1996

Mothers' education and employment status and its role in children's sex-role attitudes

Yvette Marie Frojelin
San Jose State University

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MOTHERS' EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS
AND ITS ROLE IN CHILDREN'S SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Psychology
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Yvette Marie Frojelin

May 1996

UMI Number: 1379340

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APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Dr. Mildred Alvarez, Associate Professor

Dr. Robert Cooper, Professor

Dr. Lori Bartels, Assistant Professor

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

Serena H. Stanford

ABSTRACT

MOTHERS' EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND ITS ROLE IN CHILDREN'S SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES

by Yvette Marie Frojelin

This thesis addresses the influence of maternal education and work status on the sex-role attitudes of children. Of particular interest was the incorporation of highly educated women working primarily as homemakers which has previously been ignored in this literature. The Sex Role Stereotype Measure II, developed by Deborah Best (1977), was used to obtain information about androgyny, femininity, masculinity, and counterstereotype attitudes of 66 third and fourth grade children.

The results indicated that children of women with university educations were less androgynous than children of women without university educations. The findings were unexpected and contradictory to most previous research in this area. Several possible reasons are discussed for the unexpected findings, namely, fathers' household contributions and the effects of mothers' educational level on the teaching of androgyny to their children.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and give special thanks to Dr. Mildred Alvarez. She was instrumental in the completion of this thesis. Her patience and understanding as well as her continual support and assistance has been invaluable.

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Mothers' Education and Employment Status
and its Role in Children's Sex-role Attitudes

Yvette Marie Frojelin
San Jose State University

Running head: CHILDREN'S SEX-ROLE ATTITUDES

Footnotes

Requests for reprints should be sent to Yvette Frojelin, Department of
Psychology, San Jose State University, San Jose, California 95192.

Abstract

The influence of maternal education and work status on childrens' sex-role attitudes was investigated. Of particular interest was the incorporation of highly educated women working primarily as homemakers which has previously been ignored in this type of literature. The Sex Role Stereotype Measure II, developed by Deborah Best (1977), was used to obtain information about androgyny, femininity, masculinity, and counterstereotype attitudes of 66 third and fourth grade children. The results indicated that children of women with university educations were less androgynous than children of women without university educations. The findings were unexpected and contradictory to most previous research in this area. Several possible reasons are discussed for the unexpected findings, namely, fathers' household contributions and the effects of mothers' educational level on the teaching of androgyny to their children.

Mothers' Education and Employment Status and Its Role
in Children's Sex-Role Attitudes

Sex roles can be defined as "behavior that is culturally accepted as appropriate for each sex" (Grusec & Lytton, 1988, p.405). Sex roles are seen by many as among the most prominent of an individual's social roles (Mussen, 1969), and parents are recognized as significant others in transmitting these and other social norms to their children (Cooley, 1976). They are influential in establishing the attitudes children have regarding themselves and the attitudes towards social roles that society considers appropriate for them (Rollins & White, 1982). Other significant influences include the media, society, culture, and peers. Children as young as age two or three are already beginning to learn traditional sex-role stereotypes (Kuhn, Nash, & Brucken, 1978), and by age seven or eight they are as accurate as adults in labeling traits or activities as stereotypically masculine or feminine (Masters & Wilkinson, 1976). In the past few decades, with women's changing roles, an increasing number of women are achieving higher educational levels and are entering the work force. With the general societal trend in the United States towards egalitarianism, many researchers are choosing to study women's changing roles and the effects of these changing roles on the sex-role attitudes of their children. One of the most frequently studied aspects of sex-role attitudes has focused on the acquisition of androgyny.

Characteristics Associated with Androgyny

Androgyny emphasizes positive individual characteristics typically associated with both males and females, such as independence and sensitivity (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975). Huston (1985) views androgynous individuals as those socialized away from socially prescribed sex roles. Studies have indicated that compared to masculine or feminine stereotyped individuals, androgynous individuals seem to be highly adaptable and able to adjust their behavior to the demands of the situation at hand (Shaffer, Pegalis, & Correll, 1992). Androgynous individuals also appear to enjoy higher levels of self-esteem and are perceived as more likable and better adjusted (Allgood-Merten & Stockard, 1991; Boldizar, 1991; Massad, 1981; O'Heron & Orlofsky, 1990). Moreover, some investigators have noted that highly sex-typed children of either sex display poorer levels of psychological functioning than children who have characteristics associated with both sexes (i.e., androgynous characteristics) (Maccoby, 1966).

It has been found that non-traditional sex-role attitudes are associated with lower psychiatric symptoms in employed women and with higher self-esteem in non-employed women (Parry, 1987). Non-traditional men have also been found to have lower needs for dominance and achievement than more traditional men (Greenberg & Zeldow, 1977). Moreover, it would appear that positive masculine attributes (e.g., independence) are the most significant and adaptive components of androgyny, especially for females (Huston, 1983).

Maternal Characteristics and Children's Sex-Role Attitudes

A great majority of investigations have studied the effects of mothers' rather than fathers' attitudes and work status on children's sex-role attitudes. Mothers have been studied extensively in part because of their changing roles, although Huston (1983) points out that non-stereotyped socialization may be most effective when both or either parent takes on non-traditional roles. This suggests that parents' non-traditional roles and attitudes may be more influential to children's development of non-stereotyped attitudes than the sex of the parent, per se. Additionally, although studies comparing the influence of both mother and father are rare, some have found mothers to be more influential than fathers in shaping certain attitudes in their children. For instance, a study by Acock and Bengston (1978) found mothers to be more influential than fathers in the formation of their children's religious and political attitudes.

The influence of maternal employment has likewise been investigated. Many studies find that children whose mothers are employed have more flexible attitudes about sex-appropriate social behavior (they see women as more competent and men as warmer) and about parental task division than do children of nonemployed women (Grusec & Lytton, 1988). Career oriented women have been found to have less stereotypical views of "appropriate" feminine roles and behavior than homemakers. Additionally, children of highly educated mothers have been found to have less stereotypical views of sex roles

than children of mothers with less formal educations (Nagley, 1971). Rollins and White (1982) studied mother-daughter relations as a function of the mother's employment status. Mothers were categorized as traditional, not employed outside the home; dual-work, employed because of economic necessity; or dual-career, mothers with an advanced degree and a professional career. The findings of this study suggest that the daughters' role choices were significantly related to their mothers' attitudes. In this study, dual-career dyads reported consistently stronger non-traditional attitudes regarding female roles, marriage, children, and careers than the other two groups, who held more traditional views in these areas. For example, daughters of dual-career mothers reported a desire to have children less often than the daughters in the dual-work and homemaker groups.

The literature regarding sex differences in androgynous attitudes in children suggests that when differences occur, they reveal that girls have more androgynous attitudes than boys (Karres & D'Ilio, 1990; Stericker & Kurdek, 1982). For example, Karres and D'Ilio (1990) found that student leaders from grades 6-11 attributed various leadership skills as appropriate for boys or girls. Boys gave more traditional responses than girls, who indicated all leadership positions to be appropriate for either sex. However, differences appear to be affected by the education and occupational roles of parents. For instance, Lamie, Smith, Lenzer, Street, and Stewart (1988) studied children of highly educated/professional working women and found no differences between

boys and girls in androgyny. In sum, there does not appear to be a difference in how boys and girls view "sex-appropriate" behavior, except when the opposite sex parent is poorly educated and unprofessional.

The issue of sex-role attitudes is an important one today, especially as it relates to women's opportunities and achievements, and the multiple roles women play. An individual's attitude may indeed influence his/her behavior. For example, androgynous individuals have been found to pay less attention to gender and are less likely to discriminate against women than traditionally sex-typed individuals (Frable, 1989). There is a focus on androgyny today as an emphasis on blending masculine and feminine traits. Too often children are influenced by socially prescribed roles based on their sex, thus limiting them to certain styles of thinking and behaving. These influences may have far-reaching effects in a variety of areas, such as choice of coursework in school and occupational alternatives (AAUW Report, 1992). However, it would be better for individuals to see others as people, regardless of their biological sex.

The concept of androgyny does have its critics who accuse androgyny researchers of promoting and maintaining the masculine/feminine distinction, using it for the definition of androgyny. However, the theory does have the useful purpose of emphasizing that certain attributes will be of value, regardless of whether they are seen as typically masculine or feminine (Grusec & Lytton, 1988).

Overview of Study

Because different groups of women work for a variety of reasons (e.g., necessity, professional satisfaction, and so on), it may be inappropriate to group together all women working outside the home. Likewise, full-time homemakers cannot be treated as a single group. The design for this study was chosen because many studies in this area have failed to recognize full-time homemakers with higher education. This study separated this highly educated group from high school educated homemakers and explored the differing effects of education and work on the sex-role attitudes of children.

In this study, four groups of mothers were identified: (a) university educated and working, (b) non-university educated and working, (c) university educated working primarily as homemakers, and (d) non-university educated working primarily as homemakers. Their children, boys and girls ages seven through ten, were given the 32-item Sex Stereotype Measure II (SSM II), developed by Deborah Best (1977), to assess the children's sex-role orientation. The quasi-independent variables were the education/work status of the mother and the child's gender, and the dependent variable was the child's score on the SSM II. It was hypothesized that boys' and girls' scores on the SSM II would differ as a function of mothers' work status and educational level. Specifically, it was expected that children whose mothers were university educated and working would have the highest androgyny scores, with no differences between girls and boys, and that boys and girls whose mothers

were high school educated homemakers would be most stereotypical in their sex-role attitudes. However, the major aim of the research was to examine the relative contribution of maternal education and employment status to androgynous attitudes in young children. Perhaps because employment status serves as a more "active" form of modeling non-traditional roles than education alone, it was hypothesized that it may be the act of working more than education per se that contributes to young children's androgynous attitudes. Because many previous studies have addressed androgyny as an outcome, the specific hypotheses for this study deal with the androgyny variable. The hypotheses were as follows: (a) Children of university educated women would have more androgynous sex-role attitudes than children of non-university educated women; (b) children of women working primarily outside the home would have more androgynous sex-role attitudes than children of mothers working primarily as homemakers; (c) children of women who were both university educated and working primarily outside the home would have the most androgynous attitudes, with no differences between boys and girls; (d) children of women who were non-university educated and working primarily as homemakers would have the least androgynous sex-role attitudes, with young boys having more traditional attitudes than young girls.

Method

Participants

Subjects were 66 third and fourth grade children, seven through ten years of age, (mean age = 8.58 years) and their mothers. Subjects

were drawn from private schools or middle income public school districts. Children were divided into four groups: (a) Those with mothers working "20 or more hours" outside the home who have earned at least a four year university degree; (b) those with mothers working "20 or more hours" outside the home who have earned a high school degree, high school equivalency certificate, other technical training (i.e., dental assistant training, beauty college, etc.), or two year college degree; (c) those with mothers working "less than twenty hours" outside the home who have earned at least a four year university degree; and (d) those with mothers working "less than twenty hours" outside the home who have earned a high school degree, high school equivalency certificate, other technical training, or two year college degree.

There were 28 boys and 38 girls from various family backgrounds (i.e. single parent, two-parent, etc.). On the education variable, there were 34 children whose mothers had earned a two year college degree or less and 32 whose mothers had earned a bachelor's degree or higher. On the work variable, there were 19 children whose mothers worked less than 20 hours per week outside the home, and 42 children whose mothers worked between 20 and 50 hours outside the home (with six missing values). The numbers of boys and girls assigned to each group were as follows: (a) University educated and working, $n = 17$ (5 boys and 12 girls); (b) non-university educated and working, $n = 25$ (10 boys and 15 girls); (c) university educated working primarily as homemakers, $n = 12$ (6 boys and 6 girls); (d) non-university educated working

primarily as homemakers, $n = 7$ (4 boys and 3 girls).

A letter explaining the study was sent home to women asking their permission for them and their children to participate. Along with the letter, women were asked to complete a questionnaire to determine their educational level and work status (see Appendix B). The SSM II questionnaire was administered in the child's school or home. Two female experimenters administered the SSM II and children were tested individually.

Materials and Procedure

The 32-item SSM II was administered to each child. The test consists of two sentence stories, illustrating 32 attributes identified as typically male or typically female by university students. Best (1977) used synonymous words for each item which would be understood by young children.

Researchers spent about 5-10 minutes with each child in their home or school administering the questionnaire. The sample question provided by Best is as follows: "Some people are emotional. They cry when something good happens as well as when something bad happens. Who are the emotional people? Are they girls, boys, both girls and boys, or are you unsure?" (Best, 1977). Appendix C presents the exact adjective/items and questions asked to the children and the stereotype designation of each adjective. The questions in Appendix C were constructed based on the one example provided by Best. The child's task was to point to one of four boxes. One box had the label "boy"

with a stick-figure drawing. A second box had the label "girl," also with a stick figure drawing. A third box had the label "both" with two stick figures, and a final box had the label "unsure" and was absent of any stick figures (see Appendix D). The children's responses to the SSM II were scored to yield an "androgynous score." This was calculated by counting the total number of attributes assigned by the child to the category of both males and females (each attribute assigned to the "both" category received one point). Although the main emphasis was on androgyny, the SSM II also provides three additional scores. A "masculine stereotype score" was calculated by assigning one point for the selection of the male figure in response to a masculine stereotyped item. Similarly, a "feminine stereotype score" was obtained by counting the number of times a child selected the female figure in response to a feminine stereotyped item. In addition, a "counterstereotype score" was calculated by assigning one point for the selection of the male figure in response to a feminine-stereotyped item and vice-versa. The calculation of all scores ("androgynous", "masculine", "feminine", and "counterstereotype") was based on the scoring procedure defined by Best (1977).

Results

A 2 (university, non-university education) X 2 (working primarily outside the home, working primarily as homemaker) X 2 (male, female) factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. The dependent variables were the child's score of masculine, feminine, androgynous,

and counterstereotype on the SSM II (see Table 1 for a description of the number of children identifying each attribute on the SSM II as male, female, or androgynous, and Table 2 for the means and standard deviations for each subject group on the main dependent variable, androgyny). The four hypotheses were tested by examining the main effects (hypotheses 1 and 2) and interactions (hypotheses 3 and 4) on the androgyny dependent variable. There were no significant main effects or interactions found on the three-way ANOVA. Thus, analyses failed to support the hypotheses of this study. Although the three independent variables did not have a significant effect on children's performance on any of the dimensions measured by the SSM II, an inspection of the results suggested that of the three independent variables (i.e., work status, education level, and child sex), maternal education level appeared most promising in being able to shed light on some of the central questions raised in this study. Consequently, several post-hoc analyses were conducted to further explore the data. Special attention was placed on exploring the role of maternal education.

Post-hoc, Exploratory Analyses

Recall that hypothesis 1 addressed the education variable and stated that children of university educated women would have more androgynous sex-role attitudes than children of non-university educated women. To further explore the role of maternal education on children's androgynous beliefs, several post-hoc analyses were performed. A oneway ANOVA was conducted with androgyny score by education. The results

Children's Sex-Role Attitudes

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Table 1

Number of Answers Given By Children For Each Measure

Adjective	"Boys"	"Girls"	"Both"
emotional	1	21	35
aggressive	49	1	13
adventurous	16	3	38
appreciative	0	19	36
weak	1	17	25
independent	9	6	31
disorderly	18	3	26
talkative	11	10	39
rattlebrained	3	10	37
enterprising	6	7	43
jolly	2	10	48
gentle	0	36	29
frivolous	33	2	24
cruel	28	1	24
steady	3	18	31
fussy	7	18	26
meek	2	28	29
boastful	21	6	28
coarse	34	1	22

Children's Sex-Role Attitudes

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Adjective	"Boys"	"Girls"	"Both"
whiny	5	7	41
charming	7	17	25
severe	9	15	29
loud	30	2	21
excitable	6	15	36
affectionate	2	21	34
dominant	25	4	28
self-confident	8	8	35
sensitive	0	40	17
submissive	8	12	31
logical	4	18	28
strong	47	1	13
affected	1	19	35

Note. Number of answers for each question may not total 66 as students had option to answer "unsure".

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of Children's Androgyny Scores

	<u>Maternal Education Level</u>			
	University Educated		Non-University Educated	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)	M(SD)
<u>Maternal Work Status</u>				
Work Outside	8.00	14.30	17.10	19.40
Home	(2.00)	(3.30)	(9.68)	(7.53)
Work Inside	16.00	15.13	16.00	14.00
Home	(6.87)	(6.06)	(6.06)	(9.64)

were significant, $F(1, 64) = 4.57, p < .05$, however reflecting the opposite trend than what was hypothesized. Children whose mothers were university educated were found to have lower androgyny scores (mean androgyny score = 14.09) than children whose mothers possessed a two-year college degree or less (mean androgyny score = 17.68). Several analyses were conducted to determine any influences contributing to this unique finding. A t -test of the mean number of hours of work by education was conducted to determine if mothers with less formal educations were working more hours than mothers with higher education levels. The mean number of hours worked per week is shown in Table 3. The average did appear to be slightly higher, but was not significant, $t(59) = 1.72, p < .10$, with university educated women working an average of 22 hours per week and women with two-year college degrees or less working an average of 29 hours per week. Descriptive information obtained from frequencies on the background questions was reviewed to determine whether possible differences in family composition (e.g., single parent status, number of children in household) might have played a role in the unexpected findings regarding the role of maternal education in children's androgynous responses. The data did not reveal differences as a function of maternal education on these family variables. Other post-hoc analyses were performed to determine any significance on the other dependent measures, femininity, masculinity, and counterstereotype. A close, but nonsignificant difference, $F(1, 64) = 3.72, p < .06$, was found on children's femininity scores as a function of mothers' education

Table 3

Average Amount of Hours Worked Per Week By Level of Mothers' Education

Level of Education		Hours
Middle school/Junior High	(n=1)	25.00
High School	(n=7)	18.83
GED/Specialized Training	(n=8)	25.00
Two Year College	(n=18)	34.67
Bachelor's Degree	(n=23)	20.00
Graduate Degree	(n=9)	26.00

status, supporting the result of the oneway ANOVA exploring maternal education and children's androgynous beliefs. Specifically, children of higher educated women held more feminine stereotyped beliefs (mean = 5.09) than children of women with lesser educations (mean = 3.74).

Several Pearson correlations were conducted which resulted in an additional interesting finding. A positive correlation between androgyny score and number of children in the family was found for girls and not for boys, $r(39) = .3217$, $p < .05$. It appears that girls' androgynous attitudes are more affected by the number of siblings they have than boys' attitudes.

Discussion

The results of this study offer contradictions to the previous research in this field. Undoubtedly, part of the contradictory results found in this study may be attributed to the fact that this study acknowledges that homemakers may have as varied educational levels as working mothers.

There can be several possible explanations for the reverse effects of education on androgyny found in this study. It could be that women with less formal education tend to put forth a greater effort in teaching their children androgynous beliefs. Perhaps they had fewer opportunities for a formal education and want to impress upon their children further the ability to act adaptively and not be limited in goals or behaviors by one's gender. Highly educated women may feel less of a need to impress upon their children these attitudes, feeling it is reflected

in their roles or behavior. In addition, because women with less formal education tended to work slightly more hours outside the home, this could have an indirect effect on fathers, who may be required to do more work inside the home and with the children, therefore creating a more "androgynous" home environment. This study utilized a small sample size which may have had an effect on the results as well.

It is important to point out that similar to previous studies (i.e., Marants, 1977), it was difficult to achieve a pure sample of subjects. It would have been ideal to have all participating children, for example, from two-parent, intact families, strictly working full-time or as homemakers, but this could not be achieved. In addition, there is no accounting for length of time in the work force or as a homemaker, and many women's careers tended to incorporate both at some point in their children's lives.

Additionally, it is possible that children may be answering questions on the SSM II on several different dimensions. For example, are they answering on beliefs as applied to the average male or female in the population, beliefs they themselves engage in, or possibly characteristics that they believe males and females ought to have? The SSM II questionnaire as used here seems to apply to children's beliefs about behavior the average male or female engages in, and of note for future studies is to clarify the exact focus being sought and use the appropriate measure for that purpose. It would seem that asking questions with a different focus might indeed produce a different result.

Of additional value for future studies would be to utilize a questionnaire where children could respond on a continuum, rather than to have a forced choice response such as in the SSM II. This study also did not ask mothers about their own sex-role attitudes which could be an important influence in their children's attitudes. Finally, future studies should look at the influence of fathers on their children's sex-role attitudes because fathers' roles, as well as mothers' roles, continue to change.

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Children's Sex-Role Attitudes

Office of the Academic Vice President • Associate Academic Vice President • Graduate Studies and Research
One Washington Square • San Jose, California 95192-0025 • 408/924-2480

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Appendix A

To: Yvette Frojelin
6030 Guadalupe Mines Road
San Jose, CA 95120

From: Serena W. Stanford *Serena W. Stanford*
AAVP, Graduate Studies and Research

Date: February 11, 1993

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

"Mothers Education and Employment Status and Its
Role in Children's Sex-Role Attitudes"

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to any and all data that may be collected from the subjects. The Board's approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Dr. Serena Stanford immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma and release of potentially damaging personal information.

Please also be advised that each subject needs to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate or withdrawal will not affect any services the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have questions, please contact me at 408-924-2480.

CC: Mildred Alvarez

Children's Sex-Role Attitudes

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Appendix B

SEX-ROLES ATTITUDE RESEARCH PROJECT
BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

1. YOUR NAME: _____
2. NAMES OF CHILDREN, AGES AND SEX:
NAME _____ AGE: _____ SEX: _____
NAME _____ AGE: _____ SEX: _____
NAME _____ AGE: _____ SEX: _____
3. MARITAL STATUS (PLEASE CHECK (X) ONE):
SINGLE _____ MARRIED _____ SEPARATED _____ DIVORCED _____
WIDOWED _____

IF YOU ARE MARRIED, HOW MANY YEARS HAVE YOUR CHILDREN BEEN RAISED
BY YOU AND YOUR PRESENT SPOUSE: _____
4. MOTHER'S OCCUPATION (describe as fully as possible): _____

IF EMPLOYED OUTSIDE THE HOME, HOW MANY HOURS PER WEEK: _____

IF EMPLOYED OUTSIDE THE HOME, HOW MANY CONSECUTIVE YEARS HAVE
YOU WORKED OUTSIDE THE HOME: _____

IF A FULL-TIME HOMEMAKER, HOW MANY CONSECUTIVE YEARS HAVE YOU
WORKED AS A FULL-TIME HOMEMAKER: _____
5. MOTHER'S EDUCATION (check (X) highest level):
 - a. ELEMENTARY ()
 - b. MIDDLE SCHOOL/JUNIOR HIGH ()
 - c. HIGH SCHOOL ()
 - d. HIGH SCHOOL EQUIVALENT/POST HIGH-SCHOOL
SPECIALIZED TRAINING (e.g., dental
assistant, etc.) ()
 - e. 2-YEAR COLLEGE ()
 - f. BACHELOR'S DEGREE ()
 - g. BEYOND BACHELOR'S DEGREE (GRADUATE SCHOOL) ()

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6. FATHER'S OCCUPATION (describe as fully as possible): _____

7. FATHER'S EDUCATION (check (X) highest level):

- a. ELEMENTARY ()
- b. MIDDLE SCHOOL/JUNIOR HIGH ()
- c. HIGH SCHOOL ()
- d. HIGH SCHOOL EQUIVALENCY/POST HIGH SCHOOL
SPECIALIZED TRAINING (e.g., dental
assistant) ()
- d. 2-YEAR COLLEGE ()
- e. BACHELOR'S DEGREE ()
- f. BEYOND BACHELOR'S DEGREE (GRADUATE SCHOOL) ()

8. WHAT IS THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD (PLEASE DESCRIBE WHAT DUTIES ARE PERFORMED BY YOU AND YOUR SPOUSE, IF APPLICABLE, INCLUDING THE DUTIES ASSOCIATED WITH CHILDREARING, AND THE PERCENTAGE OF TIME ENGAGED IN THESE ACTIVITIES DURING A WEEKDAY):

LIST OF
HOUSEHOLD DUTIES

PERCENTAGE PER WEEKDAY
YOU SPOUSE

THANK YOU FOR YOUR FAMILY'S PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY. IF YOU HAVE ANY COMMENTS ABOUT THE STUDY PLEASE TELL US: _____

Appendix C

QUESTIONS ASKED FOR EACH STEREOTYPE

1. Emotional. "Some people are emotional, they cry when something good happens as well as when something bad happens." (Each question followed by, "Who are these people, are they girls, boys, both girls and boys, or are you unsure"). F^a.
2. Aggressive. "Some people are aggressive and tough. They get into fights often and are very pushy." M.
3. Adventurous. "Some people are adventurous and outgoing. For example, they may be likely to go on a safari." M.
4. Appreciative. "Some people are thankful and always say thank you." F.
5. Weak. "Some people are weak and always give in to what others want." F.
6. Independent. "Some people are independent and get along by themselves. They do not rely on other people." M.
7. Disorderly. "Some people are sloppy and messy." M.
8. Talkative. "Some people are talkative and talk a lot." F.
9. Rattlebrained. "Some people are always changing their minds." F.
10. Enterprising. "Some people are hard-working. They may, for example, own a big store." M.
11. Jolly. "Some people are happy and laugh a lot." M.
12. Gentle. "Some people are very gentle. They may, for example, hold puppies very carefully." F.
13. Frivolous. "Some people buy silly things and act in silly ways." F.
14. Cruel. "Some people are cruel and hurt other people." M.
15. Steady (Unexcitable). "Some people do not get excited and are very calm." M.
16. Fussy. "Some people always want things perfect and are very picky." F.

17. Meek. "Some people are shy and quiet." F.
18. Boastful. "Some people talk and brag about the things they have done." M.
19. Coarse. "Some people are rude and say bad words." M.
20. Whiny. "Some people are always complaining and finding faults in other people." F.
21. Charming (flirtatious). "Some people like to flirt a lot." F.
22. Severe. "Some people are very strict and frown when things are done wrong." M.
23. Loud. "Some people talk very loud." M.
24. Excitable. "Some people get excited easily." F.
25. Affectionate. "Some people like to hug and kiss a lot." F.
26. Dominant. "Some people like to make most of the rules." M.
27. Self-confident. "Some people are very sure of themselves." M.
28. Sensitive. "Some people are soft-hearted and may, for example, feel sorry when kittens get hurt." F.
29. Submissive. "Some people rely on others and depend on others to make the rules." F.
30. Logical. "Some people solve their problems very carefully." M.
31. Strong. "Some people are strong and tough." M.
32. Affected (sophisticated). "Some people have very good manners and do everything just right." F.

^aEach question follows with an 'M' or 'F' which designates each adjective as stereotypically male or stereotypically female, respectively.

Appendix D

"BOYS"

"GIRLS"

"BOYS AND GIRLS"

"UNSURE"