disney movies with happy endings.

APPENDIX C (cont.)

MOTHERS' EXPECTATIONS AND WISHES

For mothers of 2- and 3-year olds

Part II- Wishes:

Please try to think about what you *wish* or *want* your child to be like at age 6 years.

What are your *wishes*? Each statement describes a wish and completes the stem, "At six years of age, I hope that my child will..." Again, please indicate how frequently you believe your child will engage in the activity described in the statement by using the following rating scale. Write in the appropriate number in the space provided.

not at all	rarely	some of the time	often	constantly
1	2	3	4	5

"At six years of age, I hope that my child will..."

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. play with cars or toy trains.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. play with jump ropes, hopscotch, or skipping.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. play cops and robbers.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. play rough-and-tumble.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. play 'house'.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. play dress-up.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. play with dolls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. play with kitchen toys, such as cooking sets.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. play with stroller, plastic bottle, or baby bib.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. play with beads, for example, stringing them together.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. prefer toys that involve building or constructing things (e.g., Legos, model kits).
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. participate in pretend play with beanie babies or puppets.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. be active in some sport.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. be active in sports which involve activity and strength.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. prefer dancing or gymnastics.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. participate in physical play, such as playfighting or playchasing.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. play outside in the yard, street, or park.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. get clothing dirty when playing.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 19. play in large groups of children (instead of playing with just one or two children at a time).
- \_\_\_\_\_ 20. have one or two best friends rather than many friends.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 21. be dominant when playing with other children.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 22. play games that are quiet rather than 'wild'.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 23. prefer having playmates of the same gender as my child.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 24. get into fights.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 25. cry easily.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 26. become angry at others when disappointed or frustrated.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 27. be sad/upset, rather than be angry, when he/she is disappointed.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 28. be mischievous.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 29. try to act tough.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 30. tease other children.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 31. participate in play activities that involve risk.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 32. comfort another child who is upset.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 33. be polite and know his/her manners.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 34. prefer watching cartoons that involve battles and combat.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 35. prefer watching Disney movies with happy endings.

APPENDIX D:  
SOURCES OF GENDER DIFFERENCES

## APPENDIX D

### SOURCES OF GENDER DIFFERENCES

For mothers of 2- and 3-year olds

#### Part III

While the last section asked about your own child, for the following section, please think about children *in general*. Below you will find statements describing possible differences between boys and girls. For the purpose of this exercise, please assume that each statement is true, even though you may have your doubts. Using the scale below, please indicate the extent to which biology (nature), society, or both may be responsible for this difference between boys and girls. In other words, do you believe that boys and girls are born different and the differences are a result of genetic factors (biology)? Or do you believe that differences between boys and girls are due to influences from the social environment such as friends, family, school, television viewing or other cultural pressures? Or do you believe that differences between boys and girls are a result of both biological factors and the social environment? Again, this section refers to children in general and not necessarily your own child.

For each statement, rate whether you believe that

1. biology contributes a lot more than the social environment,
2. biology contributes somewhat more than the social environment,
3. biology and the social environment equally contribute,
4. social environment contributes somewhat more than biology.
5. social environment contributes a lot more than biology.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Boys like to play with cars or toy trains more frequently than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Girls prefer playing with jump ropes, hopscotch, or skipping more frequently than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Boys like to play cops and robbers more frequently than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Boys play rough-and-tumble more frequently than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Girls like to play "house" more frequently than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Girls prefer playing dress-up more frequently than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Girls prefer to play with dolls more frequently than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Girls prefer playing with kitchen toys, such as cooking sets more frequently than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. Girls prefer playing with strollers, plastic bottles, or baby bibs more frequently than boys.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Girls are more likely than boys to play with beads, for example stringing them together.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Boys are more likely than girls to prefer toys that involve building or constructing things (e.g., Legos, model kits).
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Girls are more likely than boys to participate in pretend play with beanie babies or puppets.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Boys are more active in sports than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Boys are more active in sports that involve activity and strength than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Girls are more likely than boys to prefer dancing or gymnastics.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. Boys are more likely than girls to participate in physical play, such as playfighting or playchasing.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. Boys prefer playing outside in the yard, street, or park more frequently than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. Boys tend to get their clothing dirty more frequently than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 19. Boys are more likely than girls to play in large groups of children (instead of playing with just one or two children at a time).
- \_\_\_\_\_ 20. Girls tend to prefer having one or two best friends rather than many friends more frequently than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 21. Boys are usually more dominant with other children than girls are.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 22. Girls tend to play quiet games more frequently than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 23. Boys and girls usually prefer having playmates of the same gender.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 24. Boys are more likely than girls to get into a fight with another child than girls are.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 25. Girls cry more easily than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 26. Boys are more likely than girls to become angry at others when disappointed or frustrated.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 27. Girls are more likely than boys to get sad or upset when they are disappointed, rather than angry.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 28. Boys are often more mischievous than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 29. Boys tend to act tough more frequently than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 30. Boys are more likely than girls to tease other children more often than girls.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 31. Boys are more likely than girls to participate in activities that involve risk.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 32. It is more common for girls to comfort another child who is upset than it is for boys to do so.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 33. Girls tend to be polite and know their manners more frequently than boys.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 34. Boys prefer watching cartoons that involve battles and combat more frequently than girls.

\_\_\_\_\_ 35. Girls prefer watching Disney movies with happy endings more frequently than boys.

## REFERENCES

- Ahlberg, Christian & Sandnabba, Kenneth (1998). "Fathers and Masculinity ideology." *Psykologia*, vol. 33, p. 412-420.
- Bell, Nancy & Carver, William (1980). "A Reevaluation of Gender Label Effects: Expectant Mothers' Responses to Infants." *Child Development*, vol. 51, p. 925-927.
- Burnham, Denis & Harris, Mary (1992). "Effects of real gender and labeled gender on adults' perceptions of infants." *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 153, p.165-183.
- Cuellar, Israel; Harris, Lorwen; Jasso, Ricardo (1980). "An acculturation scale for Mexican American normal and clinical populations." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 2, p. 199-217.
- Culp, R., Cook, A., Housley, P. (1983). "A Comparison of Observed and Reported Adult-Infant Interactions: Effects of Perceived Sex." *Sex Roles*, vol. 9, p. 475-479.
- Eccles, J.; Jacobs, J.; & Harold, R. (1990). "Gender role stereotypes, expectancy effects, and parents' socialization of gender differences." *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 46, p. 183-201.
- Gonzalez, A. (1982). "Sex roles of the traditional Mexican family: A comparison of Chicano and Anglo Students' Attitudes." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 13, 330-339.
- Hall, Judith & Halberstadt, Amy (1980) "Masculinity and Femininity in Children: Development of the Children's Personal Attributes Questionnaire." *Developmental Psychology*, vol. 16, no.4, p. 270-280.



- Harris, Mary & Satter, Barbara (1981). "Sex-role Stereotypes of Kindergarten Children." *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, vol. 138, p. 49-61.
- Haugh, Susan; Hoffman, Charles; & Cowan, Gloria (1980). "The Eye of the Very Young Beholder: Sex Typing of Infants by Young Children." *Child Development*, vol. 51, p. 598-600.
- Hoffman, Lois W. & Kloska, Deborah (1995). "Parents' Gender-Based Attitudes Toward Marital Roles and Child Rearing: Development and Validation of New Measures." *Sex Roles*, vol. 32, p.273-295.
- Fagot, Beverly & Leinbach, Mary (1993). "Gender-Role Development in Young Children: From Discrimination to Labeling." *Developmental Review*, vol. 13, p.205-224.
- Flannagan et al (1995). "Talk About Preschool: Patterns of Topic Discussion and Elaboration Related to Gender and Ethnicity." *Sex Roles*, vol. 32, p. 1-15.
- Idle, Tracey; Wood, Eileen; and Desmarais, Serge (1993). "Gender role socialization in toy play situations: Mothers and fathers with their sons and daughters." *Sex Roles*, vol. 28, p. 679-691.
- Leaper, Campbell & Valin, Dena (1996). "Predictors of Mexican American Mothers' and Fathers' Attitudes Toward Gender Equality." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 18, p. 343-355.
- Ortner, Sherry B. & Whitehead, Harriet (1981). *Sexual meanings, the cultural construction of gender and sexuality*, New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Raag, Tarja and Rackliff, Christine (1998). "Preschoolers' awareness of social expectations of gender: Relationships to toy choices." *Sex Roles*, vol. 38, p. 685-700.

- Segura, D. A., & Pierce, J.L. (1993). "Chicano/a family structure and gender personality: Chodorow, familism, and psychoanalytic sociology revisited." *Signs*, 19, 62-92.
- Servin, Anna & Bohlin, Gunilla (1999). "Do Swedish Mothers Have Sex-Stereotyped Expectations and Wishes Regarding Their Own Child." *Infant and Child Development*, vol. 8, p. 197-210.
- Stephens, G., & Greer, C. (1995). "Doing Business in Mexico: Understanding cultural differences." *Organizational Dynamics*, 24, 39-55.
- Stern, Marilyn & Karraker, Katherine H. (1989). "Sex Stereotyping of Infants: a Review of Gender Labeling Studies." *Sex Roles*, vol. 20, p. 501-522.
- Turner, Patricia J. & Gervai, Judit (1995). "A Multidimensional Study of Gender Typing in Preschool Children and Their Parents: Personality, Attitudes, Preferences, Behavior, and Cultural Differences." *Developmental Psychology*, vol. 31, no. 5, p. 759-772.
- Valentine, Sean and Mosley, Gordon (2000). "Acculturation and Sex-Role Attitudes Among Mexican Americans: A Longitudinal Analysis." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 22, p. 104-113.