

Adolescents in Conflict:  
Associations between Gender Socialization, Gender Conflict, and Well-being

by

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## Glossary

Note. \*Definitions adapted from Galambos, N.L. (2006). Gender and gender role development in adolescence. In R.M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds), *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (pp. 233-263). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, Inc.

\**Gender role* or *gender norm* – cultural expectations about what is normative and appropriate behavior for men and women

\**Gender identity* or *gender role identity* or *gender role orientation* – knowing that one is male or female (usually applied to small children); extent to which individuals see themselves as possessing masculine or feminine traits

\**Gender role attitudes* – feelings of approval or disapproval toward traditionally prescribed gender roles

\**Gender stereotypes* – individual's beliefs about the characteristics associated with males and females

*Gender conflict* – perceiving gender role expectations to be conflicting, contradictory, or inconsistent

## Abstract

Although gender beliefs play an important role in shaping adolescents' mental health and risk behavior, little is known about the development of such beliefs or the role that parents play in gender socialization. Qualitative accounts suggest that parental messages are varied and often inconsistent, but no instruments exist that allow for a systematic examination of message content or the nature of such inconsistencies. Further, little is known about the impact of receiving conflicting socialization on *gender conflict* – internalizing conflicting gender expectations.

Accordingly, the aim of the current work was to develop ways to quantitatively assess gender socialization and gender conflict and to test for connections to mental health and risk behavior among adolescents. The first study used a sample of 272 undergraduates to validate a Gender Socialization Scale that measured eight socialization discourses such as being nice, being tough, and traditional gender roles. A sample of 291 undergraduates was used to develop a Gender Conflict Scale that measured participants' perceptions of conflicting gender role expectations. The second study used the same sample to expand the Gender Socialization Scale to include discourses pertaining to gendered expectations in sexual situations, such as abstinence and the sexual double standard. Results from this study showed that receiving some types of conflicting messages was linked with increased gender conflict, which, in turn, was associated with depression, anxiety, body dissatisfaction and a greater number of sexual partners. Finally, using a sample of 259 high school students, results from the third study linked receiving

conflicting socialization with increased gender conflict for younger adolescents. Associations between socialization discourses, gender conflict, gender attitudes, and outcomes were then simultaneously modeled using SEM. Socialization messages about gender predicted adolescents' own gender beliefs, but neither construct was related to outcomes. Abstinence communication, however, was associated with less sexual risk and substance use, whereas communication endorsing the sexual double standard was related to more risk. Receiving messages regarding the sexual double standard was also associated with increased gender conflict, which was related to anxiety, depression, and body dissatisfaction. However, receiving messages promoting egalitarian gender roles was associated with a decrease in gender conflict.

## Chapter 1

### Gender Development and Gender Conflict: Existing Research and Theory

#### *Gender Socialization: Differential Treatment of Boys and Girls*

One of the primary tasks of adolescence is to explore, negotiate, and finally consolidate one's identity (Erikson, 1968). Because gender is one of the most primary aspects of identity, a good deal of research in this area has centered on documenting the nature and consequences of early gender development. Theories of gender socialization have pointed to the important role of parents both in providing information and in serving as powerful enforcers of gender-appropriate behavior and beliefs (Parke & Buriel, 1998). Yet little is known about the content of these communications nor about the degree to which gender socialization messages vary within and across sources. For example, what messages do parents convey to their children about gender, and are these messages always consistent? How does parental socialization affect adolescents' gender beliefs? In addition, little is also known about the effects of conflicting or contradictory socialization.

Much of the research on gender socialization has focused on parents as models and enforcers of gender-typed behavior. A body of literature has documented parents' role in teaching gender norms to their children through toy choice and room décor (Block, 1983; Lytton & Romney, 1991; McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003) as well as through their monitoring of children's play and compliance with gender-typed behavior.

Specifically, parents have been found to encourage emotional restraint, competition, and assertiveness in their sons while fostering verbal expression, nurturance, and “ladylike behavior” in their daughters (Block, 1983; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Ruble et al., 2006). For example, studies of parenting have shown that parents engage in more verbal communication with their daughters than their sons and expect more verbal communication in return (Leaper, Anderson, & Sanders, 1998). Parents tend to engage in more rough-and-tumble play with their sons than with their daughters, and provide more motor-stimulating activities (Lytton & Romney, 1991). Compared to mothers, fathers tend to be more consistent and more negative in their reactions to cross-gender behaviors of their children (Langlois & Downs, 1980; Lytton & Romney, 1991; Raag & Rackliff, 1998), and father’s own gender beliefs influence the degree to which male and female children receive differential socialization in the family (McHale, Crouter, & Tucker, 1999).

With the onset of puberty, adolescents are believed to become more aware of gender norms and expectations in a process referred to as *gender intensification* (Hill & Lynch, 1983). As part of this process, gender-related socialization, triggered by the physical markers of puberty (such as body hair growth, breast development, and voice drop), is believed to peak. Parents are believed to begin encouraging more gender traditional behavior and attitudes in their adolescent sons and daughters in a variety of areas. For example, parents begin to divide household chores along gendered lines, encourage athletic or academic after-school activities for their sons and more nurturing tasks for their daughters, and promote different academic fields to their sons and daughters (Eccles et al., 1993; Leaper, Anderson, & Sanders, 1998; Lytton & Romney,

1991; McHale, Crouter, & Tucker, 1999; McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003; Ruble et al., 2006). Until recently, studies have found that parents expected their sons to excel in science and mathematics and encouraged girls to perform well in English and humanities (Eccles et al., 1993). In addition, during adolescence, parents tend to become more protective of their daughters by restricting curfews, car privileges, and dating (Peters, 1994; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Compared with their sisters, adolescent boys enjoy relatively more freedoms during this period.

To sum, parents have been found to play an important role in children's early gender socialization through differential treatment of boys and girls and through encouraging gender-typed toy choice, room décor, and interaction. This pattern appears to continue, and possibly intensify, during adolescence when curfews and dating become new arenas for differential socialization in the family.

#### *Gender Socialization: Direct Communication*

The majority of what is known about children's gender socialization has come from studies that have focused on differential treatment of girls and boys. Children have been found to receive different treatment based on gender when parents encourage and reinforce gender-typed behavior. Yet, little is known about socialization patterns that are more direct, such as specific verbal messages or implicit unspoken ones (McHale, Crouter, & Whiteman, 2003; Ruble et al., 2006). Receiving explicit directives promoting gender-related behavior and attitudes is likely to be influential, yet because no quantitative examination has been undertaken, we know little about direct communication children and adolescents receive about gender.

To address this issue, we begin exploring gender socialization content by looking at other related literatures. One such literature consists of studies that have focused on sexual socialization, as many of the sexual themes contain gendered messages. Driven by health concerns around early sexual activities, studies examining communication about sex-related issues tend to examine the number of times parents engaged in conversations with their children about sexual risk topics or the extent to which information on such topics had been provided. Here, findings indicate that mothers are the primary communicators in the family (DiIorio, Pluhar, & Belcher, 2003; Raffaelli, Bogenschneider, & Flood, 1998; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1999; White, Wright, & Barnes, 1995), and generally appear to provide cautionary messages, focusing on safety, STDs, and abstinence, especially to girls (DiIorio, Kelley, & Hockenberry-Eaton, 1999; DiIorio, Pluhar, & Belcher, 2003; Epstein & Ward, 2008; Miller, Kotchick, Dorsey, Forehand, & Ham, 1998).

From these survey data, which focus mainly on recollections from college students, we can conclude that parents generally encourage healthy sexual behavior to their children. However, parents may also endorse the sexual double standard, imposing strict mandates for virginity for their daughters while condoning sexual behavior for their sons. Overall, it appears that, in addition to providing information about the more biological aspects of sex, sexual communication from parents also carries gendered messages. Parents appear to communicate differently with their sons and daughters and set up different expectations for sexual behavior for boys versus girls.

Although examining sexual communication may help us identify some of the gender-related messages adolescents receive, communication about sexual relations is

only one aspect of learning about gender-role norms and expectations. Investigating qualitative research on gender communication may also help elucidate parental gender socialization. Looking directly for studies that document explicit communication of other gender-related messages, we see that only a handful of studies have focused specifically on gender. For example, using interviews of adult Latina/os Raffaelli and Ontai (2004) explored the differential treatment they recalled experiencing in the family while growing up. Women recalled receiving parental messages that encouraged them to wear long hair and gender-appropriate clothes, take care of younger siblings, and play indoors, while men recalled messages encouraging manly or “macho” behavior, emotional control, and the performance of outdoor chores. As one Latina recalled from her childhood,

Girls are always supposed to be proper and they weren't supposed to do guy things.... Girls were supposed to have dresses, you know, and stuff like that. Wear always like perfect little matching earrings, you know, and dresses and little outfits, little like all girl-type things (p.290).

What seems like a straight-forward message encouraging traditional gender roles, however, becomes more complicated when socialization messages from multiple contexts are considered simultaneously. For example, one Latina describes her father as someone who simultaneously encouraged both achievement and a traditional role for his daughter

He wanted the best for us, he wants the best education for us and everything and the best opportunities, but women still need to have their traditional roles of being able to cook, being able to clean, being able to look nice, nicely dressed, and yet not go out with boyfriends before they're married or bringing a man home before, you know, this whole socialization process is going in my home (p.291).

Another qualitative study documenting gender socialization in African American communities suggests that these families take a more egalitarian approach to parenting

(Hill, 2002). In interviews with African American parents, Hill found that most emphasized a desire to instill gender-egalitarian beliefs in their children. As one parent noted, "I will definitely teach my son that men and women are equal; he is not the head of anybody. His wife will always have input and say-so in whatever is going on in their lives" (p.497). Fathers in this study also supported equal treatment of boys and girls, as evidenced by one father of an adolescent daughter who said, "I'm teaching my daughter to have a career. If she then chooses to go back in the home, a decision between her and her future spouse, then that's fine... if my daughter wanted to be a doctor, we're going to find the money to pay for it" (p.498).

In sum, increased emphasis on gender during adolescence makes this period a particularly compelling time for examining the development and negotiation of gender norms. Adolescents are exposed to a variety of socialization messages relating to gender and sexuality. However, it remains unclear what types of messages parents convey to their adolescent children, which themes are emphasized more, and whether communication differs by gender. In order to systematically examine gender socialization during adolescence, we need better instruments that address both the direct nature of such messages and their content.

### *Gender Ideology*

The degree to which children and adolescents experience traditional or egalitarian gender role socialization is likely to affect their beliefs about the gender expectations (beliefs about what men and women should be like) they will strive to meet. What are gender norms for men and women? In the western world, traditional masculine *ideology* (the prescriptive set of behaviors and attitudes men are expected to possess) calls for a

man to adhere to four broad cultural standards: to be strong, tough, and unemotional; to be independent and self-reliant in order to compete and succeed in the workplace and with other men; to avoid femininity and homosexuality; and to be assertive and virile sexually (Crawford & Unger, 2004; David & Brannon, 1976; Mahalik et al., 2003; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986).

By contrast, traditional expectations for women are to be nurturing and sweet, passive and pleasant, beautiful and pure (Brown, 1997). Girls learn early on the importance of physical appearance in attracting the opposite sex and the high standards of beauty and thinness they are expected to meet, both especially apparent in the trend toward thinner models and more body exposure in the media (e.g. Phillips, 2000; Sypeck, Gray, & Ahrens, 2004). Further, women who did not subscribe to the notion of traditional femininity, such as women athletes, report criticism regarding their body size, muscularity, choice of clothing and hairstyles (Fallon & Jome, 2007; Krane, Choi, Baird, Aimar, & Kauer, 2004). Women athletes noted that even their close female friends often commented on “how much they ate compared to ‘normal’ women” (Krane et al., 2004, p.324), further enforcing traditional femininity.

When it comes to dating and sexuality, women experience contradictory expectations concerning acceptable levels of sexual experience. Younger girls are presented with the role of the “gatekeeper,” whose job it is to limit the sexual advances of boys (Fine, 1988). Older adolescents feel pressure to remain virginal and pure, denying their own feelings of desire, while at the same time attending to the sexual and emotional needs of their dating partners (Lott, 1987; Wyatt & Riederle, 1994). Finally, women are expected to take care of others, give priority to others’ needs, and deny their sense of self

and voice (Jack, 1991; Tolman & Porche, 2000). Thus, socialized gender norms are likely to influence men's and women's beliefs about gender ideals and the models they strive to fulfill. Yet, achieving these ideals may be difficult, and meeting such goals can bring about personal and social costs.

### *Achieving the Masculine Gender Ideal*

Although the cultural gender norms, or gender ideals, are pervasive and easily accessible, meeting these ideals may be much more difficult, both because the expectations themselves are difficult to meet and because actually meeting them may come at a price. For example, endorsing the notion that a man should be stoic, tough, sexually assertive, and strive to avoid weakness at all costs can lead to suppressing feelings of fear and pain, and to distancing oneself from support of friends and romantic partners (Mansfield, Addis, & Mahalik, 2003; O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995).

Yet, how are these masculine gender norms defined and measured in the literature? The majority of current research on masculinity is based on Pleck's (1995) "gender role strain" framework. Here, Pleck emphasized the repercussions of endorsing masculine ideology, focusing on the incongruity between culturally-valued male qualities (the ideal) and those behaviors that promote healthy functioning (e.g. close personal relationships). For example, recent research on alexithymia, or the inability to verbalize one's emotions, has linked this disorder to endorsing masculine gender norms as well as to difficulty in help-seeking and poor intimacy skills (Levant et al., 2003).

Effects of gender role strain have been well documented in the masculinity literature through the use of the Male Role Attitude Scale (MRAS; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). In just eight items, this scale combines the dominant masculine discourses

(e.g., strength, sexual prowess) into a single overarching construct. In studies of adult men, endorsement of MRAS has been associated with depression and anxiety (e.g. Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Good, Robertson, O'Neil, & Fitzgerald, 1995; Mahalik et al., 2003), a decreased potential for intimacy (Mansfield, Addis, & Mahalik, 2003; Sharpe & Heppner, 1991), and difficulties in interpersonal relationships (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). In a large-scale study of male adolescents, Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1993) found that endorsement of traditional masculinity predicted increased drinking and the use of drugs, conduct problems, a higher number of sexual partners, and engaging in coercive sex.

More recently, another theoretical framework has helped separate and examine the defining constructs of masculinity and how they are experienced in men's lives. Relying in part on the four areas of masculinity outlined by David and Brannon (1976), James O'Neil created the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). Gender Role Conflict is defined as "the psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences on the person or others; gender role conflict occurs when rigid, sexist, or restrictive gender roles result in personal restriction, devaluation, or violation of others or self" (O'Neil, Good, & Holmes, 1995, p.167). O'Neil and colleagues posit that men experience Gender Role Conflict (GRC) in four major areas: striving for success, power, and competition; limiting the expression of emotion; maintaining restrictive physical and affectionate behavior between men; and conflicts between work and family. The scale largely resembles many masculine *ideology* scales and, in fact, only one subscale – conflicts between work and family – names an actual conflict. Yet O'Neil maintains that, like in the gender role strain, the nature of the

conflict in men's lives lies in the incompatibility between prescriptions for masculine ideals and those ensuring men's psychological and physical health.

A large body of literature has examined men's experience with GRC (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986), linking it with many of the same outcomes seen earlier. For example, higher scores on this measure have been linked to depression and anxiety (Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995), a decreased potential for intimacy, and difficulties in interpersonal relationships (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). Male adolescents have also been found to suffer adverse effects of GRC (Watts & Borders, 2005), with effects ranging from emotional distress to conduct problems (Blazina, Pisecco, & O'Neil, 2005). Finally, women who report higher levels of GRC also report negative mental health outcomes such as depression and anxiety (Zamarripa, Wampold, & Gregory, 2003).

#### *Achieving the Feminine Gender Ideal*

Similar to men's experience, women who attempt to live up to the feminine ideal also pay a price. Adhering to traditional feminine norms has been shown to lead to a suppression of negative feelings, such as anger and frustration, and to increased chances of developing depressive or anxious symptoms. Although examination of femininity as an ideology has only recently begun in the literature, there is a long history of exploring the correlates of feminine traits (e.g. Bem, 1974). In fact, one of the most robust findings in developmental literature is the relation between a lack of assertiveness and independence and depressed affect (Allgood-Merten, Lewisohn, & Hops, 1990; Barrett & White, 2002; Craighead & Green, 1989; Horwitz & White, 1987). A marked increase in rates of depressed mood among girls begins during puberty, during which girls begin reporting increasingly more depressive symptoms than boys (Allgood-Merten, Lewisohn,

& Hops, 1990; Ge, Conger, & Elder, 2001; Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994; Twenge & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2002). One of the consistent explanations offered for this phenomenon is that traditional feminine characteristics—a more passive demeanor and ruminative coping style—are more “depressogenic” (Jack, 1991; Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994; Petersen, Sarigiani, & Kennedy, 1991; Tolman, 1994).

Thus, with the adoption of traditional gender roles (and an accompanying discouragement of more masculine traits), girls become more socially oriented, dependent on others for self-esteem, and intent on maintaining positive relationships at all costs (Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994; Tolman, Impett, Tracy, & Michael, 2006). Jack (1991) called this process “silencing the self,” adding that a woman “must deny whole parts of herself, including negative feelings and direct self-assertion” (p.164) in order to maintain the image of the “selfless” relationship partner. Similarly, Tolman (1994) describes such tendency to please others at the cost of self-expression as the “inauthentic self.”

More recently, Tolman and Porche (2000) have introduced the Adolescent Feminine Ideology Scale (AFIS), one of the first to examine feminine ideology, rather than feminine traits. The AFIS examines two dominant feminine discourses: the use of “inauthentic voice” and a concern with beauty and thinness. Following suit, Mahalik (2005) has introduced the Conformity to Feminine Norms Inventory, which contains eight separate subscales such as modesty and sexual fidelity, and the two addressed by AFIS. Using these two instruments, studies have found that endorsement of feminine ideology is associated with a decrease in sexual health among adolescent girls. For example Tolman and colleagues (2006) found that endorsement of the AFIS feminine

ideology scale was associated with lower self-esteem and higher depressive affect for adolescent girls. Higher scores on the AFIS were also associated with lower sexual self-efficacy and a less consistent use of contraception in another study (Impett, Schooler, & Tolman, 2006). Finally, accepting traditional gender expectations, especially the importance of thinness, has also been linked to negative body image and eating disorders (Mahalik et al., 2005).

### *Gender Conflict*

In addition to being “costly,” achieving gender ideals can be almost impossible when gender role expectations are inconsistent. This experience may lead to *gender conflict* - holding gender norm beliefs that are incompatible or contradictory. Although most people do not try to meet all of society’s gender expectations, men’s and women’s perceptions of gender models or gender ideals are still likely influenced by these traditional notions. Recent decades have shown a consistent shift toward more egalitarian gender roles in the U.S. (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Bryant, 2003; Crouter & McHale, 1993; Ruble et al., 2006), as well as an increased entrance of women into the workforce – factors that have contributed to a shift in gender role expectations for both men and women. Thus, youth today are likely to get exposed to both traditional and changing, more egalitarian gender ideals, increasing the likelihood of exposure to conflicting messages.

Several meta-analyses have tracked American’s changing views toward women since the 1970s (Loo & Thorpe, 1998; Twenge, 1997a), documenting a shift toward more flexible gender norms. Specifically, Brooks and Bolzendahl (2004) found that, compared to several decades ago, both men and women exhibit liberal attitudes about political

power, women's employment, gender superiority, childcare, and working mothers. These results highlight changing societal beliefs about women only, however, leaving a gap in our understanding of changing gender role flexibility for men. As most scales examining attitudes toward masculinity are relatively new, there are few empirical reports to support a similar shift toward more liberal attitudes toward masculinity. However, Twenge (1997b) found that, over the past few decades, men have reported increasingly more feminine traits (e.g. nurturance), suggesting parallel positive effects on men's status in areas traditionally thought of as female (e.g. childcare, nursing, primary education).

Thus, as societal norms have changed, modern ideals have transformed to include gender role expectations for men that contain characteristics traditionally thought of as female and vice versa. The resulting set of modern ideals thus encompasses a conflicting set of norms whereby men are expected to be both relationship-oriented *and* independent, and women to be both nurturing *and* assertive. A recent report by Girls, Inc. (2006) that included data from over 2,000 school-age children, supports this notion about girls' experience in the modern world: "Society appears to be making some room for girls to transcend traditional expectations about abilities and aspirations, just as long as they also conform to conventional notions of femininity" (p.4).

This pressure to sometimes negotiate ideologically opposed gender expectations is the basis for gender conflict, which is experienced when men and women internalize gender beliefs that are conflicting or contradictory. For example, women may internalize a notion of womanhood that is both domestic- and career-oriented, both sexy and virginal. Similarly, men may come to believe that an ideal man both maintains superiority over women *and* has egalitarian relationships; he is also both emotionally tough *and* sensitive.

Being expected to conform to two opposing sets of rules at once may lead girls and boys to feel that they are failing at meeting their gendered ideals. The possible implications of gender conflict is the confusion and dissatisfaction adolescents may feel as they begin negotiating society's expectations for them as men and women.

The negative effects of gender conflict are hypothesized based on research examining *role conflict*, or incompatible expectations from self and others. A number of studies, conducted primarily in the workplace, have documented the negative effects of role conflict on job satisfaction and fulfillment, with women generally reporting higher levels of role conflict than men (e.g. Chusmir & Koberg, 1988; Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970). Chusmir and Koberg (1986) extended the existing research on role conflict by examining situations when conflicting expectations are based solely on gender. The authors created and validated the Sex Role Conflict Scale (SRCS), a 17-item inventory that measures the degree to which individuals perceived differential treatment or pressure to perform certain duties at home and in the workplace because of one's gender. As with role conflict, women reported higher rates of sex role conflict than men, although the authors did not examine the impact of sex role conflict on job-related or affective outcomes. This literature begins to explore the presence and effects of incompatible or conflicting expectations, yet the findings are confined to organizational contexts and do not examine conflicting gender expectations more broadly.

Further documentation of *gender conflict* can be found in the qualitative literature on gender expectations and beliefs. For example, echoing the Girls, Inc. report, Michelle Fine (1988) voices the experience of African American adolescent girls, who found

feminine gender norms conflicting and confusing: “To be a woman was to be strong, independent, and reliable – but not too independent for fear of scaring off a man” (p.35).

A parent in Hill’s (2002) study emphasized that she wanted her teenage daughter to be a “warrior” for racial equality and respect for African American people, yet she adds

I tell her that she has to carry herself well, and she can’t go around being loud and screaming and yelling because that is one thing she likes to do. I tell her she has to sit properly and is expected to act like a lady by carrying herself well-when you go somewhere, you have to sit properly... so I speak to that a lot, that she’s a girl and these are kinds of things girls should do, like being ladylike... (p.498)

This simultaneous expectation of “warrior” and “lady” is an example of conflicting expectations young women receive regarding appearing strong yet also gentle and polite.

Similarly, Wyatt and Riederle (1994) state that

women encounter conflicting societal messages about acceptable sexual knowledge and experience. A woman who demonstrates good sexual knowledge may still run the risk of being labeled promiscuous today. ... To complicate matters further, women are often encouraged to be knowledgeable about their partners’ sexual needs, preferably in committed relationships, while at the same time being socialized not to pay much attention to their own sexual needs and desires (p. 614-615).

Adolescent boys also receive conflicting ideas about masculinity. In his interview study of adolescent boys, Pollack (2006) writes that

Boys feel deeply conflicted about what is expected of them as males in American society (i.e., about what behaviors and attitudes reflect healthy masculinity)... boys simultaneously endorse both egalitarian and traditional notions about men and masculinity. Today’s boys, in other words, are being socialized not only to conform to conventional rules about masculinity and maleness but also to support “new” rules that enforce notions of equality between the sexes. I term this dual set of expectations as the *double standard of masculinity* because many of the boys in this study seemed confused about how to reconcile the

conflicts inherent in these competing sets of rules and expectations (p. 192-193)

In a similar vein, Allen (2007) explores a shift in the masculine gender role in “response to new expectations that men be more sensitive and aware of their feelings” (p.139) in a focus group study of young men’s experience with romance. Allen found that men reported pressure from the media and their female dating partners to be “sensitive and macho all at the same time” (p. 150).

To sum, the changing arena of gender role norms in society creates a set of conflicting gender role expectations for both women and men. Both traditional and egalitarian norms may be present at the same time, making it difficult for men and women to meet gender expectations. What is left unknown is the degree to which men and women experience gender conflict and the effect it has on their lives. Do men and women both receive conflicting socialization that leads to gender conflict? Does gender conflict affect men and women differently? What are some aspects of functioning that gender conflict negatively affects? Finally, do younger adolescents who are just beginning to explore gender roles experience gender conflict more than older adolescents? These are the questions that will be addressed in this dissertation.

## Chapter 2

### Study 1: Scale Development

#### *Creating a Gender Socialization Scale*

Because, to my knowledge, there are no empirical instruments that assess direct gender socialization, the first step of this project was to create a measure to explore the specific messages parents provide to adolescents about gender. Such messages may be conveyed in multiple ways, both explicit, such as being told that “boys don’t cry,” and implicit, such as the notion that premarital pregnancy is shameful for a young woman (Darling & Hicks, 1982; Ward & Wyatt, 1994). However, all gender socialization messages carry information about expectations for gender role behavior and attitudes. Gendered discourses found in masculinity and femininity literatures informed the creation of individual items in this measure. Such discourses characterize femininity as passive, relationship-oriented, emotional, and nurturing and masculinity as assertive, sexually charged, tough, and emotionally restricted (Bem, 1974; Carpenter, 1998; Gillespie, 2003; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987; Mahalik et al., 2003; O’Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986; Phillips, 2000; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Tolman & Porche, 2000).

A significant limitation in the assessment of gender beliefs is the reliance on methodology that singles out one gender at a time (e.g. Mahalik et al., 2003; O’Neil,

Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986). Many of these measures, including the Adolescent Femininity Ideology Scale (AFIS; Tolman & Porche, 2000), the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003), and the Gender Role Conflict Scale (GRCS; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986), were developed with the specific aim of isolating the dominant themes of femininity *or* masculinity mentioned above. Since the creation of these instruments, our understanding of both the prevalence and correlates of gender ideology endorsement has grown, frequently indicating cross-sex similarities in the outcomes of adhering to traditional gender roles. However, the sex-specific analyses that continue to dominate gender studies introduce several conceptual and methodological problems. First, although many scales assessing masculine and feminine attributes or ideologies contain overlapping themes (e.g. expressiveness, body awareness), our understanding of the degree to which men and women share similar experiences is limited. For example, is the association between endorsing traditional gender roles and negative outcomes as strong for men as for women? Questions such as this are impossible to answer unless cross-gender tools are available that assess women's and men's beliefs. Second, measuring masculine and feminine ideologies separately magnifies the perception of the genders as different, even though meta-analyses of gender differences suggest that the variation *within* a given gender is greater than the variation between (Hyde, 2005).

Third, gender-specific instruments may not adequately capture the changing cultural expectations for women and men. As women take on more demanding jobs and men become more involved in house- and childcare, it is possible that we will see greater endorsement of traditionally male discourses by women and vice versa. Indeed, certain

sub-populations of women (e.g. Black women, professional mothers) and men (e.g. custodial fathers) may already adopt characteristics traditionally reserved for the other gender (Doucet, 2004; Higginbotham & Weber, 1992; Hill, 2002; Leve & Fagot, 1997). A scale that is able to assess cross-gender ideology, then, is necessary to capture this cultural shift.

To address these limitations, we constructed the Gender Socialization Scale to reflect discourses from both masculinity and femininity literatures. The first step in item selection required the examination of the existing literature to pick out the most commonly used gender ideology sub-scales and to investigate potential overlapping themes to be reflected. Figure 1 contains six of the more commonly-used gender ideology scales (three masculine and three feminine) broken down by the gendered discourses measured by each. Examining the break-down, we see that many masculinity and femininity assessments overlap in the discourses they measure. For example, emotionality is assessed in all of the masculine scales, and is also present in the Feminine Gender Role Stress Scale (Gillespie & Eisler, 1992). The nature of emotionality is reversed, however, such that the masculine scales refer to restricted emotionality and the FGRS items reflect emotional expression. Thus, thirteen of the themes that appeared frequently across the six scales guided the list of items: Work Focus, Risk Taking, Relationship Focus, Modesty, Subordination/Dominance, Nurturance, Homophobia, Toughness, Independence, Body Image/Physical Adequacy, Competition, Success, Emotionality, and Violence/Victimization, a total of 318 statements. This larger pool was later condensed based on similarity of items. Next, a team of researchers, which contained six graduate students (5 women and one man) and 3 female undergraduate

research assistants, generated a total of 104 statements that reflected the larger pool of items but also represented sentiments that would likely have been communicated by parents to adolescents. For example, several items encouraging leadership and independence (e.g. CMNI; “In general, I should take care of my own problems” and “I should be in charge”) were transformed into the message “Take charge.” This process was repeated until messages were narrowed down to 70 items falling into ten categories: Modesty/Being Nice, Relationship Focus, Nurturance/Domestic, Gender Egalitarian, Gender Inequality/Male Superiority, Big and Tough, Anti-Gay, Emotional Strength/Vulnerability, Independence/Success/Competition, and Body Image. Because of our commitment to representing both the masculine and feminine aspects of each theme, items in each category reflected a range of values, such as addressing both emotional expression and stoicism as part of Emotional Strength/Vulnerability.

### *Participants*

This scale was piloted using 272 undergraduates (77% women) enrolled in an Introduction to Developmental Psychology course at the University of Michigan. For each of the 70 statements, participants indicated the degree (none, little, some, a lot) to which their parents had communicated this message during childhood and adolescence. Although parents are not the only source of gender socialization, only parental communication was assessed at this point for the purpose of piloting the scale and for ease of administration.

Exploratory Factor Analysis was used to determine the underlying factor structure. First, principal components analysis (PCA) was computed for all 70 items. Guided by the expected 10 underlying factors and the convention of eigenvalue > 1, PCA with Varimax

rotation was computed for 10 factors. The number of factors was then reduced one by one until each factor contained at least three items that loaded at  $>.50$  and appeared meaningful on the surface, until eight factors were reached. At this point, nine items that did not load at  $.3$  or higher on any of the factors were trimmed and the computation was repeated for the remaining 61 items. The resulting eight factor structure is presented in Table 1.1. Only those items that loaded at  $>.50$  were included in the final subscales.

### *Principal Components Analyses*

The first of eight gender subscales was Traditional Gender Roles (11 items,  $\alpha = .85$ ), which promoted men's superiority over women with items such as "Husbands shouldn't have to do housework," and "A woman should cater to her man's needs." The Acceptant and Egalitarian (8 items,  $\alpha = .81$ ) subscale promoted equality between genders with items like "It shouldn't matter how you look, it's the inside that counts," and "Men and women should treat each other as equals at home, school, and at work." The Big & Tough Subscales encouraged being tough and strong (7 items,  $\alpha = .81$ ). Example items include "Be tough," and "Never show fear." The Relationship Focus (3 items,  $\alpha = .77$ ) subscale included statements such as "There is something wrong with people who don't have a boyfriend/girlfriend," and "One's life isn't quite complete without a boyfriend/girlfriend." The Nice & Pleasant subscale (3 items,  $\alpha = .66$ ) emphasized the importance of considering the needs of others. Examples included "Always put others' feelings before your own," and "Being polite is more important than getting your way." The Anti-Gay subscale discouraged homosexuality with items such as "Being gay is wrong" and "Men shouldn't touch other men" (4 items,  $\alpha = .75$ ). The Body Consciousness subscale emphasized body image (3 items,  $\alpha = .77$ ) with items

such as “Your body is never good enough” and “If you are overweight, you will have a hard time finding a date.” Finally, the Nurturing subscale (3 items, alpha = .50) included items such as “Having children adds meaning to one’s life,” and “Mothers need to be there for their children when the children are young.” Items in each subscale were averaged for a total subscale score.

### *Main Questions*

Three central questions guided my initial investigation of parental gender socialization: a) Which are the salient messages that men and women received from their parents?; b) Which messages varied by gender?; c) Do men and women report receiving messages from their parents that conflict with one another? Because of the exploratory nature of this work, no predictions were made regarding which messages the participants would report receiving the most. However, men were expected to report receiving more messages that are consistent with masculine ideology (e.g. Big & Tough), whereas women were expected to report more communication about traditional femininity (e.g. Nice & Pleasant). In addition, it was anticipated that men and women would both receive messages that vary in content and conflict, but that the nature of the conflict would differ by gender.

First, the distribution of socialization messages across the subscales was compared using a repeated-measures ANOVA, separately for each gender. The omnibus F test revealed significant variability in the amount of communication received of each of the eight subscales among women and among men (see Table 1.2). Next, pair-wise t-tests were used to make comparisons between each pair of subscales separately for each gender. Keeping the alpha level at or below the significance level of the omnibus F, the t-

tests revealed that women received the most communication from their parents endorsing nurturance and egalitarian gender roles. Women received the fewest messages encouraging a focus on relationships and traditional gender roles. Men also reported receiving the most messages encouraging egalitarian gender roles and the least communication around relationship focus. All other pair-wise comparisons are contained in Table 1.2.

The second research question, regarding which messages varied by gender, was examined using independent-samples t-tests to investigate sex differences in the amount of communication for each of the gendered subscales. Significant t-test comparisons are provided in the final row of Table 1.2. Women reported receiving more communication regarding egalitarian gender roles and being nice than did men, whereas men reported receiving more communication regarding homophobia.

Examining the mean values of parental communication reveals that parental gender socialization to both genders is quite varied and often inconsistent. For example, women reported that parental communication emphasized being nurturing and maintaining egalitarian gender roles. However, despite encouraging egalitarian and positive gender attitudes, parents also communicated the expectation that women should control their true feelings and act nice and pleasant. In a similar vein, although men reported that parents promoted egalitarian gender roles more than any other value, parents also encouraged their sons to be tough.

To address the third research question concerning the degree to which men and women received messages that were conflicting, pairs of discourses that were contradictory on the surface (e.g. Traditional vs. Egalitarian Gender Roles; Big & Tough

vs. Nurturing) were identified. Seven such contradictory pairs were identified. For the purpose of the pilot study, the sample was then split along the median, creating a group of “high receivers” (those scoring above the median on communication of a given message) and “low receivers” (those scoring below the median). Each group received a dummy code, such that a code of “1” indicated a high receiver and a code of “0” indicated a lower receiver. Thus, for each pair of conflicting messages each participant would have two codes in four possible combinations (0, 0 for low receivers of both messages in that pair; 1, 0 a high receiver of the first but not the second conflicting message; 0, 1 for the reverse; and 1, 1 for high receivers of both messages). The last group (1, 1) represented those participants who indicated receiving a lot of communication about two conflicting themes. These were identified as “conflicted receivers” by a third dummy code. Below is a sample of the scoring technique. Participant 001 scored above the median in traditional gender role and below the median in egalitarian gender role message. Participant 002 scored below the median in traditional but above the mean in egalitarian message. Both were coded as not being conflicted receivers. Finally, participant 003 scored above the median in receiving both egalitarian and traditional gender role messages and is coded as a conflicted receiver.

*Conflicting Socialization Scoring Example*

Participant Code	Trad. Gender Roles Mean	Egal. Gender Roles Mean	Trad High Receiver	Egal High Receiver	Conflicted Receiver
001	1.4	.67	1	0	0
002	.22	2.3	0	1	0
003	1.4	2.3	1	1	1

For this analysis, 7 pairs of messages were identified as contradictory: Traditional Gender Roles & Egalitarian, Egalitarian & Body Consciousness, Egalitarian & Anti-Gay,

Nice and Pleasant & Tough, Relationship Focus & Tough. Two other pairs of messages were hypothesized to contradict each other only for men. Messages encouraging Nurturance and those promoting Traditional Gender Roles reflect a traditional gender role breakdown where men take charge and women care for them and their children. For women these two messages may not conflict because nurturance is part of a traditional woman's role. However, men would face a conflict if trying to enact both sentiments, since the traditional *man's* role is to be tough and unemotional, rather than empathetic and nurturing. In a similar vein, Nice and Pleasant & Traditional Gender Roles would align for women and conflict for men. Again, being sweet and polite is expected of a woman under the traditional gender role orientation. Yet the opposite is expected of a man. Table 1.3 presents the number of men and women who can be labeled as conflicted receivers for each of the seven conflict categories. Overall, cell numbers varied from 21% of the sample (men receiving both Traditional and Egalitarian Gender Roles messages) to 39% (men receiving both Nurturing and Traditional Gender Role messages). For women the two most common conflicts were encouragement to endorse traditional gender roles and be nurturing, and to endorse traditional role and be nice and pleasant, and to accept egalitarian gender role and be body conscious. For men, the most common conflict was receiving messages encouraging adopting traditional gender roles but remaining nurturing. However, men and women did not differ in the likelihood of receiving any of the seven conflicting pairs of messages.

In sum, results of this pilot study suggest that men and women report largely similar parental socialization across a variety of discourses. Parents appear to emphasize caring and nurturance as well as egalitarian gender role orientation to both daughters and

sons. Women did not report receiving more messages aligned with feminine ideology; however, partly consistent with my hypotheses, men did report receiving more messages about homophobia, a tenet of masculine ideology. In addition, both genders report receiving messages about gender that are inconsistent or conflict with each other. Again, women and men reported receiving similar sets of conflicting gender messages from their parents.

### *Creating the Gender Conflict Scale*

What remains unknown is whether receiving conflicting messages as part of one's gender socialization is related to the gender role expectations that women and men internalize and try to meet. Do those adolescents who receive conflicting messages only internalize the messages that align? Or, conversely, do they attempt to meet expectations that are conflicting or contradictory? What happens when men and women do internalize conflicting ideas about gender? The literature has outlined the potential consequences of adhering to traditional masculinity and femininity, but might there be consequences for endorsing contradictory gender expectations as well? As no instruments exist to capture this construct, I created a scale to assess *gender conflict*, or the experiencing of contradictory gender role expectations.

Gender conflict is hypothesized to occur when individuals perceive multiple, competing, or conflicting gender expectations. Since conflicting or contradictory expectations are virtually impossible to meet, experiencing such expectations may cause gender conflict. The notion of gender conflict also assumes that individuals are consciously experiencing such expectations as conflicting and are able to articulate the contradiction, or at least their discomfort.

To my knowledge, no other instrument examines the degree to which men and women experience gender conflict. Thus, I created a scale that reflects experiencing conflicting gender expectations. Focus-group discussions with three female undergraduate research assistants identified areas where older adolescents are likely to feel overwhelmed with competing expectations. I then generated 9 items, some that captured the general sense of conflicting expectations (e.g. “I am torn between different expectations), and others that addressed specific conflicts (e.g. “I need to be strong but sensitive at the same time”). These items were piloted concurrently with the Gender Socialization Scale, using the same sample of 272 undergraduates, such that the Gender Conflict Scale was administered second thereby priming participants’ gender concerns when answering questions regarding general competing expectations. The prompt for the items also directed participants to consider cultural expectations for men and women. Participants responded on a 5-point scale (1 = “never” 5 = “always, all the time”) how often they experienced each of the 9 conflicting expectations. Participants were also able to write-in other conflicts they have experienced. Using reliability information ( $\alpha = .72$ ) and open-ended answers gathered from this administration, two items were deleted and seven more added (see Appendix 1) to increase the number of items addressing general conflicting expectations and to capture more specific conflicts. In the final version, eight items reflected *general* concern (e.g. “I am torn between different expectations,” “I feel like you are expected to be something you just cannot be”), while six items measured *gendered* conflicts, focusing on the degree to which participants felt they were expected to be strong but sensitive, balance family and career, stay healthy

while meeting physical attractiveness demands, maintain egalitarian gender roles with the opposite sex, and socialize and date without changing one's true self.

The design and analyses of this measure were guided by two main questions: a) Do men and women experience gender conflict? and b) Is this experience more salient for one gender than another? I hypothesized that both genders would report experiencing gender conflict since anecdotal data suggests this (e.g. Pollack, 2006; Wyatt & Riederle, 1994). However, no predictions were made about the relative magnitude of gender conflict for each gender.

### *Participants*

A sample of 291 undergraduates (46% female) enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course was used to pilot the Gender Conflict Scale. Participants were mostly in their freshman (49%) or sophomore (43%) year in college, and were predominately Caucasian (76%; 4% African American, 1% Latino, 15% Asian). The majority came from middle to upper-middle class families, as indicated by parental education (75% of parents obtained at least a BA), and most (86%) lived with both parents while growing up.

Participants were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale (1 = "never" 5 = "always, all the time") how often they experienced feeling each of the 14 items. Scores on the items were averaged for a composite Gender Conflict score. Reliability alpha for the scale was .84 for both men and women, with individual item loadings ranging from .82 to .84. Reliability was also computed separately by type of conflict, with the eight domain general conflict items combined into a General Conflict subscale (alpha = .83) and the six domain specific (gendered) items into a Gendered Conflict subscale (alpha

= .65). Table 1.4 contains descriptive statistics and gender differences for each of the fourteen items. Endorsement of items varied from 2.11 to 3.77 for women and 2.09 to 3.28 for men, suggesting that all items were moderately endorsed with neither a floor or ceiling effect. Women reported greater endorsement of two of the domain general items and four of the domain specific items than did men.

### *Research Questions*

To answer the research questions, mean scores on the Conflict Scale were computed separately for men and women. Gender differences were then analyzed with an independent-samples t-test analysis. Results indicate that, while both genders report a moderate amount of gender conflict, women ( $M=2.94$ ,  $SD=.58$ ) report experiencing gender conflict more strongly than men ( $M=2.70$ ,  $SD=.59$ ,  $t(281) = 3.54$ ,  $p < .001$ ). When individual types of gender conflict (General Conflict and Gendered Conflict) were compared by gender, women ( $M=3.21$ ,  $SD=.65$ ) reported significantly greater Gendered Conflict than men ( $M=2.83$ ,  $SD=.62$ ,  $t(277) = 5.00$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In sum, men and women are both aware of conflicting expectations around gender and relationships. Mean scores indicate that, on average, both genders experience moderate gender conflict. Women scored higher than men on overall gender conflict, yet the absolute difference was small, suggesting that this construct applies to both genders.

### *Discussion*

The creation of the Gender Socialization Scale and the Gender Conflict Scale has begun filling in gaps in our understanding of gender development during adolescence and of the process by which adolescents negotiate socialization messages from parents. The Gender Socialization measure allows examination of multiple direct messages parents

convey to their children about gender, sexuality, and relationships. The impact of perceiving multiple and competing gender expectations is then assessed by the Gender Conflict Scale. By creating a Gender Socialization measure that can be used with both men and women, it is now possible to compare patterns of socialization boys and girls receive within the family and compare each gender's experience. Indeed, results from the current study suggest that, although the *amount* of communication regarding many discourses is the same for men and women, the overall *pattern* may differ by gender. For example, men and women reported receiving similar amounts of communication regarding being nice to others, yet men received more messages encouraging toughness and women received more messages encouraging gender equality. The cumulative effect of such socialization may produce different understanding of gender expectations for men and women. Moreover, different patterns of gender socialization may have different effects on experiencing gender conflict.

In designing this measure, I sought to reflect the major tenets of masculinity and femininity from the existing literature on gender ideology. Of the ten originally proposed subscales, factor analysis showed only eight coherent factors. Items concerning Emotional Strength/Vulnerability and Independence/Success were mixed in with items from the proposed Big & Tough subscale during factor analysis. This may suggest that participants in this study did not sufficiently distinguish between these three notions but rather saw them as reflecting one overarching construct of toughness. It is possible that with a more gender balanced sample it would be possible to separate these three subscales. It is also possible that there were not enough similar items in each of the subscales to establish independence. For example, the Conformity to Masculine Norms

Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003) contained ten items specifically measuring the importance of winning. The items all contained similar language pertaining to winning, such as “In general, I will do anything to win” and “It is important for me to win.” It is possible that, in order to construct subscales that distinguish between related constructs, such as independence and toughness, it will be necessary to add items that are worded to specifically reflect each concept.

In addition to conflation of the toughness subscales, four of eight factors only contained three items that loaded at .50, and two of these (Nurturing and Nice & Pleasant) had reliabilities of less than .70. Both of these discourses are drawn from the femininities literatures and would be expected to load strongly with a sample of mostly women. Here again, the particular items selected for these two subscales may not be similar enough or reflect the particular socialization messages that parents convey about nurturance and being nice. It is possible that the particular convenience sample (students enrolled in a Developmental Psychology class) is self-selected such that these women did not consistently receive such socialization messages in the family. It is also possible that, for all participants, notions of traditional and egalitarian gender roles *more generally* are more accessible than more targeted discourses such as Body Consciousness or Relationship Focus. That is, most men and women are likely to have received gender socialization messages that were traditional or egalitarian in nature, whereas fewer might have received communication about more particular discourses, such as Anti-Gay, Nurturing, or Nice & Pleasant.

Despite its contribution to the literature, this study has some notable limitations. The first of these concerns the homogeneity of the samples, which were samples of

convenience, used to pilot the new measures. The use of college students often poses a challenge to creating samples that are socioeconomically and ethnically diverse, limiting generalizability to other groups. In addition, the sample used to pilot the Gender Socialization Scale was overwhelmingly female, which may have emphasized those socialization discourses that are more salient to women than men.

There are also methodological concerns about the Gender Conflict Scale items. First, although women reported greater endorsement of four out of six domain-specific items, it is possible that there may be other specific conflicts that are more salient to men that the scale does not address. A second concern is my ability to validate this scale. One way to establish construct validity is by examining the consequences of experiencing gender conflict. For example, is receiving contradictory parental messages about gender related to gender conflict? If so, are some pairs of conflicting messages more influential than others? In addition, does experiencing gender conflict have negative effects? Is gender conflict associated with adverse outcomes (e.g. depression, negative body image, alcohol use) that have previously been linked to adherence to traditional gender norms? These questions are addressed in the subsequent study.

## Chapter 3

### Study 2: Conflicting Socialization, Gender Conflict, and Well-being

#### *Introduction*

As adolescents begin to consolidate their gender identities, they rely, in part, on gender socialization messages they received from parents while growing up. Although little quantitative information is available about direct gender communication that occurs between parents and children, examinations of related literatures and qualitative works suggest that such communications exist and that their content is highly varied. Children and adolescents appear to receive inconsistent or even contradictory messages about gender, which may lead to *gender conflict*, or the experience of conflicting gender role expectations.

In the western world, the masculine ideal is for men to be strong, sexually active, and unemotional. In turn, the feminine ideal is to be nurturing, quiet and polite, and sexually passive. Adhering to these expectations is not only difficult, but may lead to negative mental health (e.g. depression) and behavioral (e.g. alcohol abuse, unsafe sexual practices) outcomes (Mahalik et al., 2005; O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986; Pleck, 1995; Tolman, et al., 2006). Gender conflict is experienced when men and women consciously perceive gender role expectations as conflicting or contradictory. Although, over the last few decades, women and men began to accept more egalitarian

gender beliefs (Brooks & Bolzendahl, 2004; Twenge, 1997a), they also continue to endorse traditional gender role norms (Girls Inc., 2006). Meeting both traditional and egalitarian gender expectations (e.g. being both unemotional and nurturing, or both passive and tough) may be nearly impossible, and may lead to gender conflict.

In previous studies, I introduced quantitative instruments to assess the extent to which adolescents receive conflicting gender role expectations and experience gender conflict. Creating these instruments has begun to fill an important methodological gap in our understanding of gender role socialization and development. The next steps are to integrate gender conflict into the well-researched areas of gender, such as gender ideology and its behavioral and mental health correlates, as well as conduct tests of validity for this construct. Specifically, the relation between gender conflict and behavioral outcomes needs to be explored, as well as its connection to gender socialization. Another important step is to examine the relation between women's and men's beliefs about gender (gender ideology) and their experience of gender conflict. For example, if both of these constructs affect mental health, body image, and sexual behavior, are they independent? Further analyses will need to validate gender conflict as an independent contributor to these outcomes, rather than one that is mediated by gender ideology.

Accordingly, this investigation sought to answer three questions: a) Are there adverse outcomes associated with the experience of gender conflict? Specifically, is experiencing gender conflict related to negative mental health (anxiety and depression), body image, and risky behaviors (alcohol use, unsafe sexual practices)? Experiencing gender conflict was predicted to be related to both mental health and behavioral

outcomes; b) What is the relation between conflicting gender socialization and gender conflict? It was hypothesized that a strong positive association would emerge between receiving conflicting or contradictory socializing messages and experiencing gender conflict; c) Does gender conflict contribute independently to negative outcomes or is the relation wholly mediated by gender ideology? Which construct is a stronger predictor of negative outcomes? Although both gender ideology and gender conflict were predicted to contribute directly to outcomes, some of the effect of gender ideology was also hypothesized to be mediated by gender conflict.

### *Method*

#### *Participants and Procedure*

The same sample of 291 undergraduate participants (46% female) from the Chapter 2 section on validating the Gender Conflict Scale was used in this study. Participants completed an online survey, which included measures assessing mental health, risky behaviors, gender ideology, and gender conflict. In addition, participants completed a demographics questionnaire that included questions about their gender, race, age, parental education level (proxy for SES), and who they lived with while growing up. Participants were also asked how often they attended religious services and how often they prayed (2-item religiosity score  $\alpha = .83$ ). Completing the survey took forty five minutes on average, and participants received an hour of subject pool credit in an Introductory Psychology course.

#### *Measures*

*Mental Health.* For this study, participants completed the Beck Anxiety Scale (BAI; Beck, Epstein, Brown, & Steer, 1988) and reported on a 4-point scale (0 = “not at

all” to 3 = “severely”) how much they were bothered by each of 21 anxious symptoms (e.g. shaky, nervous) in the past month ( $\alpha = .91$ ). Participants also completed the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977), which asked them how much each of 20 depressive symptoms ( $\alpha = .91$ ), anchored by “rarely” at 0 and “all the time” at 3, bothered them in the past two weeks. Examples include “depressed” and “could not get going.” Body image was assessed using the Mendelson and colleagues’ (Mendelson, Mendelson, & White, 2001) scale of Body Esteem. The Body Esteem scale asked participants to report how much (1 = “never” to 5 = “always) they experienced each of 23 statements such as “I’m pretty happy about the way I look” and “My weight makes me unhappy.” Several items on the Body Esteem scale were recoded so that a higher score reflected a more positive attitude toward one’s body ( $\alpha = .94$ ).

*Risky Behavior.* To assess two facets of externalizing, risk-taking behavior, participants were asked to report how often they engage in drinking alcohol (0 = “never” to 4 = “most days”), drinking to get drunk (0 = “never” to 4 = “most days”), and consuming more than five drinks in one night (binge drinking, 0 = “never” to 4 = “more than once a week”). These three items were combined into the Alcohol Use scale ( $\alpha = .93$ ). Participants were asked to report on the number of partners with whom they have engaged in touching genitals (women  $M = 1.6$ ,  $SD = 2.24$ , men  $M = 2.16$ ,  $SD = 2.65$ ), oral sex (women  $M = 2.53$ ,  $SD = 3.58$ , men  $M = 3.95$ ,  $SD = 4.80$ ), and vaginal sex (women  $M = 1.08$ ,  $SD = 1.85$ , men  $M = 1.36$ ,  $SD = 2.29$ ). These items were averaged to form the Number of Sexual Partners scale (women  $\alpha = .88$ , men  $\alpha = .78$ ).

*Gender Ideology.* To assess their gender beliefs participants completed the Attitudes Toward Women Scale for Adolescence scale (AWSA; Galambos, Petersen, Richards, & Gitelson, 1985). Using a 4-point scale, anchored at 1 = “strongly disagree” and 4 = “strongly agree,” participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with each of 12 statements ( $\alpha = .85$ ) regarding men’s and women’s standing in society. Examples of items in this scale include “On average, women are as smart as men” and “Women should be more concerned with becoming good wives and mothers than desiring a professional or business career.” A mean score was computed for each participant, such that higher scores indicated stronger endorsement of traditional gender roles, which centered on the belief that men must be tough, successful, and take leadership roles, whereas women must be domestic and polite and take care of the family and household.

Participants also completed the 8-item ( $\alpha = .63$ ) Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993), which assesses participants’ attitudes toward masculine gender roles. Items are anchored similarly to the AWSA scale, with items including “A guy will lose respect if he talks about his problems” and “It is important for a guy to get respect from others.” A mean score was computed for each participant, such that higher scores indicated endorsing the view that men should be strong and tough, stoic, and aggressive.

Finally, participants were administered the Inauthentic Voice subscale of the Adolescent Femininity Ideology Scale (AFIS; Tolman & Porche, 2000). The subscale contains 10 items ( $\alpha = .71$ ) measuring the degree to which participants agree (6-point scale, 1 = “strongly disagree” to 6 = “strongly agree”) that being nice or polite is more

important than being honest. Examples from the scale include “I wish I could say what I feel more often than I do” and “I tell my friends what I honestly think even when it is an unpopular idea.” Several items of this scale were recoded such that a higher score indicated more traditional gender role beliefs

*Gender Socialization.* Participants completed an expanded version of the Gender Socialization Scale to reflect aspects of gender ideology that concerns sexuality that are presented in the literature (e.g. Mahalik et al., 2003; Gillespie & Eisler, 1992).

Accordingly, in addition to the 70 statements that reflected gender socialization pertaining to gender roles and relationships between men and women, socialization messages pertaining to gendered notions about sexuality were also assessed. For this component, three subscales used in a previous study of sexual socialization were added here (Epstein & Ward, 2008). The three new subscales assessed gendered expectations in sexual situations, and included a Sexual Double Standard subscale (10 items,  $\alpha = .90$ ), which endorses the notion that men take an active role and women take a passive role in sexual situations; a Sex Positive subscale (5 items,  $\alpha = .77$ ), which characterizes sex as natural and encourages an egalitarian approach to sexual behavior; and an Abstinence subscale (7 items,  $\alpha = .90$ ), which promotes abstinence until marriage. Examples of items include, respectively, “Men want sex, women want relationships,” “Being sexual is a natural part of being human,” and “Sex belongs only in married relationships.” A full list of items, including individual item reliabilities for these subscales, is included in Appendix 2. The final version of the full measure is included in Appendix 3.

Exploratory Factor Analysis was performed with this new sample on the original 70 items (excluding the three sexual subscales). Principal Components Analysis (PCA)

with Varimax rotation was first computed for the eight factors determined in Chapter 2. Again, the number of factors was then reduced in order to produce factors that were coherent and contained at least three items that loaded at  $> .50$ . The current analysis of the Gender Socialization Scale revealed only six coherent factors (see Table 2.1). The Traditional Gender Roles subscale (9 items,  $\alpha = .87$ ), the Acceptant and Egalitarian subscale (8 items,  $\alpha = .83$ ), the Big & Tough subscale (5 items,  $\alpha = .77$ ), the Nice and Pleasant subscale (3 items,  $\alpha = .62$ ), the Anti-Gay subscale (3 items,  $\alpha = .84$ ), and the Body Consciousness (3 items,  $\alpha = .74$ ) remained largely similar. However, the *Nurturing* and *Relationship Focus* subscales did not emerge in this administration. Subscale mean scores were computed for only those factors that remained stable across the two studies.

*Gender Conflict.* Finally, participants were administered the 14-item Gender Conflict Scale described on pages 26-29 ( $\alpha = .84$ ). In order to prime participants to consider conflicts pertaining specifically to gender, this measure was placed directly after three measures of gender ideology. Participants were further primed to consider gender expectations by the instructions (see Appendix 1).

## *Results*

### *Preliminary Analyses*

First, demographic correlates for the main variables used in this study were examined separately for each gender, using zero-order correlations. Minority ethnic group membership was coded as three dichotomous variables, representing African American, Latino/a, and Asian American racial group identification. Table 2.2 contains a complete list of associations. Overall, identifying as Asian American, and religiosity were

the most important correlates, whereas SES (approximated by father's education), age (approximated by one's year in college), and identifying as African American or Latino/a were less related to the main variables.

Next, descriptive statistics for the same variables were calculated and compared by gender using MANOVA and controlling for relevant demographic variables (see Table 2.3). Variables that were similar were grouped for multivariate analysis in order to account for shared variance. First, the three measures of gender ideology were analyzed simultaneously, controlling for ethnicity, SES, and religiosity. Women scored lower on the AWSA and the MRAS and higher on the Inauthentic Voice subscale of the AFIS than men, indicating that they generally hold more egalitarian gender roles but are still not able to be as assertive as men with their feelings. Next, gender difference on the measure of gender conflict was computed via an independent-samples t-test, since no significant demographic correlates were found previously. Consistent with result from the previous study reported in Chapter 2, women reported experiencing greater gender conflict than men.

The five outcome measures were then entered together into an MANOVA, controlling for identifying as Asian, SES, and religiosity. Women reported greater symptoms of anxiety, but not depression, as well as significantly lower body esteem than men, a finding that is consistent with previous work on gender difference in body dissatisfaction (e.g. Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2004). Also, consistent with previous findings (see Wiederman, 1997), men reported higher numbers of sexual partners and more alcohol use than women.

Finally, the nine socialization discourses were entered together, controlling for being Asian, SES, religiosity, and age (approximated by the year in college). With regards to parental sexual socialization, there were no significant gender differences for 4 of 9 discourses. Men reported receiving more messages endorsing traditional gender roles, homophobia, and being tough, whereas women received greater encouragement to accept the sexual double standard and egalitarian gender roles.

### *Main Research Questions*

The first question explored the association between negative outcomes and gender conflict. This question also serves as a test of construct validity for gender conflict. Since gender conflict was hypothesized to reflect internal conflict and turmoil, associations between gender conflict and other measures of distress would be expected. Thus, participants' scores on gender conflict were hypothesized to be related to anxiety, depression, and other forms of internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors.

First, partial correlations were computed separately for each gender, between gender conflict and the five outcomes, controlling for SES, age, race, and religiosity. Results summarized in Table 2.4 confirmed a strong relation between gender conflict and affect for both genders. Experiencing gender conflict was strongly related to symptoms of anxiety and depression for both men and women. In addition, gender conflict was negatively related to body esteem for men (see Table 2.4). No relation was found between gender conflict and alcohol use and sexual risk-taking.

Because of the general nature of many of the items on the Gender Conflict Scale and the high association between gender conflict and affective measures, the scale was tested for construct independence – i.e. that gender conflict is not simply tapping into the

constructs of anxiety and depression – and also for unidimensionality. In order to do this, scale items were separated into the “general” (8 items, alpha = .83) and “gendered” (6 items, alpha = .65). Partial correlations were then computed between each subscale and the five outcome variables (see Table 2.5). According to both the independence and unidimensionality hypothesis, both the “general” and “gendered” conflict subscales would be related to the outcomes, and the strength of association would be similar across subscales. Because of the difference in reliability in the two subscales, correlation coefficients are corrected using an attenuation correction

$$\text{corrected } r_{xy} = r_{xy} / \sqrt{\alpha_{xx}\alpha_{yy}}$$

where  $r$  represents the uncorrected correlation coefficient and  $\alpha$  represents reliability coefficient of the two variables in the correlation. Examination of results shows that both subscales of the Gender Conflict Scale are associated with anxiety, depression, and body esteem. Consistent with the hypothesis, uncorrected associations with the general subscale were greater, although the difference diminished after correcting for reliability. These results suggest that the two aspects of overall conflict, general conflict and gendered conflict, are comparable and that the overall construct is unidimensional. These results are also consistent with the performance of the complete scale and suggest that gender conflict is indeed an independent construct.

To address the second question, whether conflicting socialization is associated with experiencing gender conflict, participants’ responses to the ten total socialization discourses were divided into “high receiver” and “low receiver.” The top 40% of each discourse distribution was coded into “high receivers” through the use of dummy codes. Next, those participants who were coded as “high receivers” in two conflicting categories

of messages were coded as “conflicted receivers” again through another dummy code. As in the previous study, “conflicting” pairs of messages were chosen conceptually, by looking at pairs of discourses that were incompatible or opposing. The breakdown of group membership and gender differences are presented in Table 2.6.

The relation between receiving conflicting socialization messages and gender conflict were analyzed using partial correlations, separately for each gender. Specifically, partial correlations were computed between group membership in each of the nine conflicting categories and participants’ scores of gender conflict. Results presented in Table 2.7 suggest that conflicting socialization and gender conflict were indeed related for both women and men. Significant correlations were found in 5 of 9 conflicting socialization categories for women and 7 of 9 for men, such that receiving messages that promote opposing behaviors (e.g. being tough but nurturing, promoting equality yet endorsing the sexual double standard) were associated with increased feelings of conflicting gender expectations. Some of results differed by gender, such that only women felt increased gender conflict if they received messages promoting egalitarian gender roles *and* body consciousness, and if they received messages promoting egalitarian gender roles *and* sexual double standard. By contrast, only men reported greater conflict if they received both egalitarian *and* traditional gender role messages, if they received messages promoting egalitarian gender roles *and* homophobia, and if they received messages promoting both traditional gender roles *and* abstinence.

The third question addressed whether gender conflict is a direct contributor to negative outcomes or if the relation is mediated by gender ideology. In order to determine the relation between gender ideology and the five measures of well-being, the three

gender ideology scales (AWSA, MRAS, and AFIS), gender conflict, and demographics were regressed onto each of the five outcome variables. Stepwise regressions were computed such that gender<sup>1</sup>, age, ethnicity, and SES were entered as a first step, the gender ideology scales were entered next, and gender conflict was entered last. A completely mediated relation would show that gender conflict does not predict an outcome after accounting for gender ideology, whereas a non-mediated relation would show that, after gender conflict was added to the equation, effects of gender ideology on outcomes would disappear.

Examining predictors of mental health clearly shows gender conflict as a significant predictor, explaining 14% of the variance for anxiety, 11% for depression, and 3% of variance in body esteem (see Table 2.8). Gender conflict also emerged as a significant predictor sexual risk (explaining 2% of the variance) but not of alcohol use. Overall, gender ideology did not appear to mediate the association between gender conflict and outcomes. Instead, results suggest that both traditional gender ideology and greater gender conflict predicted anxiety and depression, although gender conflict appeared to have greater influence.

With concern to behavioral outcomes, this pattern was reversed for sexual activity, where greater gender conflict was a weaker predictor of sexual risk than gender ideology. Interestingly, when regressions were computed separately by gender, this effect was only evident for men, and gender conflict did not predict sexual behavior in women. Alcohol use was largely predicted by demographic correlates, particularly being male and not being Asian, with a significant contribution from gender ideology but not gender conflict.

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<sup>1</sup> These analyses were also computed separately for each gender. However, because the pattern of results was largely similar for men and women, data from the two sexes were combined.

## *Discussion*

This study examined the relation between conflicting gender socialization, gender conflict, and well-being. The first hypothesis questioned whether men and women who experience gender conflict would also report experiencing negative outcomes, especially in the areas of mental health and body image. Outcomes fell as expected, with several strong associations emerging between gender conflict and anxious and depressive affect, and body image. Specifically, it appears that experiencing feelings of conflicting gender role expectations is strongly associated with poor mental health and body image. Gender conflict also emerged as a significant predictor of sexual behavior, but not alcohol use.

The second hypothesis investigated whether conflicting or contradictory socialization messages would be related to experiencing gender conflict. Partially confirming this hypothesis, there was a positive relation between gender conflict and some pairs of conflicting messages. The positive direction of these associations suggests that inconsistency in socialization may indeed be detrimental to the process of consolidating a gender identity. Particularly influential for women were inconsistencies concerning abstinence and a positive-sex outlook as well as those concerning endorsement of the sexual double standard and viewing sex as positive and natural. For men, encouragement to act tough but also be nice as well as to adopt traditional gender roles and be nice most predicted gender conflict. Further, receiving conflicting messages appeared to be additive for both genders, such that receiving a greater number of conflicting messages resulted in greater gender conflict. Overall, it appeared that experiencing gender conflict is associated with exposure to communication encouraging behavior that is contrary to the traditional gender role. For women, the most influential

conflicts pertain to positive sexuality, and it is possible that young women are especially vulnerable in this context. The notion that sexuality is normal and positive may be a relatively new message for women, and may be less easily integrated into the more traditional view of women as keepers of sexual virtue. Similarly, for men, communication encouraging being nice and polite and adopting an “inauthentic voice” may be particularly at odds with the agentic and tough stance of traditional masculinity.

As discussed in Chapter 2, some pairs of messages may only present a conflict for one gender. For example, abstinence is consistent with the traditional gender role for women but is in direct opposition to the traditional masculine role. Consistent with this notion, no relation emerged between receiving messages endorsing traditional gender roles and abstinence for women, but a strong association emerged for men. In a similar vein, women did not appear to perceive a conflict between endorsing traditional gender roles and being nice and pleasant, and men did not experience conflict when receiving messages endorsing the sexual double standard and egalitarian gender roles. It is possible then that women and men may be interpreting conflict in gender socialization according to the particular meaning these messages carry for their own gender. However, a significant association emerged for men between gender conflict and messages endorsing both positive sexuality and the sexual double standard. On the surface, these discourses are not necessarily in conflict for men who are encouraged to go after sex and for whom sexual activity is perceived to be normative. These findings suggest that conflicts are not always formed with respect to traditional gender expectations. As our cultural understanding of men’s and women’s roles changes, it is possible that more men will experience gender conflict when confronted with “women’s conflicts” such as abstinence

and positive sexuality. Similarly, more women may feel conflicted when encouraged to be nice yet tough in the future.

Contrary to expectations, receiving messages endorsing both traditional and egalitarian and both egalitarian and anti-gay gender messages was *not* associated with gender conflict for women. It may be that parents deliberately attempt to empower their daughters by emphasizing positive egalitarian gender role attitudes some of the time, yet are unable to refrain from falling back on traditional norms at other times. Because these two notions exist on the same continuum, children exposed to both kinds of messages may have already learned to negotiate them by adopting gender role beliefs somewhere in between traditional and egalitarian. It is also possible that, because male homosexuality is generally sanctioned more than female homosexuality, daughters may perceive anti-gay messages as only applying to men and therefore not in conflict with gender equality.

Also contrary to expectation, gender ideology was not found to play a mediating role in the relation between gender conflict and well-being. Results suggest that gender conflict and gender ideology play unique roles in contributing to negative outcomes, with gender conflict contributing most to mental health and body image and gender ideology to behavioral outcomes. One reason that no associations were found between gender conflict and alcohol use may be the normative role of drinking among college students (Schulenberg & Maggs, 2002). Drinking alcohol may be so common and normative among this population that it is not necessarily a risk factor that is related to underlying feelings of conflict or other distress.

These results support the overall aim of this study – to isolate and validate a new gender construct and examine its relations both to socialization and outcomes. Whereas

previous literatures have made allusions to the existence of conflicting or contradictory gender socialization, this work quantitatively confirms this phenomenon. Further, this study validates the notion that holding conflicting beliefs is harmful, both to adolescents' mental health and sexual risk behavior. It is possible that gender conflict can also affect drinking behavior indirectly through increasing mental health distress, which in turn has been linked with greater substance use in adolescence (e.g. Mueser, Drake, & Wallach, 1998; Shrier, Harris, Sternberg, & Beardslee, 2001). Another possibility is that gender conflict may affect another third variable, such as sexual satisfaction or assertiveness, which is then directly linked with drinking. For example, conflicting feelings about engaging in sexual activity could lead an adolescent to drink in order to attempt to forget or overcome doubts.

Another explanation for the particularly strong association between gender conflict and mental health distress (but not behavioral outcomes) may involve a similarity in wording of the individual items in the Gender Conflict Scale and in the scales measuring anxiety and depression. For example, there is a similarity in the wording of an item from the Gender Conflict Scale "Feel torn between different expectations" and an item from the CES-D scale "I felt that everything I did was an effort." In addition to similar wording (e.g. the word "feel"), there is shared meaning in the two items, as both suggest anxiety at being faced with an insurmountable task. It is possible that such similar phrasing of the items contributes to shared variance and a higher correlation between the scales. The notion that general conflicts (rather than domain-specific ones) represent generalized anxiety may also explain the strong association between the Gender Conflict Scale and the BAI. Future studies may consider rewording the Gender Conflict

Scale items and adding more items measuring specific conflicts (e.g. “strong and sensitive”) rather than feelings of conflict in general.

Future research will also need to address limitations of using a homogenous sample. Although reliance on college samples is a common practice in the literature, this population does not represent the majority of adolescents. This group tends to be self-selected, both academically and socioeconomically, and is often, as is the case here, overwhelmingly Caucasian. When examining issues pertaining to adolescent development, it would be beneficial to obtain participants from a range of age groups that better represent this stage. Second, several of the gender socialization subscales had weak reliabilities, and the use of these subscales may have distorted the results. Future revisions of this scale may include omitting those items that did not load onto any of the factors and adding new items that represent constructs not addressed by the current version of the scale. For example, in order to measure relationship focus, which emerged weakly in Study 1, it may be necessary to add more items that reflect this construct. Finally, examining gender socialization through retrospective reports does not necessarily reflect the socialization participants actually received, as some messages may be forgotten or may no longer be relevant at this developmental stage. Further, the scale may not present the full range of messages participants received throughout their childhood. However, it is likely that the messages adolescents *do* recall were repeated most often or were most salient, therefore having the greatest impact.

## Chapter 4

### Study 3: Gender Socialization, Gender Conflict, and Outcomes during Early Adolescence

#### *Introduction*

Despite the fact that gender remains one of the critical constructs in cognitive, physiological, and social areas of adolescent development, little is known about gender socialization during earlier stages of adolescence. How does parental socialization concerning gender and sexuality affect younger adolescents' gender beliefs and sexual behavior? To what extent do younger adolescents receive conflicting messages or perceive communication to be conflicting? How might associations between socialization, beliefs, and outcomes differ for this younger group?

Beginning with puberty, boys and girls begin the process of negotiating their gender identities and beliefs. Several studies have reported on developmental changes in *gender role flexibility*, or acceptance of behavior that is not gender typed (e.g., playing rough sports for girls, male nurses). Whereas some studies have found that gender role flexibility decreases during adolescence (e.g. Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990), others found a steady increase during this time (e.g. Katz & Ksansnak, 1994; Bartini, 2006). Alfieri, Ruble, and Higgins (1996) found that gender role flexibility changed according to context, with adolescents reporting a spike followed by consistent decrease

in gender role flexibility after the transition to middle school. Further, several studies have shown that possessing more agentic, masculine traits during this time may be both normative and protective for adolescents' well-being (Markstrom-Adams, 1989; Galambos, 2004), especially for adolescent boys. These findings contrast the negative associations between endorsing traditional gender roles and well-being that is usually found for adult men and women (Mahalik et al., 2003; Tolman & Porche, 2000). Thus, although the findings on the trajectory of gender belief development are somewhat mixed, adolescence appears to be an important transition in the development of gender beliefs.

Puberty also brings about issues of body satisfaction and body image. Although body changes associated with puberty are generally welcomed by boys, for girls these changes are more problematic. Given the high emphasis on thinness and physical attractiveness for girls in the wider culture, gender differences in body satisfaction are widely reported in the literature (Barker & Galambos, 2003; Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2004; Rosenblum & Lewis, 1999; Susman & Rogol, 2006). The pubertal transition, which often brings about weight gains for girls, is associated with body image dissatisfaction, depressive symptoms, and a drop in self-esteem, especially among Caucasian girls (Barker & Galambos, 2003; McHale, Corneal, et al., 2001; Lewinsohn et al., 1993). Compared to girls, pubertal maturing is generally associated with fewer negative outcomes for boys who may welcome the addition of height and muscular tissue (for review, see Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2004). Interestingly, although studies of body dissatisfaction have traditionally been oriented toward dieting and weight loss (e.g. McHale, Corneal, Crouter, & Birch, 2001), recent studies reporting boys' strive for muscularity through exercise, dieting for weight *gain*, and steroid use are indicating that

body dissatisfaction is a serious and growing problem for boys as well (McCreary & Sasse, 2000, 2002).

Adolescence also brings about dating and sexual initiation. Most adolescents will experience their first romantic relationship and first kiss during middle school, and first sexual activity during high school (Larsson & Svedin, 2002; Savin-Williams & Diamond, 2006; Halpern, Joyner, Udry, & Suchindran, 2000). Sexual activity, particularly risky sexual behavior and early sexual initiation, has also been associated with substance use during adolescence (Manlove et al., 2001; Savin-Williams & Diamond, 2006). The potential risks associated with early sexual initiation further highlight the importance of gender and sexual socialization. Here, younger adolescents may be particularly more receptive to parental messages as they have more opportunity to interact with parents than do college students. Further, parents are able to exercise more control over children residing with them so that parental socialization messages (particularly cautionary ones) may be reinforced with rules. Studies suggest that the quality of parent-adolescent relationship may be especially important in moderating sexual risk (Miller et al., 1997). For these reasons, it is possible that younger adolescents, who are just beginning to explore both sexuality and gender identity, may be especially vulnerable to the negative effects of conflicting socialization and gender conflict than an older population. Younger adolescents may also be more vulnerable to unhealthy decisions around sexual initiation and body image problems as they negotiate cultural and peer pressures, parental admonishments, and romantic relationships for the first time.

These considerations highlight the need to examine the effect of developmental stage on the relation between gender socialization, beliefs, and well-being. Accordingly,

the current study sought to replicate my existing work with college students with a sample of younger adolescents. The study examined the relation between gender socialization, beliefs, gender conflict, mental health, and risk-taking among a diverse sample of high-school age adolescents. The following three questions outline the aims and hypotheses of this study.

*RQ1: Do younger adolescents experience gender conflict? Is gender conflict associated with well-being?*

Consistent with findings from Study 1 and 2, high school students were hypothesized to experience moderate levels gender conflict, which was expected to be related to negative mental health and behavioral outcomes. Studies of gender intensification suggest that rigid gender beliefs may peak during high school (e.g. Alfieri, Ruble, & Higgins, 1996), which may increase gender discrepancy in how gender conflict is experienced by boys and girls. It is also possible that relations between gender conflict and behavioral outcomes (e.g. alcohol use and number of sexual partners) will emerge for younger adolescents, although they were not found for the college sample. Studies of college drinking, in particular, have shown that alcohol use on college campuses is relatively normative and is not necessarily associated with negative outcomes (Schulenberg et al., 2001; Schulenberg & Maggs, 2002). This may explain why gender conflict was not associated with behavioral outcomes for college students. Although a similar pattern is likely to hold true for college-bound high school seniors, the association with negative outcomes may emerge when using a younger and more inclusive sample that includes adolescents of all achievement levels.

*RQ2: What is the relation between gender socialization and gender conflict for younger adolescents?*

It was predicted that the association between conflicting socialization and gender conflict found in Study 2 would be replicated for the high school students. Although younger adolescents may not have had as much time as college students to internalize parental socialization, parents of the younger group are likely to have more opportunities for conveying diverse gender socialization messages (therefore creating greater gender conflict) while they are living at home. Further, high school students may also find such messages more influential because of their greater financial and living dependence on parents. Both of these factors would make conflicting messages more salient, leading to gender conflict.

*RQ3: What is the relation between gender socialization, gender conflict, and outcomes among younger adolescents? What is the role of gender beliefs in these associations?*

Consistent with previous literature linking traditional gender role beliefs to negative outcomes (e.g. Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Phillips, 2000) and parental gender attitudes to children's beliefs (e.g. Booth & Amato; Kulik, 2005), gender beliefs were hypothesized to mediate the relation between gender socialization and outcomes. Based on results from the previous two studies, gender conflict was also predicted to mediate this relation as adolescents may internalize socialization messages they receive in the family, both through developing their own gender beliefs and through experiencing gender conflict. These internal factors would in turn predict adolescents' mental health and behavioral outcomes. Results from previous investigations suggest that gender beliefs and gender conflict both contribute to adolescent well-being, with gender conflict

contributing more to mental health and gender beliefs to behavioral outcomes. As proposed in RQ1, stronger associations between gender conflict and behavioral outcomes for the high school population were expected than had been observed with college samples. It was also predicted that gender ideology (i.e. gender beliefs) would be a smaller contributor to all outcomes for this group than for college students. Because college students are likely to be farther along in consolidating their identities than high school students, their gender beliefs may also be more developed. For this reason, gender beliefs were not predicted to affect younger adolescents' well-being as much as the older group.

Finally, due to gender intensification and greater gender-typing among high school-age adolescents, notable gender differences in the relations among the three major constructs were expected. Specifically, gender differences were predicted to emerge in three areas: the effect of sexual double standard messages on sexual behavior, the effect of gender socialization messages on gender beliefs, and the effect of gender conflict on outcomes. First, because the sexual double standard discourse mandates different behavior for girls and boys (e.g. boys should initiate sex, girls should avoid it), exposure to this discourse was hypothesized to predict more sexual risk-taking for boys and less sexual risk-taking for girls. Second, messages endorsing traditional and egalitarian gender roles were hypothesized to have different impacts upon girls' and boys' gender beliefs. For example, it is possible that girls internalize egalitarian messages more readily than boys as this discourse gives women greater freedom. In turn, boys may be more likely to internalize traditional gender role messages as this discourse favors men. Third, it is possible that boys and girls are affected differently by feelings of gender conflict. For

example, it may be that experiencing gender conflict predicts more mental health problems for girls because girls are more likely to internalize distress (Ruble et al., 2006; Galambos, 2004), whereas boys may be more likely to engage in risky behavior as a result of gender conflict.

Figure 2 outlines a conceptual model for the associations between conflicting gender socialization, gender conflict, and well-being based on previous analyses with college students. The current study first validated associations between gender conflict and outcomes and gender socialization and gender conflict in a population of younger adolescents (ages 14-18) with traditional regression techniques. Research Question 3 (RQ3) was then tested using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). Finally, this study examined gender differences in the associations between conflicting gender socialization, gender conflict, and outcomes through a two-group comparison in SEM.

### *Methods*

#### *Participants*

To assess the impact of gender conflict on younger adolescents and to test the role of developmental stage, I recruited a group of high school students (N=259, 62% female) from three high schools in Michigan. Students attending High School A (N=78) were from suburban, predominately working-class families (most parents had a GED or some college experience) from diverse backgrounds (75% White, 10% Black, 3% Latino, 4% Asian, and 4% Multiracial). Students from High School B were predominately White (91%, 3% Black, 2% Latino, 2% Asian, and 2% Multiracial), from middle to upper-middle class families (most parents had some college training or a BA). Finally, students from High School C (N=65) were also predominately White (85%, 5% Black, 5% Latino,

5% Asian, and 5% Multiracial), from working- to middle-class families (most parents had some college experience) in a rural area. Participants ranged in age from 15 to 19, with an average of 15.6. Over a third of participants reported being “pretty religious” or “very religious” and 52% attended a religious services once a month or once a week, whereas 21% reported being “not at all religious” and never attended services. Participants were predominately from two-parent families (722%) and had been born within the United States (97%).

The majority of participants identified as “only” (83%) or “mostly” (7%) heterosexual, with 5 girls (3%) and 2 boys (2%) identified as “bisexual,” and 2 girls (1%) and 1 boy as “mostly” or “only homosexual.” Five percent (2% of girls and 9% of boys) reported that they were “unsure” about their sexual orientation. A fifth of the students reported never having been on a date, 31% reported having experienced some casual dating or 1-2 short relationships, and 46% reported having had one or more long-term relationships. Almost three quarters had no coital experience (74%), with 16% reporting coital experience with one partner only, 5% with two partners, and 4% with three or more partners. Three adolescents (1%) had reported having had an STD and 6 (2%) said they “weren’t sure.” Only one young woman reported having been pregnant and none of the young men reported having gotten someone pregnant.

When it came to using substances, 85% of participants indicated that they never smoked cigarettes and only 5% reported smoking more than once a week (4% smoked multiple times a day). By comparison, only 60% said that they “never” drank alcohol, 34% indicated that they drank “rarely, at parties,” 6% drank alcohol every weekend, and

1.5% reported drinking multiple times a week. Eighteen percent of adolescents indicated that they had used illegal drugs, such as marijuana, ecstasy, speed or others.

### *Procedure*

Participants were recruited through contacting social studies teachers primarily in Michigan Oakland County, although several other teachers had been contacted as well. Teachers were invited to assist in a study of adolescent development by allowing me to recruit students in their classrooms. Three such teachers (one from each high school) originally allowed me to come into their classrooms. Once teacher and principal consent had been obtained, the study was introduced in select classrooms in the schools during regular class time. In addition to their own classes, each of the three original teachers introduced me to others, so that I was able to recruit students from approximately seventeen different classrooms. Although the exact number of students recruited is unavailable, approximately 500 students were invited to participate in the study. Of these, 315 students obtained written consent from a parent and received questionnaires, and 83% of these submitted completed questionnaires.

In each classroom, after hearing a description of the study, including its purpose, payment, and issues of confidentiality, all students received parental consent and student assent forms. Written parental consent was required for all high school students who were minors at the time of study administration. I then returned several times to collect consent forms and distribute questionnaires, although students completed the questionnaires outside of class. Only those students whose parents had provided written consent and who completed the written assent forms were able to participate. As payment for

completing the survey packet, each student received a movie voucher (worth 1 movie ticket) to a local movie theater.

### *Measures*

*Demographics.* Participants were asked to indicate their age, gender, racial background, and highest level of education completed by each parent (1 = “some high school” to 6 = “postgraduate degree (MA, MD, PhD)”). Mother’s education ( $M = 3.47$ ) was reported to be higher than father’s education ( $M = 3.23$ ) on average ( $t = -2.64, p < .01$ ), but only the father’s education was used as a proxy for socioeconomic status (SES) as it is more likely that the family’s income depended more on the father’s rather than the mother’s full-time job. If father’s education was not listed, mother’s education was then used as an indicator of SES. Participants were also asked to indicate how religious they perceived themselves to be (1 = “not religious at all” to 4 = “very religious”) and how often they attended religious services (1 = “never” to 4 = “every week”). Religiosity items were averaged for a Religiosity subscale ( $r = .74, p < .001$ ). Finally, participants reported on their living arrangements while growing up (e.g., with both parents/stepparents, mostly mother, mostly father), and whether they had been born and raised within the U.S.

*Gender Socialization.* Participants completed the Gender Socialization Scale identical to the one used with college students in Study 2, which included items assessing both gender and sexual socialization. In order to validate the factor structure of the measure, subscales were computed based on the factor analysis in Study 2. The Traditional Gender Roles subscale (9 items,  $\alpha = .85$ ), the Acceptant and Egalitarian subscale (9 items,  $\alpha = .70$ ), the Nice and Pleasant subscale (3 items,  $\alpha = .63$ ), the

Anti-Gay subscale (3 items,  $\alpha = .81$ ), and the Big and Tough subscale (5 items,  $\alpha = .73$ ) assessed gender-related discourses. The Sexual Double Standard subscale (10 items,  $\alpha = .88$ ), the Sex Positive subscale (5 items,  $\alpha = .69$ ), and the Abstinence subscale (7 items,  $\alpha = .80$ ) measured discourses related to sexuality. The Body Consciousness subscale (3 items,  $\alpha = .59$ ) was dropped from future analyses because of the low reliability score.

*Gender Attitudes.* The Attitudes toward Women Scale for Adolescents (AWSA; Galambos, Petersen, Richards, & Gitelson, 1985) assessed attitudes toward traditional gender role expectations and gender equality. This scale contained twelve items ( $\alpha = .81$ ) scored on a 4-point scale (1=“strongly disagree” to 4=“strongly agree”). Items examined beliefs about how men and women should behave and include items such as “Swearing is worse for a girl than for a guy,” and “Men are better leaders than women.” Reverse-scale items were recoded such that a higher score indicated more traditional beliefs endorsing male superiority.

The Male Role Attitudes Scale (MRAS; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993) is an eight-item scale (1=“strongly disagree” to 4=“strongly agree”) focusing on traditional male gender expectations ( $\alpha = .58$ ). Example of items on this scale include “A guy will lose respect if he talks about his problems,” and “I don’t think a husband should have to do housework.” A higher score on this scale indicated greater endorsement of traditional masculinity.

*Gender Conflict.* The Gender Conflict Scale developed in Study 1 was administered following the gender attitudes scales in order to prime participants to consider gender expectations (rather than expectations in general) when answering

questions regarding gender conflict. The Gender Conflict Scale contained 14 items that assess how often (1 = “never” to 5 = “all the time”) participants perceive gender expectations that are contradictory or conflicting. The scale contains eight general statements that assess feelings of conflict in general, such as “Feel torn between different expectations,” and six items that measure specific conflicts, such as “Feel like being a good parent and having a good career are sometimes at odds with each other.”

*Mental Health Outcomes.* Participants also completed the Center for the Epidemiological Studies Scale for Depression (CES-D; Radloff, 1977), which was a 21-item measure (alpha = .92) of the frequency (0 = “rarely” to “3 = “all of the time”) of feelings of depression (e.g. “I had crying spells” and “I was bothered by things that don’t usually bother me”) in the past week. The Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI; Beck, Epstein, Brown, & Steer, 1988) used a 4-point scale (0 = “not at all” to 3 = “severely”) to measures the degree to which participants were bothered by each of 20 anxious symptoms (e.g. Unable to relax, fear of losing control) in the past month. Mean scores were computed for BAI and CES-D, such that higher scores indicated greater distress.

The short version of the Body Esteem Scale (Mendelson, Mendelson, & White, 2001) contained 15 items (alpha = .96) that measured frequency (1 = “never” to 5 = “always”) of body dissatisfaction. Items in this scale include “I worry about the way I look,” and “I am preoccupied with trying to change my body weight.” Reverse-coded items were recoded such that a higher score on this scale indicated greater satisfaction with one’s body image.

*Behavioral Outcomes.* Participants were asked about their dating history (1 = “never been on a date” to “5 = “more than 3 long-term exclusive relationships lasting 3

months or longer”), number of sexual partners, and consistency of contraception use (1 = “always” to 5 = “never” or 6 = “I have never had sex”). Based on these items, a dichotomous variable that assessed participants’ contraceptive risk was computed such that a value of 1 was assigned when participants had indicated that they used condoms less than “always.” For participants who had not engaged in sexual intercourse, both this variable was set to 0.

Three questions examined the frequency (1 = “never” to 5 = “every day”) of participants’ use of alcohol, binge drinking (1 = “never” to 5 = “more than once a week”), smoking (1 = “never” to 5 = “several times a day”), and illegal drugs (yes/no). The substance use questions were combined into a Substance Use subscale ( $\alpha = .81$ ).

## *Results*

### *Preliminary Analyses*

First, preliminary analyses were performed with the demographic indicators in order to determine which variables were the most influential and would need to be controlled for. Accordingly, zero-order correlations were computed between age, gender, race, religiosity, and father’s education level and socialization discourses, gender beliefs, gender conflict, and mental health outcomes. Complete results are reported in Table 3.1. Overall, SES, religiosity, and gender had the most associations with all variables of interest. Adolescents from families with higher SES reported receiving fewer traditional gender socialization messages, held less traditional gender beliefs, suffered from fewer mental health symptoms, and engaged in less risk-taking behavior than adolescents from lower SES families. Greater religiosity was associated with greater communication promoting abstinence and less communication promoting a positive view of sex.

Adolescents from religious families were also less likely to suffer from body dissatisfaction or to engage in risk-taking behavior. Age was also a significant predictor of behavioral outcomes, with older adolescents reporting higher risk-taking behavior than younger adolescents. Finally, compared to girls, boys held more traditional gender beliefs, reported greater body esteem, and received the same or less amount parental communication, except for messages promoting homophobia.

Next, gender differences in parental socialization, gender beliefs, gender conflict, and outcomes were examined using multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and controlling for age, religiosity, and SES. Gender socialization discourse intercorrelations, computed separately by gender, are shown in Table 3.2. These discourses were analyzed simultaneously with MANOVA, such that univariate results were only accepted if the overall model showed significance. Observed and estimated (marginal) means are presented in Table 3.3, along with overall model F test and univariate analyses. Significant omnibus tests emerged for socialization discourses, gender attitudes and mental health variables suggesting gender differences in these areas. No gender differences were found for either amount of substance use or number of sexual partners.

Compared to boys, girls reported receiving more messages promoting the sexual double standard, and also more messages promoting egalitarian gender roles, and being nice and pleasant. Boys reported receiving more parental communication promoting homophobia. Boys also reported holding significantly more conservative gender beliefs than girls on both the AWSA and the MRAS. However, there was no gender difference in reports of gender conflict, although both genders' reported scores were moderately high.

Mental health variables (anxiety, depression, and body esteem) were also analyzed simultaneously using MANOVA, controlling for age, religiosity, and SES. Compared to boys, girls reported significantly lower body esteem, and greater symptoms of anxiety and depression.

#### *Gender Conflict and Well-being during Early Adolescence*

The first research question addressed the impact of gender conflict on mental health and risky behavior during early adolescence. These relations were examined through hierarchical linear regression, where demographic variables and gender conflict were regressed onto each of the five outcome variables. For each outcome variable, gender, age, religiosity, and socioeconomic status were entered into the first step and gender conflict into the second step of the equation. First, analyses were conducted separately for boys and girls, but because the pattern of results did not differ by gender, the two samples were collapsed. Results are presented in Table 3.4. Consistent with previous findings, gender conflict was a significant predictor of anxiety, depression, and body esteem, accounting for respectively 20%, 29%, and 12% of all variance. Higher scores on gender conflict predicted greater symptoms of anxiety and depression and lower body esteem. By contrast, being male predicted fewer depression symptoms and higher body esteem. Age predicted greater anxiety.

Contrary to hypotheses, gender conflict was not a significant predictor of behavioral outcomes. Demographic variables, particularly greater age and lower religiosity, predicted 10% of the variance of sexual risk-taking, with gender conflict not contributing at all. In a similar vein, demographics predicted 14% of variance of

substance use and gender conflict predicted 1%. Greater age, lower SES, and lower religiosity predicted greater substance use.

### *Conflicting socialization and gender conflict*

The second research question examined whether receiving parental socialization that is conflicting or inconsistent was related to internalizing conflicting gender expectations. In order to determine conflicting socialization, the same procedure was used here as in Study 1. First, because boys' and girls' distributions were different, frequency distributions for each socialization discourse were computed separately for each gender. Every participant who scored in the top 40% of the distribution (i.e. received greater amount of communication of this discourse than 60% of the sample) was labeled as a "high receiver" of that discourse through a dummy code. For example, all boys who scored above 0.86 on the Traditional Gender Roles subscale (60<sup>th</sup> percentile for boys), were coded as "high receivers" of Traditional Gender Roles. Next, those participants who were marked as "high receivers" for two conflicting discourses (e.g. Abstinence & Sex Positive) were identified as "conflicted receivers" through another dummy code. Table 3.5 contains the distribution of "conflicted receivers" across nine cells representing pairs of conflicting messages, separately by gender. Cells ranged in size from 11% (girls receiving both Abstinence and Sex Positive messages) to 32% (boys receiving both Sex Positive and Sexual Double Standard messages). Overall, more than half of all boys and girls reported receiving at least one pair of conflicting messages, with both genders receiving between one and two conflicting pairs of messages on average ( $M_{girls} = 1.66$ ,  $SD_{girls} = 2.29$ ;  $M_{boys} = 1.85$ ,  $SD_{boys} = 2.59$ ). There were no significant gender differences in receiving conflicting socialization.

The effect of receiving conflicting socialization on gender conflict, was examined using partial correlations. Specifically, being a “conflicted” receiver (dummy code indicating cell membership in each of nine conflicted categories) and adolescents’ scores of gender conflict were correlated, controlling for age, socioeconomic status, and religiosity. Results shown in Table 3.6 suggest that, overall, receiving conflicting socialization was associated with increased gender conflict, although the pattern differed between girls and boys.

For girls, receiving 3 of 9 pairs of conflicting messages was associated with increased gender conflict. Specifically, receiving messages endorsing egalitarian gender roles *and* homophobia was associated with greater gender conflict, as was receiving messages encouraging abstinence *and* the adoption of traditional gender roles and messages encouraging abstinence *and* endorsing the sexual double standard. For boys, 6 of 9 pairs were associated with increased conflict. Messages endorsing the sexual double standard *and* promoting gender equality, and messages endorsing the sexual double standard and encouraging abstinence had the strongest connection to gender conflict. For boys, receiving any one conflict was also associated with greater gender conflict, and for both genders the gender conflict appeared to have an additive effect so that a greater number of conflicting pairs of messages was associated with greater conflict. No significant associations emerged between receiving traditional *and* egalitarian gender role messages or between receiving messages endorsing traditional gender role *and* being nice and pleasant for either gender.

### *Gender Socialization: Measurement Model*

The third research question, called for the use of Structural Equation Modeling (AMOS 7.0) in order to model the relations between gender socialization, gender beliefs, gender conflict, and outcomes simultaneously. AMOS uses full information maximum likelihood (FIML) to estimate parameters with incomplete data only if the data are missing at random (Arbuckle & Wothke, 1999; Byrne, 2001). To test whether data were missing completely at random (MCAR), for each participant, dummy codes were computed for each of the subscale used in the model indicating whether the value was missing. For each variable, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) then tested whether those participants with missing data differed in any meaningful way from those who did not on SES, gender, religiosity, and age. As no significant differences emerged, the assumption of missing at random was not rejected.

Examination of the model fit relied mainly on the Chi-square statistic. The Chi-square index examines the difference in fit between the specified model and the just-identified model, with a nonsignificant Chi-square ( $p > .05$ ) indicating good fit. However, given the extreme sensitivity of the Chi-squared statistic to sample size and model complexity, I will also report the  $\chi^2/df$  statistic, where a value less than 3 suggests acceptable fit (Kline, 1998). The model fit was also evaluated using the normed comparative fit index (CFI) and the RMSEA. For the CFI, values of  $> .90$  were originally considered to be indicative of good fit (Bentler, 1992), although more recent evaluations suggest that a more stringent cutoff of  $.95$  is needed (Hu & Bentler, 1999). However, given a relatively small sample sizes and complex model, a cutoff of  $.90$  will be used here.

The RMSEA index takes into account the complexity of the model, and values under .08 are considered acceptable (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Steiger, 1998; Browne, 1984).

The first step was to use SEM to estimate a measurement model of the Gender Socialization Measure. Due to the complexity of the proposed model, only the four highest-loading factors were included in the model. Table 3.7 contains step by step fit statistic for all the models tested in this study. From exploratory factor analysis, it was hypothesized that twenty nine items from the socialization measure would load onto four latent factors: traditional gender roles (TRAD), egalitarian gender roles (EGAL), sexual double standard (SDS), and abstinence (ABST). The indicators were constrained to load onto only one factor (all other loadings were constrained to zero) and the error covariances were constrained to zero. Item intercorrelations are contained in Table 3.8. The Chi-square for this model was degrees of freedom ( $\chi^2/df = 1.74, p < .001$ ). The fit indices suggested some misfit, with CFI = .874 and RMSEA = .059. Examining the standardized residual covariances and modification indices showed cross-loadings for six of the items on the measure, and one item showed a low loading of .48. Accordingly, these items were removed and the model computed again with the full data set. This time Chi-square was 358.04 with 203 degrees of freedom ( $\chi^2/df = 1.76, p < .001$ ) with CFI = .920 and RMSEA = .054 indicating acceptable fit. Standardized loadings for the final measurement model are reported in the first half of Table 3.9 and factor inter-correlations are shown in Table 3.10. The factor covariances were significant such that abstinence, traditional gender roles, and sexual double standard messages had positive inter-correlations and egalitarian gender roles correlated positively with all factors except traditional gender roles.

Next, the measurement model was validated as identical for boys and girls using a two-group analysis by gender. First, an unconstrained two-group comparison was estimated simultaneously. This model had a Chi-square of degrees of freedom ( $\chi^2/df = 1.47, p < .001$ ), and RMSEA = .043 (the CFI was not used for multi-group comparisons). Next, this model was compared with a partially constrained model where the factor loadings were held to be equal across both groups but all the error variances, factor variances and covariances were freely estimated. For the two models to be equivalent, and the measurement model to be identical for boys and girls, the increase in Chi-square must be nonsignificant. The constrained model had a Chi-square of 625.10 with 424 degrees of freedom ( $\chi^2/df = 1.48, p < .001$ ), RMSEA = .044. Since the constrained model had 18 degrees of freedom more than the unconstrained model, the Chi-square difference must be lower than 28.87 in order for these models to be statistically the same at  $p < .05$ . The resulting Chi-square difference of 27.98 results suggests that the underlying factor structure holds for both the boys' and girls' data, and that this factor structure can be used with the full sample. Table 3.9 shows factor loadings for one and two-group models side by side.

*Gender Socialization, Gender Attitudes, Gender Conflict, and Outcomes: Full Model*

The next step was to build a full model that includes socialization messages, internalized gender beliefs and gender conflict, and outcomes. I began with examining the mediation model, in which gender conflict was predicted to mediate the relation between gender socialization and mental health and risk behavior for adolescents. Accordingly, the first model included the four socialization discourses as latent factors

and five outcomes: body dissatisfaction (BODY)<sup>2</sup>, depression (DEP), anxiety (ANX), sexual behavior (SEX), and drug use (DRUG). In order to reduce the number of indicators, items from body dissatisfaction, depression, and anxiety scales were parceled into three indicators for each factor. Parceling (or bundling) can be advantageous in creating indicators with a more continuous scale than individual items and more parsimonious models (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002; McCallum, Widaman, Zhang, & Hong, 1999). The two sexual risk variables (measuring the number of sexual partners and consistency in birth control use) and dating history were the three indicators predicted by the latent factor SEX. Items measuring frequency of smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, and use of illegal drugs were used as indicators predicted by the latent factor DRUG.

As a first step (Step 1), each of the four parental discourses was set to predict each of the five outcome measures. Because the three measures of mental health and two behavioral outcomes were seen as related beyond the associations explained by the tested model, residual variances of outcome factors were allowed to correlate. The hypothesized and actual paths are shown in Figure 3 and had a Chi-square of 895.56 with 597 degrees of freedom. After the first estimation, regression and correlation paths that were smaller than .20 were judged to be insignificant and were removed, and the model was computed again. With fourteen degrees of freedom greater, this second model would need to have a Chi-square difference of 23.69 to statistically differ from the first. The second model had a Chi-square = 911.36, df = 611 (Chi-square difference = 15.80,  $\chi^2/df = 1.49$ ,  $p < .001$ ), CFI = .932, RMSEA = .044. Because the two models are statistically identical, the more

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<sup>2</sup> In order to keep mental health variables consistently oriented, for these analyses, body *esteem* was reverse-coded so that a higher score indicated body *dissatisfaction*.

parsimonious second model is retained. Table 3.11 shows the loadings for the five new latent factors, and Tables 3.12 and 3.13 show the residual estimates and factor inter-correlations. In the final model shown in Figure 3, no associations were found between traditional or egalitarian gender role messages and any of the five outcomes. Messages promoting the sexual double standard predicted greater anxiety and depression, and greater sexual risk and substance abuse. By contrast, messages endorsing abstinence predicted less sexual risk and less substance use. There were no significant associations between depression or body dissatisfaction and behavioral outcomes; however, there was a relation between greater anxiety symptoms and greater substance use. To sum, messages pertaining to sexuality had stronger direct effects on outcomes than messages concerning gender beliefs. The sexual double standard discourse appears to be a powerful adverse factor in mental health distress and risky behaviors, whereas messages promoting abstinence played a protective role in preventing sexual risk and substance use. Finally, there was an association between anxiety and engaging in risky behaviors.

Next, gender conflict was added as a latent factor into the model to test the mediation effect (Step 2). Items from the Gender Conflict Scale were parceled into three indicators, which ranged in size from .68 to .84 ( $M = .76$ ,  $SD = .08$ ). As a first step, gender conflict was set to mediate the relation between all parental communication and all outcomes. That is, direct paths were estimated between the four communication discourses and gender conflict, and then between gender conflict and the five outcomes. Direct paths from socialization discourses to outcomes were allowed as well in order to estimate a partially mediated model. Again, after the first estimation (Ch-square = 1038.88,  $df = 702$ ), paths that were not significant were removed and the model

recomputed. With seventeen greater degrees of freedom the second model is more parsimonious and is statistically identical to the first (Chi-square difference = 22.2). The Step 2 model showed good fit with Chi-square = 1061.08 with df = 719 ( $\chi^2/df = 1.48$ ,  $p < .001$ ), CFI = .928, RMSEA = .043. The resulting model is shown in Figure 4 and Tables 3.14 and 3.15 shows residual effects and latent factor intercorrelations. Receiving traditional gender role messages was not associated with any outcomes. Receiving egalitarian gender role messages weakly predicted gender conflict ( $b = .16$ ). Sexual double standard messages, however, predicted greater conflict, greater sexual risk and greater substance use substantially. By contrast, abstinence messages predicted less sexual risk and less substance use. Experiencing gender conflict was associated with greater depression, anxiety, and body dissatisfaction. As in Step 1, there was a significant correlation between anxiety and greater sexual risk and substance use. Thus, gender conflict partially mediated the relations between parental socialization and outcomes. This effect was most apparent in the area of mental health, yet adding a direct path between gender conflict and behavioral outcomes did not create a significantly better-fitting model (Chi-square change = 1.99,  $\Delta df = 2$ ).

Models in Step 1 and Step 2 are comparable in fit, yet I believe that the addition of gender conflict is an important improvement in our overall understanding of parental influence on children's behavior. The effect of parental messages about gender on children's mental health, in particular body esteem, was not evident in the Step 1 model, as this relation appears to be mediated by gender conflict.

As a third step (Step 3), gender beliefs (or gender attitudes) were added into the model to test the hypothesis that parental socialization pertaining to gender (egalitarian

gender roles and traditional gender roles) would predict adolescents' gender attitudes. Another reason to include gender attitudes is that this construct was linked with behavioral outcomes for college samples in Study 2 and for adult samples in the literature (e.g. Mahalik et al., 2003, 2005). Accordingly, the two gender attitude scales (MRAS, AWSA) were parceled into three indicators each, creating a latent factor (GENATT) with six indicators. A measurement model computed for this factor showed poor fit with the data, with CFI = .779 and RMSEA = .495. The MRAS parcels loaded low at .28 to .55 and the AWSA parcels showed strong loadings of .72 to .82. Accordingly, the MRAS indicators were deleted, leaving only items from the AWSA to be predictors of GENATT.

Direct effects were first allowed from all four parental socialization discourses to gender attitudes and from gender attitudes to all five outcomes. However, after the first estimate (Chi-square = 11264.65, df = 830) nonsignificant paths and covariances were trimmed. Also, the indicator "relationship experience" was dropped because of a low factor loading. This model fit had a Chi-square = 1189.40 with 796 degrees of freedom ( $\chi^2/df = 1.51$ ,  $p < .001$ ), CFI = .922, RMSEA = .044. This final model, shown in Figure 5, has thirty four fewer degrees of freedom and fits the data better than the first model (Chi-square difference = 75.25). The addition of gender attitudes clearly shows the influence of gender socialization on beliefs. Traditional gender role messages predicted more conservative gender beliefs, whereas egalitarian messages predicted the opposite. Interestingly, more traditional gender beliefs predicted *less* gender conflict. All other effects observed in the previous model (Step 2) remained significant. Direct and indirect coefficients and residuals are presented in Tables 3.16 and 3.17 and factor correlations are shown in Table 3.18.

Next, I calculated indirect effects of receiving traditional and egalitarian gender messages on gender conflict (mediated by gender beliefs), effect of egalitarian and sexual double standard messages on mental health (mediated by gender conflict), and effect of gender attitudes on mental health (also mediated by gender conflict). Significance of the indirect effect was calculated using the Sobel test equation

$$z\text{-value} = a*b/\sqrt{(b^2*s_a^2 + a^2*s_b^2)}$$

where  $a$  and  $b$  are unstandardized coefficients of the two paths and  $s_a$  and  $s_b$  are standard errors of  $a$  and  $b$  (Kline, 1998).

As shown in Table 3.16, receiving egalitarian gender messages had a protective effect on mental health mediated by gender conflict. However, the impact of this discourse on gender conflict was two-fold. Receiving messages promoting egalitarian gender roles directly predicted feeling *less* gender conflict; however, there was also an indirect effect (through gender beliefs) of *increasing* gender conflict. Holding more conservative gender beliefs indirectly predicted *fewer* mental health symptoms. On the other hand, communication endorsing the sexual double standard indirectly increased the risk for mental health distress.

The final step was to test whether this model holds for both boys and girls. Accordingly, the structural model for both groups was retained but all parameters were freely estimated. This model showed acceptable fit with Chi-square = 2301.02 with 1592 degrees of freedom ( $\chi^2/df = 1.45$ ,  $p < .001$ ), RMSEA = .042. Visual examination of the freely estimated coefficients (see Table 3.19) suggests that there may be gender differences in the model. Differences were particularly evident in the paths between the egalitarian gender roles discourse (EGAL) and gender beliefs (GENATT), and between

sexual double standard discourse (SDS) and risk behaviors (DRUG and SEX). The next model began the test for complete model invariance by constraining every parameter in the model (including factor loadings, factor variances and covariances, error variances and intercepts) to be equal across the two groups. There was no theoretical reason why girls and boys would be similar to each other to this level of detail, and this model was expected to fit the data poorly. Because this model is nested within the previous one, the Chi-square difference was used as an indicator of improved fit. That is, with 149 greater degrees of freedom (corresponding to fewer estimated parameters), the increase in Chi-square must be equal to or less than 178 (total Chi-square to be equal to or less than 2479) in order for the change in fit to not be significant and the two models to be identical. However, as expected, this model showed a poorer fit than the unconstrained model with Chi-square = 2616.46 with 1741 degrees of freedom (Chi-square change = 315.44,  $\chi^2/df = 1.50$ ,  $p < .001$ ), RMSEA = .045. This indicates that the two models are not identical to this level.

In order to obtain a more realistic group comparison, only the factor loadings and structural paths were constrained to be equal next, leaving factor covariances, error variances, and all intercepts to be freely estimated. Again, the Chi-square difference test was used here. This semi-constrained model was first compared with the fully-constrained model. With 106 fewer degrees of freedom, the decrease in Chi-square must be 131 or greater to show significant improvement over the fully constrained model. As predicted, the fit indices showed significant improvement with Chi-square = 2359.82 with 1637 degrees of freedom (Chi-square difference = 256.64,  $\chi^2/df = 1.44$ ,  $p < .001$ ), RMSEA = .042. Next, the semi-constrained model was compared with the unconstrained

model. Here, with 45 fewer degrees of freedom, the change in Chi-square cannot exceed 61.66 in order for the two models to be equivalent at  $p < .05$ . The actual Chi-square difference between the two models is 58.70, which suggests that the unconstrained model does not offer a better fit than the semi-constrained model. Thus, because the freely estimated model for boys and girls does not differ in fit from a model where all structural paths and factor loadings are equivalent, the overall structure of the model holds for both boys and girls, although gender differences in particular paths may still exist.

There were three possible gender differences hypothesized within the overall model: the effect of sexual double standard messages on risk behavior, the effect of gender messages on gender beliefs, and the effect of gender conflict on mental health outcomes. Accordingly, first, the paths between sexual double standard discourse (SDS) and risky behaviors (SEX, DRUG) were allowed to be estimated freely. Although the hypothesis only applied to sexual risk, because the two sets of behaviors (sexual risk and substance abuse) are so closely correlated, both paths were allowed to be estimated. With 2 fewer degrees of freedom, the decrease in Chi-square must be equal to or greater than 5.99 in order for the change in fit to be significant. This first hypothesis was not supported with a new Chi-square of 2357.48 (Chi-square difference = 2.34), indicating that the effect of receiving messages endorsing sexual double standard on substance use and sexual behavior was the same across the sexes. The second hypothesis was tested by unconstraining the paths from egalitarian (EGAL) and traditional (TRAD) gender role discourses to gender beliefs (GENATT). Again, this hypothesis was not supported with a new Chi-square of 2359.68 (Chi-square difference = 0.14). Finally, the third hypothesis was tested by allowing paths from gender conflict (CONFLICT) to be estimated to

depression (DEP), anxiety (ANX), and body dissatisfaction (BODY). With three fewer degrees of freedom, the Chi-square difference would need to equal 7.8 or greater; however, the new model showed little change, with Chi-square = 2355.21 (Chi-square difference = 4.61). Thus, the hypotheses of gender difference in the model were rejected.

### *Discussion*

This study explored the effect of parental socialization, gender beliefs, and gender conflict on early adolescents' well-being. In particular, this work examined the effect of specific socialization discourses, both as a direct influence on mental health and risk behavior and as mediated by internalizing conflicting communication. Results are consistent with previous work with college students that suggests that there is a strong association between experiencing gender conflict and mental health, but not substance use or risky sexual behavior.

Consistent with previous findings with college students, adolescents who report receiving parental socialization messages that are contradictory in content were more likely to report gender conflict. However, different conflicting pairs of messages appeared to affect gender conflict for girls and boys, with boys being affected more strongly in general. Significant associations between almost every pair of conflicting messages and gender conflict for boys may suggest that boys are more vulnerable to receiving conflicting socialization than girls. This may be because boys interpret competing expectations as more disparate than do girls, because masculine gender norms are more restrictive than feminine gender norms, or because girls are better able to negotiate multiple competing expectations. For both genders, however, it appeared that although gender conflict was *sometimes* related to communication contradicting the

traditional gender role expectations (e.g. Sexual Double Standard and Abstinence for boys), other conflicts arose from messages that did not on the surface contradict traditional norms. For example, receiving messages endorsing both traditional gender roles and abstinence is not necessarily a conflict for girls, yet for both genders, receiving this pair of messages was associated with gender conflict. One possibility is that girls may interpret this contradiction specifically in dating contexts where going along with a boyfriend's desire for sex is in conflict with a firm stance on abstinence. However, this finding may also indicate a change in cultural gender norms for women, where abstinence until marriage may no longer be a requirement for traditional femininity.

When socialization, gender conflict, and gender beliefs were all analyzed in the same structural equation model, parental socialization regarding traditional and egalitarian gender roles informed adolescents' own beliefs about gender. However, adolescents' gender beliefs did not play a role in predicting outcomes. This pattern of results was consistent with the hypothesis that younger adolescents may not have had an opportunity to develop their own gender beliefs. Their reported beliefs may only reflect those sentiments expressed by their parents rather than their own convictions, and are, for that reason, not necessarily predictive of their mental health symptoms or risky behavior.

Exposure to two socialization discourses, egalitarian gender roles and the sexual double standard, appeared to predict gender conflict. Messages promoting equality between the sexes appeared to decrease gender conflict, a protective effect that is consistent with studies showing a negative relation between egalitarian beliefs and mental health (e.g., Cournoyer & Mahalik, 1995; Nolen-Hoeksema & Girgus, 1994). By contrast, messages endorsing the sexual double standard were associated with greater gender

conflict, which may be emblematic of the internal contradiction of the sexual double standard discourse. Boys may find it difficult to play the role of the sexual initiator when the majority of them were not sexually experienced. For girls, this discourse suggests that, although dating relationships are desirable, the boys they date are only interested in sex and are not to be trusted. Moreover, this discourse does not leave room for boys to express any doubts regarding sexual initiation or for girls to express feelings of sexual desire.

When it came to sexual risk and substance use, however, messages promoting egalitarian gender roles did not play a protective role. Instead, risk behavior was directly predicted by abstinence until marriage and sexual double standard discourses. Although the two discourses were correlated such that adolescents who received one of these messages were also likely to receive the other, the two discourses had opposite effects on behavior, with abstinence communication predicting *less* and sexual double standard communication predicting *more* risk-taking. These effects persisted for both boys and girls in multi-group analysis despite the obvious gender difference in the meaning of the sexual double standard. It is possible that boys feel pressure to engage in sexual behavior by their internalization of the discourse and also by their dating partners, who are socialized to expect such behavior of them. For girls, it is possible that they either succumb to their partners' requests for sex or rebel against the "gate-keeper" notion that would keep them from engaging in sex. Sexual behavior and substance use were highly correlated for this sample, suggesting that adolescents who engage in one risky behavior (e.g. smoking cigarettes), also engage in other forms of risk-taking (e.g. drinking, sexual behavior). This connection may be reflective of the particular age group, for whom

neither sexual initiation nor substance use is normative (unlike for older adolescents or emerging adults), and is therefore indicative of some underlying problem.

The protective pattern of influence of abstinence until marriage messages is somewhat surprising given the volume of studies showing the overall ineffectiveness of abstinence-only education (see Kirby, 2002). However, longitudinal research suggests that receiving abstinence-only education delays sexual initiation by approximately 18 months (Bruckner & Bearman, 2005), compared to the average initiation age of 17 for girls and 16 for boys (Kaiser Family Foundation, 2005). Because adolescents in this sample are only 15.6 years old on average, it is possible that the observed pattern of influence would be reversed if these adolescents were followed up two or three years later. It is also possible that receiving abstinence messages from parents is more influential than receiving those from school educators, and is therefore more predictive of coital delay. Finally, parents promoting abstinence until marriage are likely to also reinforce this communication with rules regarding curfew and dating, thereby limiting their children's access to potentially risky situations.

Adolescents' scores on gender conflict fully mediated the relation between socialization discourse and mental health outcomes. Consistent with previous work with college samples, strong associations were found between gender conflict and increased symptoms of anxiety, depression, and body dissatisfaction, although gender conflict did not predict risky behavior directly. However, it is possible that with a relatively small sample of adolescents, most of whom were mostly coitally inexperienced, there was not enough power in the model to show this relation. It is also possible that such a relation is mediated by parental monitoring or another third variable not assessed in this study.

Finally, contrary to my hypotheses, no gender differences were found in the overall model. Although I had hypothesized that socialization messages would affect boys and girls differently, the data suggested that this may not be the case. While it is possible that the small number of boys resulted in not enough statistical power to observe gender differences, it is also possible that boys and girls are more alike than not. The results support this notion as they show that boys and girls receive similar parental socialization and experience similar levels of gender conflict. These findings are consistent with research suggesting that today's adolescents receive a variety of messages, endorsing both egalitarian and traditional gender roles, a mix that may be equally confusing to both genders.

Despite the strong pattern of results, this study also has some limitations, particularly concerning the participation rate and homogeneity of the sample. The first limitation is a relatively small sample size, especially the number of boys participating in the study. Although roughly equal numbers of boys and girls were recruited, participation rates were much higher for girls. This may imply a self-selection effect such that only the higher-functioning, more organized boys, or only boys who were particularly persuaded by the movie-ticket reward, participated. This concern applies to the larger sample as well, given the 83% participation rate. The second limitation concerns the homogeneity of the sample. This was a sample of convenience and although the communities selected for this study reflected ethnic and socioeconomic variability, the sample of adolescents who completed the survey was overwhelmingly Caucasian and middle-class. This significantly limits the generalizability of the findings to other ethnic and socioeconomic groups.

Another limitation concerns measurement of conflicting socialization messages. Because conflicting pairs of messages were not chosen by the participants themselves, it is impossible to know whether adolescents themselves perceive those messages as contradictory. In addition, adolescents may perceive other conflicts between various discourses that were not assessed here. Further, the nature of structural equation modeling did not allow for an examination of the effect of receiving *conflicting* gender socialization messages on gender conflict and well-being. Finally, other limitations discussed in Chapter 4 pertain to this study as well, including self-report data on parental socialization and weak reliabilities on some of the subscales of the parental socialization measure.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

#### *Gender Socialization Scale*

The current work examined the role of parental gender and sexual socialization on adolescents' beliefs about gender, internalization of conflicting gender expectations, and well-being and makes a contribution to the literature in two important ways: by creating an instrument to assess direct gender socialization and by examining the complex way that socializing messages affect adolescents' gender beliefs and behavior. One of the greatest strengths of this work is its innovative methodology that goes beyond previous work on gender socialization. Gender socialization has been a frequent topic of study in the literature for many decades, yet almost nothing is known about the direct socialization that children and adolescents receive from their parents. Creating an instrument that examines gender socialization is an important step in understanding how adolescents' beliefs about gender are formed and, in turn, how they affect their well-being.

Looking across the three studies, it is clear that adolescents recall receiving diverse and frequently contradictory messages from their parents, and that there are important gender difference in communication. Positive messages encouraging egalitarian gender roles and being acceptant of others appeared to be the most prominent in parental socialization, as both younger adolescents and college students reported that their parents communicated this message most frequently. Younger adolescents also

reported that their parents emphasized being nice and considerate to others. Both of these effects persisted across gender. However, compared to their male counterparts, girls and women consistently reported receiving more communication endorsing the sexual double standard and encouraging abstinence until marriage. On the other hand, boys and men reported receiving more messages promoting homophobia. College age men also reported more communication endorsing traditional gender roles and encouraging being tough, contradicting messages promoting egalitarian gender roles.

Which messages trump? Such contradictory messages may suggest to women that equality between the sexes does not extend to sexual situations where every man is a potential predator. Conversely, women may come to believe that, although some men may be sexual predators, overall, women and men should maintain egalitarian relationships. Contradictory communication to men may suggest that acceptance and equality does not extend to homosexuality and that, despite gender equality, men should remain tough and strong. Alternately, the emphasis on equality and being nice may signal a cultural change where men no longer have to maintain a stoic and tough stance at all times. The impact of conflicting socialization may further depend on a number of other individual factors. For example, receiving messages encouraging both gender equality and homophobia may be only somewhat conflicting for a heterosexual woman, but may present a significant conflict for a gay man.

The similar pattern of communication reported by participants from different cohorts suggests that many socialization messages may be internalized earlier during childhood and are retained throughout adolescence into early adulthood. However, what about those discourses that were reported as being frequently communicated by the

younger cohort but not the older participants? For example, being nice emerged as one of the most frequently communicated messages among the younger adolescents, but was rated much lower, compared to other messages, by college students. Does the salience of this discourse fade in the transition to early adulthood? It is possible that being nice to others is less salient to college students who are immersed in a large and diverse college community of strangers. However, it is also possible that that the college students surveyed here actually *received* fewer messages encouraging being nice than did high school students because the two samples are qualitatively different in this way. The current work does not offer answers to these questions, which can only be answered if change in reported socialization is assessed over time in a longitudinal design.

#### *Gender Conflict Scale*

The second contribution of this study is its examination of how competing or conflicting expectations affect adolescents' behavior and sense of self. Although the complexity, and often contradiction, of gender expectations has been a common topic of discussion in the literature, this work initiates empirical examination of this gender conflict. By exploring the complex relations between conflicting gender socialization, conflicting gender beliefs, and their effect on mental health and behavior, we can better understand the process of developing, negotiating, and consolidating gender identity during adolescence.

Results from these three studies suggest that gender conflict is common during adolescence and emerging adulthood, and that both genders experience gender conflict. This again suggests that children become aware of gender role expectations earlier than high school, yet the exact trajectory can only be determined with longitudinal data.

Moreover, gender conflict appears to be associated both with receiving conflicting gender communication and with mental health distress for both adolescents and college students. Although no associations were found between experiencing gender conflict and risk behavior, particularly substance use, it is possible that there are other variables not assessed in these three studies that link gender conflict with behavioral outcomes. For example, for younger adolescents, parental monitoring may preclude engaging in risky behavior, especially if parents are concerned about their child's mental health. Experiencing gender conflict may also influence self-efficacy if an individual is unsure about his role, such as a man who is unsure if he should try to act tough by engaging in binge drinking. This may also pertain to sexual situations, where gender conflict may affect sexual self-efficacy of a young woman who feels conflicted about having sex.

#### *Future Directions*

There are multiple directions for future research in the area of gender socialization and gender conflict that would add to our understanding of gender development throughout the lifetime. Four of them are discussed here, although there are many other directions for future research. First, future studies need to replicate these findings using samples that are more ethnically and socioeconomically diverse, and also need to expand the gender socialization measure to address culture-specific socialization messages and conflicts. For example, adolescents from ethnic minority groups may receive communication regarding the importance of dating and marrying someone from the same ethnic and cultural background, whereas children from immigrant families may receive messages regarding acceptable levels of acculturation versus preserving traditions of the home country.

Second, studies may explore differential socialization adolescents receive from other agents and from mothers and fathers within the family. Indeed, the conflicting pattern of socialization messages that participants in the three studies reported receiving from their parents may be due to the practice of examining parental communication as a whole. It is possible that mothers consistently convey more egalitarian messages whereas fathers promote more conservative ones. This notion is supported by previous research showing that fathers tend to treat their children in more gender-typed ways consistent with traditional gender role norms (Lytton & Romney, 1991; McHale et al., 2003). In addition, socialization messages from other sources, such as peers, teachers, and the clergy need to be examined as there may also be important conflicts between sources of communication, such as competing messages from parents and peers. For example, a recent work by Whitaker and Miller (2000) suggests that the effect of peer influence on adolescent sexual behavior may be moderated by parental communication about sex, suggesting that adolescents frequently engage in negotiating competing information from these two sources.

As a third direction, studies will also need to explore the impact of developmental stage on experiencing gender conflict and the association between gender conflict and conflicting socialization. At what age is gender conflict most detrimental or most beneficial? How may gender conflict change with age? For example, older adults, who may be farther removed from family socialization, may no longer experience gender conflict as a result of *parental* socialization but may be more affected by communication from their marital partners, children, and coworkers. The types of conflicts individuals experience are likely to change throughout their lifetime, such that conflicts pertaining to

initiation of sexual behavior may be less salient for adults than conflicts regarding childcare and time spent at work. Further, some conflicts may be more challenging than others depending on developmental stage, gender, and other personal and social factors. For example, a man in a dating situation may struggle to show himself as both tough and masculine and nice and sensitive, whereas a woman may encounter this conflict when exercising authority at a workplace.

Such cross-sectional examination of gender conflict and its effects on well-being may, however, uncover cohort-specific effects. For example, it may be that conflicting gender socialization and gender conflict are relatively new phenomena that reflect a societal transition toward more egalitarian gender roles. Individuals from previous cohorts may have received primarily traditional gender role communication and fewer conflicting gender messages (and therefore experience less gender conflict overall) than today's adolescents.

Fourth, future studies may investigate whether there are circumstances when gender conflict may be a positive rather than a negative factor. For example, does gender conflict promote cognitive or identity development during adolescence? May negotiating gender role expectations lead men and women to ultimately make more satisfying choices in life, even if it causes distress in the short-term? It is possible that some individuals are more vulnerable to conflicting information whereas others view it as increasing options or an opportunity for self-discovery and to form more thoughtful attitudes? Using a person-centered framework, such as trajectory analysis or cluster analysis, may help us better understand the formation and effects of gender conflict.

The larger implications of this work point toward expanding the way gender ideology and its implications are currently examined in the literature. Instead of framing gender attitudes as a single continuum, from “traditional” to “egalitarian,” we need to address the complexity and dynamic nature of men’s and women’s beliefs about gender. Results from this study suggest that adolescents receive – and likely internalize – a variety of gender socialization messages, some of which are more and some are less traditional. Instead of assessing relative traditionality of beliefs based on a composite measure of gender attitudes (or examining the effect of one discourse at a time), it is important to examine both the complexity and possible contradictions of beliefs, how such beliefs manifest themselves in different contexts. For example, a woman may be driven by a desire to meet the cultural standards of beauty while shopping for a sexy outfit, by beliefs about gender equality when she and her date split the dinner check, and by concerns over the sexual double standard when she makes decisions about inviting her date to her apartment. The degree to which all three of those beliefs are salient to her will likely influence both what kind of decision she might make in each of the three situations and her satisfaction with her choices. Such multidimensional approach to the study of gender beliefs may also help explicate the connection between socialization and behavior as well as between personal beliefs and decision-making.

Figure 1  
Gender Ideology Subscales

Scale Name	Body image/ Physical Adequacy	Success/ Compet. Intellect. Perform.	Emotion.	Violence/ Victim.	Indep./ Self- Reliance	Tough./ Femin.	Nurtur.	Subord./ Assertiv./ Dominance	Modesty/ Sexual Fidelity/	Relat. Focus	Risk- Taking	Work Focus
<i>Masculinity</i>												
CMNI		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
MGRS	X	X	X		X			X				
GRCS		X	X			X						X
<i>Femininity</i>												
AFIS	X									X		
FGRS	X		X	X			X	X				
CFNI	X						X		X	X		

CMNI: Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (Mahalik et al., 2003)

MGRS: Male Gender Role Stress (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987)

GRCS: Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986)

AFIS: Adolescent Femininity Ideology Scales (Tolman & Porche, 2000)

FGRS: Female Gender Role Stress (Gillespie & Eisler, 1992)

CFNI: Conformity to Feminine Norms Inventory (Mahalik et al., 2005)

Figure 2  
Conceptual Structural Equation Model for Socialization, Gender Conflict, and Outcomes

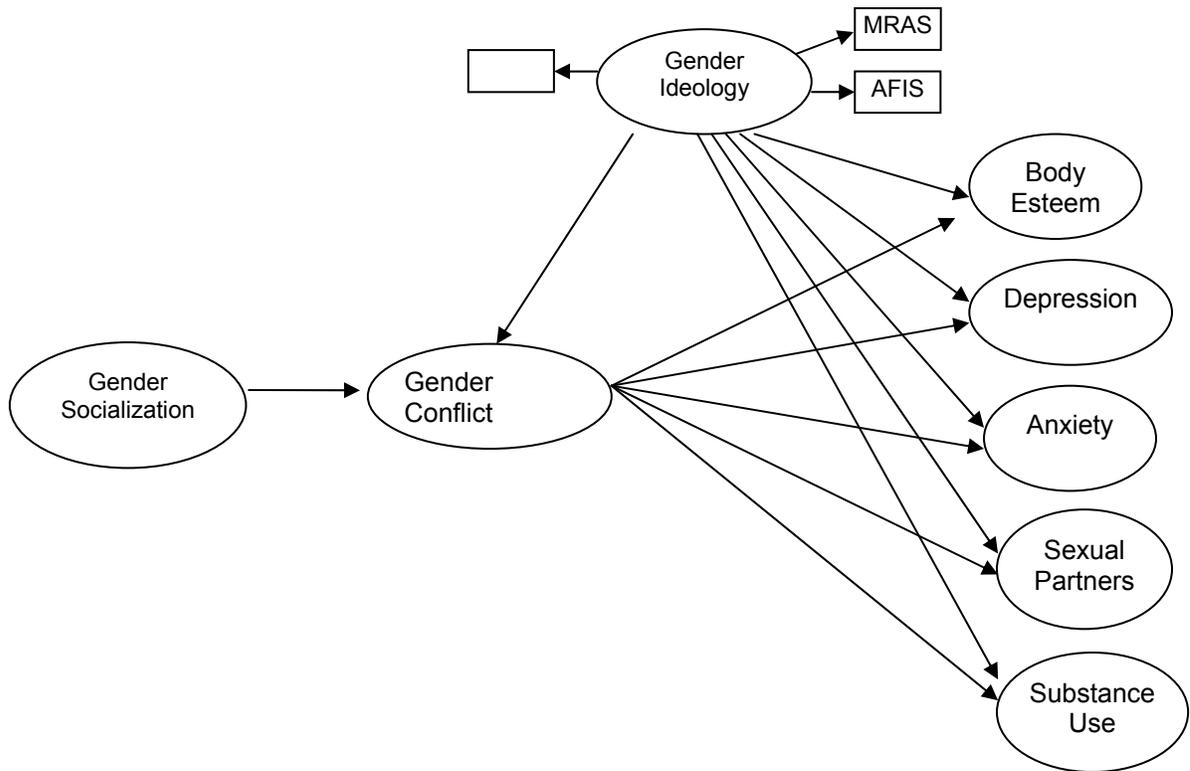
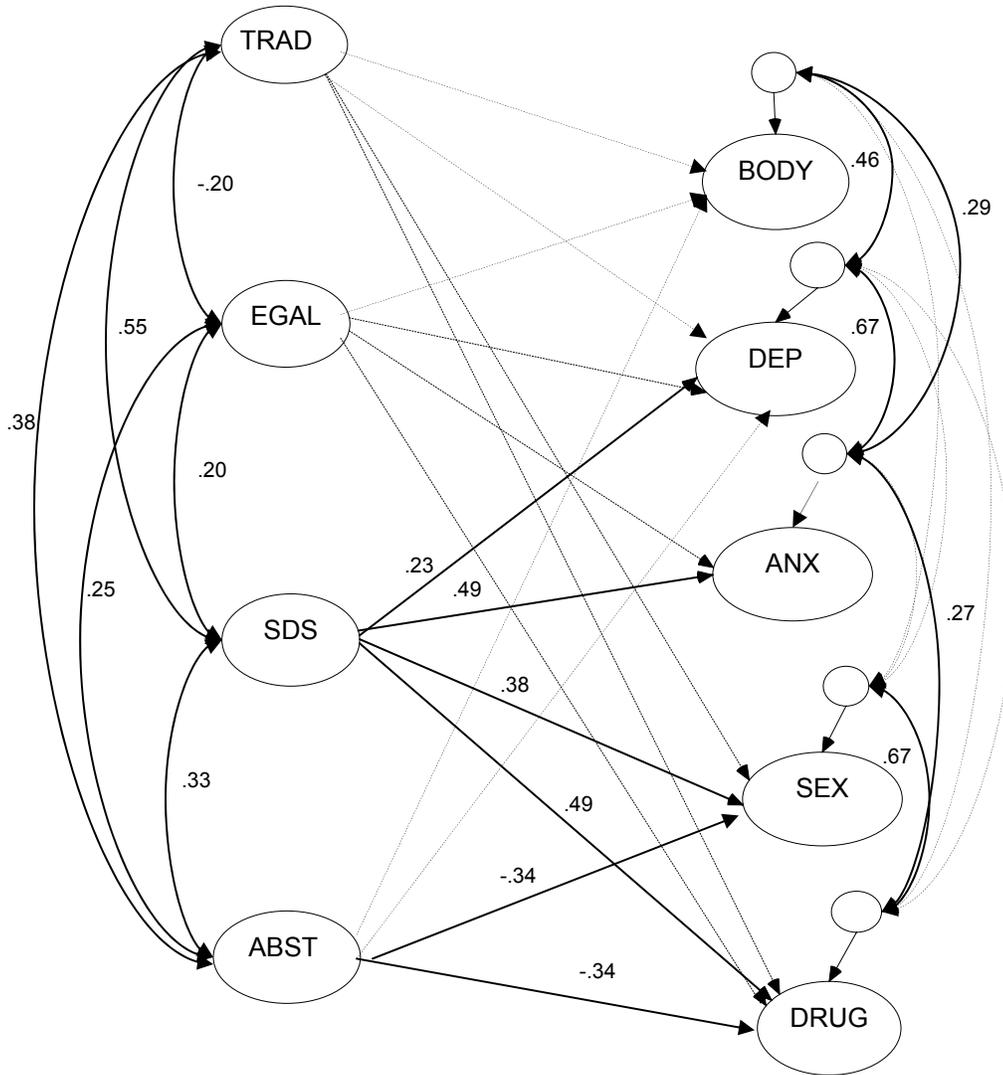


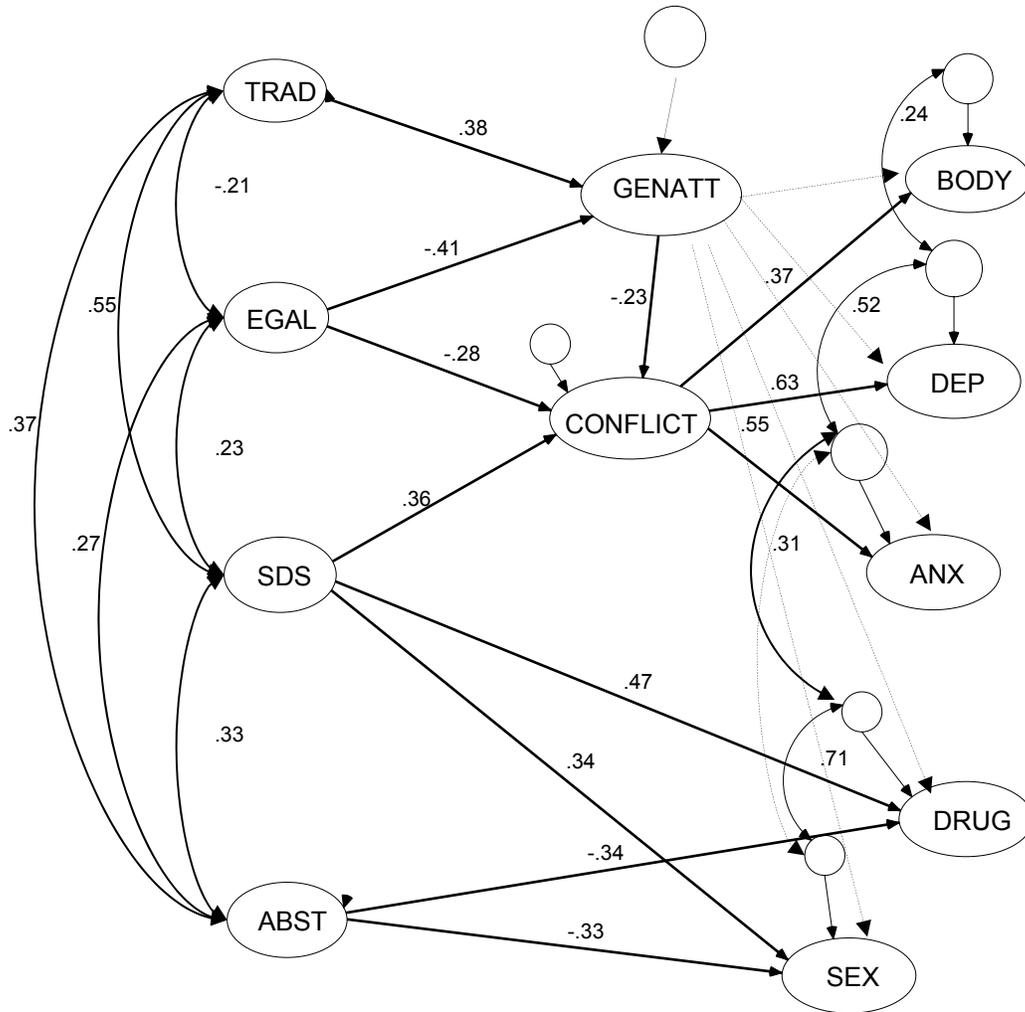
Figure 3  
 Direct Effect of Parental Socialization on Outcomes Model (Step 1)



Note. Nonsignificant – and therefore dropped – paths are dotted.



Figure 5  
 Gender Socialization, Gender Attitudes, Gender Conflict, and Outcomes (Step 3)



Note. Nonsignificant – and therefore dropped – paths are dotted.

Table 1.1

## Gender Socialization Scale Pilot Factor Structure

Scale Item	Component							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
No man wants a woman to boss him around	.63	-.08	.24	.15	.09	.13	.08	.02
A woman should cater to her man's needs	.60	-.15	.06	.28	.07	-.06	.20	.22
Men are natural-born leaders	.60	-.09	.14	.11	.27	.03	.01	.08
A husband shouldn't have to do housework	.57	-.19	.06	.21	.00	-.05	.32	.02
A real man gets what he wants	.57	-.02	.34	-.17	.01	.13	-.04	.14
For a woman to get her way, she should let her man think he is the boss	.56	-.08	.01	.06	.00	.07	.03	.10
Men hate losing to a woman, even if it is just in a game	.53	.12	.26	.20	.16	.28	.08	-.13
A husband's career is more important than the wife's	.53	-.22	-.03	.16	.17	.11	.20	.47
It is a man's responsibility to provide for his family	.51	-.01	.24	.18	.02	-.04	.28	.39
A guy will lose respect if he talks about his problems	.51	-.07	.06	.06	-.02	.22	.10	.08
Women are naturally just more nurturing than men	.50	.31	.00	.14	.21	.15	.20	.10
Opening up makes you vulnerable	.45	.06	.30	.35	.21	.11	.05	-.12
Men don't like to be with women who are smarter than them	.43	-.01	.04	.18	.21	.25	.02	.07
Men and women should treat each other as equals at home, school, and at work	-.10	.74	.09	-.04	.03	.06	-.14	.09
It shouldn't matter how you look, it's what's inside that counts	-.05	.69	.04	-.07	-.05	-.22	-.06	.14
Relationships. work better when men and women work together and neither is more in charge	-.09	.67	.08	-.03	.25	.13	-.11	.05
It is important for both men and women to help take care of the children	-.13	.64	.15	-.12	.02	.07	.00	.00
Keeping things inside isn't healthy	.05	.61	-.07	.05	-.06	-.11	-.03	.04
There's no shame in asking for help	-.12	.56	-.12	-.12	.04	-.09	.11	.04
Use your words, not your fists	.11	.56	-.04	.11	.15	.07	-.05	.23
A woman can do anything a man can do	-.13	.53	.07	.07	-.08	-.05	-.08	-.20
If you can't say something nice, then don't say anything at all	.03	.47	.08	.21	.28	-.16	.20	-.19
Don't drop your friends for a boyfriend/girlfriend	.05	.45	.24	-.03	.03	.35	.11	-.16
People are people; gender doesn't matter	-.06	.42	.19	-.02	.15	.02	-.42	.03
Don't brag about your accomplishments; it might make other people uncomfortable	.09	.41	.08	.00	.33	.38	.06	-.14
Success is nothing without someone to share it with	.29	.37	.03	.14	.26	.21	.11	.21
Being healthy is better than being thin	-.17	.37	.19	-.11	.01	.01	-.15	.35

	Component							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Be tough	.08	-.06	<b>.71</b>	.02	.04	.02	.05	.09
Never show fear	.36	-.04	<b>.66</b>	.09	.11	.03	-.03	-.02
Never let them see you cry	.32	-.07	<b>.60</b>	.31	.22	-.04	.08	-.16
Quitting is for losers	.17	.12	<b>.59</b>	.15	.14	.05	.10	.05
You need to be strong enough to defend yourself in a physical fight	.36	.02	<b>.57</b>	-.05	.04	.25	-.10	.00
Be a leader, not a follower	.09	.31	<b>.53</b>	-.06	-.03	.11	.00	.17
It is important to keep your emotions under control	.05	.09	<b>.51</b>	.16	.45	.12	.11	.12
Stand up for yourself; don't let people walk all over you	-.19	.32	.44	.01	-.15	.16	-.01	-.05
Being weak makes a guy less of a man	.38	-.11	.43	.09	.10	.24	.23	.08
A real man will not hesitate to fight to defend himself or his woman	.28	.08	.43	-.07	.05	.38	.12	.14
Don't settle for anything but the best	.05	.32	.43	.14	.09	-.09	.17	-.04
Don't whine; just suck it up	.00	.16	.42	.33	.13	.00	.30	-.06
You should be able to cook, clean, and take care of your house	.04	.10	.36	.13	.14	-.09	.23	.33
Being athletic is important	.13	.23	.29	.19	.17	.17	.09	.13
One's life isn't quite complete without a boyfriend/girfriend	.21	.00	.09	<b>.74</b>	.04	.09	-.03	.17
There is something wrong with people who don't have a boyfriend/girfriend	.12	-.12	.16	<b>.69</b>	.01	.15	.07	.03
Women are happiest when they are in a relationship	.31	.03	.04	<b>.64</b>	.15	.13	-.02	.18
Always put others' feelings before your own	.12	.17	.09	.23	<b>.67</b>	.07	.01	.04
A part of being nice is pretending to be happy even if you don't feel like it	.31	-.09	.06	.11	<b>.66</b>	.08	-.03	-.05
Being polite is more important than getting your way	.01	.06	.11	-.05	<b>.66</b>	.12	.09	.08
It is not appropriate to lose your temper in public	-.03	.21	.31	.03	<b>.51</b>	-.01	.16	.22
If you are overweight; you will have a hard time finding a date	.24	-.08	.17	.21	.14	<b>.63</b>	.21	.10
A girl has to be thin to be beautiful	.32	-.17	.06	.25	.02	<b>.59</b>	.13	.21
Your body is never good enough the way it is	.17	-.06	.08	.48	.23	<b>.50</b>	.07	-.10
It is important to look good, no matter how much time or energy it takes	.11	.04	.14	.43	.16	.45	.06	.12
It's more important to be attractive than smart	.39	.00	.03	.30	.08	.40	.09	.05
Being gay is bad/wrong	.21	-.01	.14	-.01	.02	.11	<b>.74</b>	.15
Being gay makes a guy less of a man	.22	-.10	.14	.09	.13	.20	<b>.71</b>	.05
Men shouldn't touch other men	.36	.06	.11	.05	.09	.20	<b>.54</b>	-.05
There's nothing wrong with being gay	.03	.39	-.14	.14	-.16	-.04	-. <b>54</b>	-.09

	Component							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Career women don't make good mothers	.08	-.07	.15	.05	-.05	.32	.01	<b>.60</b>
Mothers need to be there for their children when the children are young	.22	.18	.04	.17	.08	.02	.16	<b>.53</b>
Having children adds meaning to one's life	.20	.28	-.06	.22	.18	-.09	.04	<b>.51</b>

Components

- 1 = Traditional
- 2 = Egalitarian
- 3 = Big & Tough
- 4 = Relationship Focus
- 5 = Pleasant and Nice
- 6 = Body Focus
- 7 = Anti-Gay
- 8 = Nurturing



Table 1.3

Number of Students Receiving Conflicting Parental Socialization

Conflicting Messages	N (%)		X <sup>2</sup>
	Women N=210	Men N=56	
Traditional Gender Roles & Egalitarian	56(27)	12(21)	0.64
Egalitarian & Body Consciousness	69(33)	13(23)	1.93
Egalitarian & Anti-Gay	48(23)	15(27)	0.38
Nice and Pleasant & Tough	61(29)	19(34)	0.50
Nurturing & Traditional Gender Roles	70(33)	22(39)	0.69
Nice and Pleasant & Traditional Gender Roles	70(33)	20(36)	0.11
Relationship Focus & Tough	63(30)	20(36)	0.97

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

Table 1.4

Descriptive statistics for the Gender Conflict Scale Items for Pilot Sample

Item	Women	Men	t
	M(SD)		
<b>Domain General Items</b>			
Feel like you are expected to be something you just cannot be	2.71(0.80)	2.61(0.87)	1.01
Feel like it is impossible to meet all the expectations because no one person can do it all	3.43(1.11)	3.01(1.11)	<b>3.24**</b>
Feel like who I am conflicts with what I am expected to be as a man or a woman	2.11(1.03)	2.09(0.99)	0.14
Feel like expectations of how I should behave and feel change all the time	2.49(0.94)	2.48(0.98)	0.07
Feel torn between different expectations	3.11(1.01)	2.85(1.01)	<b>2.17*</b>
Feel you are expected to conform to others' expectations even if it goes against what you believe or want	2.56(0.96)	2.51(1.02)	0.38
Feel like the expectations differ depending on who you are with	3.32(0.94)	3.19(1.03)	1.15
Feel like societal expectations of being a man or a woman conflicts with who I want to be	2.20(1.03)	2.00(1.00)	1.70
<b>Domain Specific Items</b>			
Feel like it is impossible to be "equals" with the opposite sex	2.50(1.11)	2.28(1.11)	1.68
Feel like you need to be strong but sensitive at the same time	3.42(0.99)	3.28(0.90)	1.27
Worry about balancing a career and a family in the future	3.36(1.11)	3.06(1.06)	<b>2.38*</b>
Want to be sexy for the opposite sex but not wanting to be false or change who you are	3.77(0.92)	3.33(1.10)	<b>3.76***</b>
Feel like having the "perfect" body (e.g. superthin or superbuff) and staying healthy are sometimes at odds with each other	3.34(1.16)	2.50(1.10)	<b>6.29***</b>
Feel like being a good parent and having a good career are sometimes at odds with each other	2.83(1.12)	2.56(1.16)	<b>2.07*</b>

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

Table 2.1

## Gender Socialization Scale Factor Structure for College Students

	Component					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
A real man gets what he wants	<b>.69</b>	.02	.16	.19	.22	-.03
A husband shouldn't have to do housework	<b>.68</b>	-.07	.05	.12	.12	.17
There is something wrong with people who don't have a boyfriend/girlfriend	<b>.66</b>	-.04	.00	-.07	.03	-.12
A woman should cater to her man's needs	<b>.63</b>	.01	.07	.26	.22	.10
Women are happiest when they are in a relationship	<b>.63</b>	.01	.29	-.01	.18	.08
A husband's career is more important than the wife's	<b>.63</b>	-.07	.17	.20	.15	.12
One's life isn't quite complete without a boyfriend/girlfriend	<b>.60</b>	-.03	.20	.16	-.03	.13
No man wants a woman to boss him around	<b>.58</b>	.07	.30	.18	.17	.00
A guy will lose respect if he talks about his problems	<b>.58</b>	-.08	.17	.04	.04	.28
Men are natural-born leaders	<b>.50</b>	-.02	.45	.20	.01	.03
Never let them see you cry	.48	-.03	.43	.13	.01	.29
Keeping things inside isn't healthy	.00	<b>.68</b>	.18	-.02	.13	-.16
Men and women should treat each other as equals at home, school, and at work	-.31	<b>.67</b>	.12	.01	.01	.27
It is important to help those who can't help themselves	-.04	<b>.65</b>	.08	.03	-.09	.12
There's no shame in asking for help	-.13	<b>.64</b>	.09	-.03	.09	-.05
A woman can do anything a man can do	-.18	<b>.64</b>	-.14	.09	.15	.11
People are people; gender doesn't matter	.13	<b>.63</b>	-.14	-.23	.05	.18
Use your words, not your fists	.13	<b>.62</b>	.10	.01	-.05	.20
It shouldn't matter how you look; it's what's inside that counts	.02	<b>.60</b>	-.09	.16	-.05	.07
Relationships work better when men and women work together and neither is more in charge	-.08	<b>.60</b>	.13	-.04	-.10	.14
It is important for both men and women to help take care of the children	-.15	<b>.53</b>	.13	-.02	.05	-.05
Be a leader, not a follower	-.07	<b>.53</b>	.43	.15	-.19	-.07
Quitting is for losers	.19	.18	<b>.63</b>	.09	-.02	.10
A man must be muscular	.37	.05	<b>.58</b>	.18	.18	.12
You need to be strong enough to defend yourself in a physical fight	.20	.03	<b>.57</b>	.11	.20	.11
Never show fear	.40	.02	<b>.56</b>	-.07	.11	.01
A real man will not hesitate to fight to defend himself or his woman	.27	.22	.49	.22	.17	.00
It is important to act strong and together even if you are freaking out inside.	.24	.21	.41	.00	.20	.26
Don't settle for anything but the best	-.29	.38	.40	.25	.06	-.06

	Component					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being gay is bad/wrong	.31	-.01	.08	<b>.80</b>	.09	.12
Being gay makes a guy less of a man	.23	.02	.23	<b>.72</b>	.15	.02
Men shouldn't touch other men	.39	.08	.04	<b>.70</b>	.00	.12
There's nothing wrong with being gay	.10	.48	-.15	<b>-.61</b>	.11	.01
A girl has to be thin to be beautiful	.42	-.13	.16	.02	<b>.68</b>	.03
Your body is never good enough the way it is	.44	-.12	.02	-.08	<b>.58</b>	.15
If you are overweight, you will have a hard time finding a date	.44	.00	.21	.15	<b>.54</b>	.12
Always put others' feelings before your own	.14	.26	.10	.10	.10	<b>.70</b>
A part of being nice is pretending to be happy even if you don't feel like it	.33	.03	.16	.02	.33	<b>.55</b>
Being polite is more important than getting your way	-.09	.31	.26	.22	-.08	<b>.50</b>
You need to go along with what others want to get along	.40	.03	-.05	.03	.11	<b>.50</b>
It is important to keep your emotions under control	.22	.08	.20	.10	.06	.03
It is not appropriate to lose your temper in public	.11	.28	.05	.10	-.03	.08
Having children adds meaning to one's life	.00	.46	.26	.18	.09	-.01

Components

- 1 = Traditional Gender Roles
- 2 = Egalitarian Gender Roles
- 3 = Big & Tough
- 4 = Anti-Gay
- 5 = Body Conscious
- 6 = Nice & Pleasant

Table 2.2

## Demographic Correlates of Main Variables for College Students

Variable	Black	Asian	SES	Religiosity	Year in College
Women					
AWSA	-.02	.16*	.17*	.22*	-.14
MRAS	.13	.21*	.06	.21*	-.02
AFIS	-.08	-.01	.01	-.04	.08
Gender Conflict	.12	-.05	-.12	-.14	.08
Anxiety	-.01	-.07	-.01	-.17*	-.06
Depression	.14	.08	-.13	-.25**	.00
Body Esteem	-.01	.13	.07	.19*	-.09
No. of Sexual Partners	.04	-.11	-.03	-.10	-.01
Alcohol Use	-.07	-.15	.13	-.21*	-.08
Traditional Gender Roles	.19*	.16*	-.12	-.12	-.06
Sexual Double Standard	.19*	.05	-.06	-.08	-.28**
Egalitarian and Acceptant	-.12	-.25**	.07	-.03	-.04
Abstinence	.16*	.09	-.16	.33***	-.14
Sex Positive	-.04	-.17	.00	-.23**	-.15
Anti-Gay	.12	.07	-.05	.19*	-.11
Nice and Pleasant	.05	-.07	.00	.04	-.06
Big and Tough	.14	.05	-.10	-.08	-.16
Body Consciousness	.11	.04	-.02	-.11	-.18*
Men					
AWSA	-.01	-.02	-.02	.15	-.07
MRAS	.00	.00	.01	.19*	-.07
AFIS	-.07	.06	-.05	.06	-.10
Gender Conflict	-.07	.12	-.03	-.03	.12
Anxiety	-.13	-.04	.01	-.06	-.03
Depression	-.09	.07	-.01	-.12	.09
Body Esteem	.05	-.08	.06	.08	.06
No. of Sexual Partners	.08	-.24**	-.18*	-.01	.00
Alcohol Use	-.06	-.31***	.03	-.19*	-.02
Traditional Gender Roles	-.08	.19*	.01	.17*	-.09
Sexual Double Standard	-.09	.05	-.08	.05	-.11
Egalitarian and Acceptant	.09	-.10	.11	.07	-.13
Abstinence	.11	.22**	.14	.38***	-.08
Sex Positive	-.08	-.18*	-.04	-.10	-.11
Anti-Gay	.01	.13	.03	.23**	.04
Nice and Pleasant	-.12	.06	.03	.08	-.05
Big and Tough	-.10	.12	-.02	.20**	.09
Body Consciousness	-.01	.14	.08	.12	.02

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

Table 2.3

Descriptives and Gender Differences of Main Variables for College Students						
	Observed Means		Estimated Means		Omnib. F	Univ. F
	Women N = 133	Men N = 158	Women N = 133	Men N = 158		
	M(SD)					
Gender Ideology					28.26***	
AWSA	1.63(0.35)	2.03(0.42)	1.63(0.38)	2.03(0.38)		<b>80.54***</b>
MRAS	2.37(0.35)	2.57(0.36)	2.36(0.35)	2.57(0.35)		<b>25.56***</b>
AFIS	3.30(0.59)	3.17(0.47)	3.30(0.53)	3.17(0.53)		<b>4.36*</b>
Gender Conflict	2.94(0.58)	2.70(0.59)	-	-	12.53***	<b>12.53***</b>
Outcomes					6.72***	
Anxiety	.61(0.44)	0.53(0.46)	0.64(0.47)	0.52(0.49)		<b>4.25*</b>
Depression	.81(0.47)	0.81(0.47)	0.86(0.51)	0.82(0.53)		0.28
Body Esteem	2.69(0.63)	2.88(0.53)	2.66(0.63)	2.89(0.65)		<b>8.77**</b>
No. of Sexual Partners	1.84(2.55)	2.62(3.14)	1.82(2.99)	2.54(3.09)		<b>4.07*</b>
Alcohol Use	2.27(1.06)	2.90(1.17)	2.32(1.12)	2.96(1.16)		<b>22.92***</b>
Gender Socialization					13.41***	
Traditional Gender Roles	0.40(0.48)	0.64(0.62)	0.36(0.55)	0.58(0.55)		<b>11.52**</b>
Sexual Double Standard	0.89(0.75)	0.53(0.57)	0.90(0.66)	0.53(0.65)		<b>22.94***</b>
Egalitarian and Acceptant	2.21(0.62)	2.00(0.64)	2.09(0.67)	1.91(0.67)		<b>5.49*</b>
Abstinence	1.12(0.91)	0.96(0.88)	1.11(0.84)	0.98(0.83)		1.58
Sex Positive	0.79(0.69)	0.90(0.67)	0.77(0.67)	0.90(0.66)		2.56
Anti-Gay	0.65(0.82)	0.86(0.94)	0.63(0.88)	0.87(0.87)		<b>5.48*</b>
Nice and Pleasant	0.89(0.67)	0.99(0.71)	0.89(0.71)	0.99(0.70)		1.37
Big and Tough	0.89(0.66)	1.12(0.83)	0.90(0.72)	1.11(0.71)		<b>5.80*</b>
Body Consciousness	0.61(0.71)	0.62(0.78)	0.60(0.75)	0.62(0.71)		0.03

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

Table 2.4

Partial Correlations between Gender Conflict and Outcomes for College Students (controlling for SES, race, age, and religiosity)

	Women	Men
Anxiety	<b>.42***</b>	<b>.50***</b>
Depression	<b>.42***</b>	<b>.51***</b>
Number of sexual partners	.07	.12
Alcohol Use	.05	.05
Body Esteem	-.15	<b>-.18*</b>

Note. \* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 2.5

Partial Correlations between Gendered and General Aspects of Gender Conflict and Outcomes for College Students (controlling for gender, race, age, SES, religiosity)

	Uncorrected		Corrected for attenuation	
	Gendered	General	Gendered	General
Anxiety	<b>.37***</b>	<b>.46***</b>	<b>.44</b>	<b>.49</b>
Depression	<b>.34***</b>	<b>.49***</b>	<b>.44</b>	<b>.56</b>
Number of Sexual Partners	.06	.09		
Alcohol Use	.06	.02		
Body Esteem	<b>-.16*</b>	<b>-.17**</b>	<b>-.19</b>	<b>-.19</b>

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

Table 2.6

## Gender Differences in Receiving Conflicting Parental Messages for College Students

Conflicting Messages	N (%)		X <sup>2</sup>
	Women N=133	Men N=158	
Acceptant Egalitarian & Traditional Gender Roles	17(12.8)	28(17.7)	1.34
Acceptant Egalitarian & Body Consciousness	28(21.1)	18(11.4)	<b>5.05*</b>
Acceptant Egalitarian & Anti-Gay	21(15.8)	32(20.3)	0.96
Nice and Pleasant & Big and Tough	38(28.6)	60(38.0)	2.85
Nice and Pleasant & Traditional Gender Roles	28(21.1)	55(34.8)	<b>6.68*</b>
Abstinence & Sex Positive	21(15.8)	36(22.8)	2.24
Sexual Double Standard & Sex Positive	32(24.1)	38(24.1)	0.00
Sexual Double Standard & Acceptant Egalitarian	35(26.3)	17(10.8)	<b>11.87**</b>
Traditional Gender Roles & Abstinence	23(17.3)	49(31.0)	<b>7.27**</b>
<b>At least one conflict</b>	<b>69(51.9)</b>	<b>93(58.9)</b>	1.42

Note. \*p< .05, \*\*p<.01.

Table 2.7

Partial Correlations between Conflicting Gender Socialization and Gender Conflict for College Students  
(controlling for SES, race, age, and religiosity)

	Women	Men
Acceptant Egalitarian & Traditional Gender Roles	.04	.16*
Acceptant Egalitarian & Body Consciousness	.20*	.11
Acceptant Egalitarian & Anti-Gay	.07	.16*
Nice and Pleasant & Big and Tough	.22**	.35***
Nice and Pleasant & Traditional Gender Roles	.14	.29***
Abstinence & Sex Positive	.31***	.20*
Sexual Double Standard & Sex Positive	.30**	.17*
Sexual Double Standard & Acceptant Egalitarian	.18**	.14
Traditional Gender Roles & Abstinence	.12	.25**
<b>At least one conflict</b>	<b>.25**</b>	<b>.32***</b>
<b>Total number of conflicts</b>	<b>.33***</b>	<b>.31***</b>

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

Table 2.8

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Outcomes for College Students

Variable	Anxiety			Depression			Body Esteem			Number of Sexual Partners			Alcohol Use		
	B	SE B	$\beta$	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$	B	SE B	$\beta$	
Step 1															
Gender (male)	-.11	.05	.14	.08	.12	-.13*	-.01	.05	-.01	.09	.31	.02	.46	.16	<b>.20**</b>
Year in college	-.03	.03	.01	.05	.01	-.05	.03	.03	.05	.13	.18	.05	-.02	.09	-.01
Black	-.13	.13	.05	.19	.02	-.05	.19	.13	.08	.22	.71	.02	-.16	.36	-.03
Asian	-.12	.06	.06	.10	.03	-.09	.05	.07	.03	-.88	.39	-.14	-.91	.20	<b>-.27***</b>
SES	.01	.01	.01	.02	.04	.05	-.01	.02	-.03	-.15	.08	-.11	.08	.04	.11
Religiosity	-.05	.03	.09	.04	<b>.12*</b>	-.10	-.11	.03	<b>-.20***</b>	.00	.17	.00	-.29	.09	<b>-.20**</b>
Step 2															
AWSA	.26	.07	.10	.10	.07	<b>.25***</b>	.16	.07	<b>.14*</b>	1.15	.40	<b>.24**</b>	.57	.20	<b>.22**</b>
MRAS	.00	.07	-.16	.11	-.10	.00	.14	.08	.11	-.68	.43	-.12	-.14	.22	-.05
AFIS	.06	.05	-.04	.07	-.04	.07	.15	.05	<b>.17**</b>	-.48	.29	-.12	-.05	.14	-.02
Step 3															
Gender Conflict	.32	.04	.18	.07	<b>-.19**</b>	<b>.44***</b>	.30	.30	<b>.39***</b>	.62	.26	<b>.18*<sup>a</sup></b>	.07	.13	.04

Note. \*\*\*p < .001, \*\*p < .01, \*p < .05. Coefficients in each step are from Step 3 of the model. R<sup>2</sup> = .03 for Step 1 (F = 3.28);  $\Delta R^2 = .12***$  for Step 2 (F = 2.72);  $\Delta R^2 = .14***$  for Step 3 (F = 10.01) for anxiety. R<sup>2</sup> = .04\* for Step 1 (F = 3.27);  $\Delta R^2 = .15***$  for Step 2 (F = 4.53);  $\Delta R^2 = .11***$  for Step 3 (F = 15.88) for depression. R<sup>2</sup> = .05 for Step 1 (F = 6.87);  $\Delta R^2 = .03*$  for Step 2 (F = 6.42);  $\Delta R^2 = .02*$  for Step 3 (F = 6.04) for number of partners. R<sup>2</sup> = .20\*\*\* for Step 1 (F = 8.59);  $\Delta R^2 = .03*$  for Step 2 (F = 6.06);  $\Delta R^2 = .00$  for Step 3 (F = 5.80) for alcohol use. R<sup>2</sup> = .05\* for Step 1 (F = 5.15);  $\Delta R^2 = .02$  for Step 2 (F = 6.75);  $\Delta R^2 = .03**$  for Step 3 (F = 8.45) for body esteem.

<sup>a</sup>When analyses were computed separately by gender, this effect was only evident for men.

Table 3.1

## Demographic Correlates of Main Variables for High School Students

	Racial minority	SES	Religiosity	Age	Gender
Traditional Gender Roles	.05	<b>-.19*</b>	-.01	.09	.10
Sexual Double Standard	.09	<b>-.14*</b>	-.09	.01	<b>-.17**</b>
Egalitarian Gender Roles	-.02	.07	-.06	-.07	<b>-.15**</b>
Abstinence	.01	.06	<b>.35***</b>	-.03	-.12
Sex Positive	-.03	<b>-.13*</b>	<b>-.29***</b>	.01	.05
Nice	-.04	<b>.15*</b>	.03	-.08	-.12
Homophobia	.00	-.11	<b>.20***</b>	.10	<b>.17**</b>
Big & Tough	.12	-.12	-.07	.03	.10
Gender Conflict	.12	-.08	.01	.08	-.04
BAI	-.03	<b>-.14*</b>	-.08	.10	-.11
CES-D	-.07	<b>-.17*</b>	-.08	.10	-.11
Body Esteem	.09	<b>.16*</b>	<b>.16*</b>	-.04	<b>.23***</b>
Drug/Alcohol Use	-.09	<b>-.18**</b>	<b>-.28***</b>	<b>.13*</b>	-.06
No of sexual partners	-.01	<b>-.13**</b>	<b>-.18**</b>	<b>.20**</b>	-.08
AWSA	.01	<b>-.20**</b>	.04	.06	<b>.40***</b>
MRAS	.02	-.05	<b>.15*</b>	-.06	<b>.21**</b>

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

Table 3.2

## Intercorrelations between Gender Discourses for High School Students

	1	2	3.	4	5	6	7	8
1. Traditional	-	.72***	.00	.44***	.56***	.46***	.04	.73***
2. Sexual Double Standard	.49***	-	.32**	.46***	.72***	.37***	.23*	.70***
3. Egalitarian	-.22**	.11	-	.39***	.37***	-.02	.49***	.20
4. Abstinence	.30***	.25**	.07	-	.23*	.37***	.45***	.43***
5. Sex Positive	.10	.34***	.36***	-.21**	-	.16	.26*	.59***
6. Homophobia	.43***	.36***	-.23**	.48***	-.13	-	.02	.48***
7. Nice and Pleasant	.10	.25**	.40***	.35***	0.25**	.13	-	.28**
8. Big & Tough	.73***	.56***	-.02	.31***	0.19*	0.48***	.13	-

Note. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ . Data for girls is below the diagonal.

Table 3.3

Gender Difference in Parental Gender Socialization, Gender Beliefs, Gender Conflict, and Outcomes for High School Students

	Observed Means		Estimated Means		Omnib. F	Univ. F
	M(SD)					
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys		
<b>Socialization Discourses</b>					<b>4.71***</b>	
Traditional Gender Roles	0.69(0.63)	0.84(0.71)	0.68(0.65)	0.81(0.65)		1.99
Sexual Double Standard	1.30(0.80)	1.02(0.77)	1.29(0.79)	0.99(0.79)		<b>7.75**</b>
Egalitarian Gender Roles	2.52(0.51)	2.35(0.63)	2.53(0.56)	2.36(0.56)		<b>4.79*</b>
Abstinence	1.88(0.84)	1.67(0.87)	1.87(0.80)	1.68(0.80)		3.00
Sex Positive	1.36(0.70)	1.43(0.81)	1.38(0.70)	1.40(0.70)		0.06
Homophobia	1.25(0.51)	1.62(1.10)	1.23(1.04)	1.57(1.04)		<b>5.61*</b>
Big & Tough	1.14(0.68)	1.29(0.75)	1.11(0.69)	1.24(0.69)		2.78
Nice	2.45(0.51)	2.31(0.62)	2.44(0.54)	2.32(0.55)		1.87
<b>Gender Beliefs/Conflict</b>					<b>16.38***</b>	
AWSA	1.63(0.35)	2.00(0.46)	1.64(0.39)	2.02(0.39)		<b>53.84***</b>
MRAS	2.40(0.31)	2.59(0.47)	2.39(0.38)	2.60(0.38)		<b>14.11**</b>
Gender Conflict	2.91(0.65)	2.87(0.65)	2.93(0.65)	2.87(0.65)		0.43
<b>Mental Health Outcomes</b>					<b>4.54**</b>	
BAI	0.91(0.60)	0.78(0.48)	0.96(0.55)	0.77(0.55)		<b>5.61*</b>
CES-D	0.91(0.61)	0.78(0.44)	0.94(0.54)	0.76(0.54)		<b>5.67*</b>
Body Esteem	3.11(0.81)	3.52(0.74)	3.08(0.79)	3.52(0.79)		<b>14.51***</b>
Parental Esteem	3.45(0.78)	3.45(0.68)	3.39(0.76)	3.47(0.76)		
<b>Behavioral Outcomes</b>					0.67	
Substance Use	1.07(0.58)	1.04(0.55)	1.13(0.57)	1.13(0.56)		1.32
No. of Sexual Partners	1.38(0.76)	1.35(0.73)	1.41(0.73)	1.34(0.72)		0.53

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

Analyses controlled for SES, age, and religiosity

N<sub>girls</sub> = 158, N<sub>boys</sub> = 89

Table 3.4

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Variables Predicting Outcomes for High School Students

Variable	Anxiety	Depression	Body Esteem	Number of Sexual Partners	Substance Use
Beta					
Step 1					
Gender (male)	-.12	<b>-.12*</b>	<b>.25***</b>	-.06	-.04
Age	<b>.14*</b>	.08	.01	<b>.25***</b>	<b>.17**</b>
SES	.14	-.09	.08	-.09	<b>-.13*</b>
Religiosity	-.10	-.10	.10	<b>-.13*</b>	<b>-.25***</b>
Step2					
Direct Conflict	<b>.44***</b>	<b>.54***</b>	<b>-.35***</b>	.02	.10

Note. \*\*\* $p < .001$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$  Coefficients in each step are from Step 3 of the model  
 $R^2 = .08^{**}$  for Step 1 ( $F = 4.30$ );  $\Delta R^2 = .20^{***}$  for Step 2 ( $F = 15.48$ ) for anxiety.  
 $R^2 = .06^{**}$  for Step 1 ( $F = 3.53$ );  $\Delta R^2 = .29^{***}$  for Step 2 ( $F = 22.75$ ) for depression.  
 $R^2 = .09^{***}$  for Step 1 ( $F = 5.99$ );  $\Delta R^2 = .12^*$  for Step 2 ( $F = 4.78$ ) for number of partners.  
 $R^2 = .10^{***}$  for Step 1 ( $f = 8.58$ );  $\Delta R^2 = .00$  for Step 2 ( $F = 7.38$ ) for alcohol use.  
 $R^2 = .14^*$  for Step 1 ( $F = 5.30$ );  $\Delta R^2 = .01$  for Step 2 ( $11.05$ ) for body esteem.

Table 3.5

## Gender Differences in Receiving Conflicting Parental Messages for High School Students

	Girls N(%)	Boys N(%)	$\chi^2$
Egalitarian & Traditional	28(18)	15(16)	0.06
Egalitarian & Sexual Double Standard	35(22)	19(21)	0.05
Egalitarian & Homophobia	24(15)	15(16)	0.08
Traditional & Abstinence	35(22)	22(24)	0.14
Abstinence & Sex Positive	18(11)	18(19)	3.30+
Sex Positive & Sexual Double Standard	39(24)	29(32)	1.51
Nice & Big and Tough	29(18)	18(19)	0.08
Nice & Traditional	28(18)	13(14)	0.49
Sexual Double Standard & Abstinence	30(19)	21(23)	0.60
<b>Any one conflict</b>	<b>86(54)</b>	<b>47(51)</b>	0.17

Note. +p&lt;.10

Table 3.6

Partial Correlations between Conflicting Messages and Gender Conflict for High School Students (controlled for age, SES, and religiosity)

Type of conflict	Girls	Boys
Egalitarian & Traditional	.13	.13
Egalitarian & Sexual Double Standard	.05	<b>.25*</b>
Egalitarian & Homophobia	<b>.21*</b>	.06
Traditional & Abstinence	<b>.19*</b>	.21+
Abstinence & Sex Positive	.09	.18+
Sex Positive & Sexual Double Standard	.14	.22+
Nice & Big and Tough	.11	.19+
Nice & Traditional	.13	.16
Sexual Double Standard & Abstinence	<b>.17*</b>	<b>.23*</b>
<b>Any one conflict</b>	.13	<b>.25*</b>
<b>Total number of conflicts</b>	<b>.20*</b>	<b>.26*</b>

Note. +p< .10, \*p<.05

Model 3.7

Fit Indices for the Models Tested with High School Students

Model descriptions	$\chi^2$	df	CFI	RMSEA
<b>Measurement Model</b>				
Measurement model with 29 items	643.96	371	.874	.059
Trimmed measurement model with 22 items	358.04	203	.920	.054
Multigroup comparison by gender, unconstrained model	597.12	406	-	.043
Multigroup comparison by gender, factor loadings constrained equal	625.10	424	-	.044
<b>Step 1</b>				
Hypothesized Step 1 model	895.56	597	.932	.044
Trimmed Step 1 model	911.36	611	.932	.044
<b>Step 2</b>				
Hypothesized Step 2 model	1038.88	702	.930	.043
Trimmed Step 2 model	1061.08	719	.928	.043
<b>Step 3</b>				
Hypothesized Step3 model	1264.65	830	.916	.045
Trimmed Step 3 model	1189.40	796	.922	.044
Multigroup comparison by gender, unconstrained model	2301.02	1592	-	.042
Multigroup comparison by gender, fully constrained model	2616.46	1741	-	.045
Multigroup comparison by gender, only factor loadings constrained equal	2359.82	1637	-	.042
<b>Testing Gender Difference Hypotheses with Full Model</b>				
Hypothesis 1: Effect of SDS on risk behavior	2357.48	1635	-	.042
Hypothesis 2: Effect of gender messages on gender beliefs	2359.68	1635	-	.042
Hypothesis 3: Effect of gender conflict on mental health	2355.21	1634	-	.042

Table 3.8

Item Intercorrelations for the Measurement Model of the Gender Socialization Scale for High School Students

Variable Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
Traditional Gender Roles (TRAD)																							
1. soc35p	-	.36	.39	.47	.23	.24				.53	.35	.29	.39	.34	.37	.36	.22	.26	.44	.25	.37		
2. soc69p	.33	-	.53	.64	.56					.48	.33	.23	.36	.42	.26	.40	.34		.32	.41			
3. soc25p	.23	.47	-	.52	.42					.29	.30	.25	.36	.43	.46	.32	.25	.21	.35	.30			
4. soc72p	.32	.44	.50	-	.56					.53	.50	.36	.43	.49	.43	.55	.34	.24	.51	.39			
5. soc80p	.49	.59	.36	.48	-					-.35	-.28	.34	.34	.22	.40	.39							
Egalitarian Gender Roles (EGAL)																							
6. soc34p																							
7. soc9p																							
8. soc15p																							
9. soc30p																							
Sexual Double Standard (SDS)																							
10. soc70p	.19	.24	.31	.27	.19																		
11. soc44p	.26	.20	.22	.26	.16					.62	-	.55	.54	.48	.47	.62	.25		.34	.37			
12. soc76p			.21							.56	.61	-	.49	.34	.52	.57	.23		.31	.23			
13. soc83p	.29	.19	.21	.29	.26					.46	.49	.63	-	.47	.48	.55	.22	.24					
14. soc53p	.34	.29	.24	.26	.33					.65	.60	.51	.46	-	.31	.51			.38	.28			
15. soc16p	.29	.19	.23	.28	.18					.42	.52	.48	.48	.44	-	.53	.23		.24	.26			
16. soc78p	.33		.15	.29	.28					.55	.43	.53	.41	.44	.36	-			.38	.33			
Abstinence																							
17. soc41p	.16	.30	.30	.26																			
18. soc45p	.19	.22	.22	.22	.18																		
19. soc33p	.22	.20																					
20. soc47p	.17	.28	.34	.31	.25					.20	.20	.18	.22										
21. soc22p	.20	.14			.16																		
22. soc68p	.16	.20								.25	.27	.18	.31	.20	.18								

Note. All correlations are significant at or below  $p = .049$ .

Table 3.9

Summary of Standardized Factor Loadings for the Gender Socialization Scale Measurement Model for High School Students

Subscale	No. of items	Full Sample		Two-group model	
		Mean factor loadings (SD)	Range of factor loadings	Mean factor loadings (SD)	Range of factor loadings
Traditional Gender Roles	5	.62(.11)	.51 - .72	.67(.09)	.52-.72
Egalitarian Gender Roles	4	.61(.11)	.50 - .77	.59(.14)	.46-.79
Sexual Double Standard	7	.70 (.07)	.60 - .77	.71(.06)	.62-.78
Abstinence	5	.71(.09)	.50 - .86	.68(.12)	.49-.85

Table 3.10

Factor Intercorrelations for the Gender Socialization Measurement Model for High School Students

	1	2	3	4
1. TRAD	-	-.20*	.55***	.38***
2. EGAL		-	.20*	.25**
3. SDS			-	.33***
4. ABST				-

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

Table 3.11

Summary of Standardized Factor Loadings for Step 1 Model for High School Students

Subscale	No. of items	Mean factor loadings (SD)	Range of factor loadings
Body Esteem	3	.92(.01)	.91 - .94
Depression	3	.88(.03)	.85 - .91
Anxiety	3	.87(.01)	.86 - .89
Sexual Risk	2	.65(.11)	.57 - .73
Substance Use	3	.71(.02)	.69 - .73

Table 3.12

Residual Effects (Step 1) for High School Students

<u>Residual</u>	<u>Variance (SE)</u>
Body Dissatisfaction (BODY)	0.55(0.06)
Depression (DEP)	0.21(0.03)
Anxiety (ANX)	0.32(0.04)
Sexual Risk (SEX)	0.39(0.10)
Substance Use (DRUG)	0.19(0.03)

Table 3.13

Factor Intercorrelations for the Direct Effect of Socialization on Outcomes: (Step 1) for High School Students

	SDS	EGAL	TRAD	ABST	DRUG	SEX	ANX	DEP	BODY
SDS	-								
EGAL	0.20	-							
TRAD	0.55	-0.20	-						
ABST	0.33	0.25	0.38	-					
DRUG	0.38	0.01	0.14	-0.18	-				
SEX	0.27	-0.01	0.08	-0.21	0.74	-			
ANX	0.25	0.05	0.13	0.08	0.32	0.18	-		
DEP	0.23	0.05	0.12	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.69	-	
BODY	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.44	-

Table 3.14

Residual Effects for High School Students (Step 2)

<u>Residual</u>	<u>Variance (SE)</u>
Body Dissatisfaction (BODY)	0.48(0.05)
Depression (DEP)	0.14(0.02)
Anxiety (ANX)	0.25(0.03)
Sexual Risk (SEX)	0.39(0.10)
Substance Use (DRUG)	0.19(0.03)
Gender Conflict	0.30(0.05)

Table 3.15

Factor Intercorrelations for the Direct Effect of Socialization on Outcomes for High School Students (Step 2)

	SDS	EGAL	TRAD	ABST	CONF.	DRUG	SEX	ANX	DEP	BODY
SDS	-									
EGAL	.20	-								
TRAD	.55	-.20	-							
ABST	.33	.25	.38	-						
CONF.	.26	-.09	.19	.06	-					
DRUG	.36	.01	.13	-.19	.10	-				
SEX	.25	-.01	.07	-.22	.08	.73	-			
ANX	.14	-.05	.10	.03	.53	.29	.16	-		
DEP	.16	-.06	.12	.04	.62	.06	.05	.69	-	
BODY	.09	-.03	.07	.02	.35	.04	.03	.28	.44	-

Table 3.16

Direct and Indirect Effects of Step 3: Gender Socialization, Gender Conflict, Gender Beliefs, and Outcomes for High School Students

Predictor	Dependent Variable	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect
Traditional Gender Roles (TRAD)	Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)		
	Gender Attitudes (GENATT)	.38***	
Egalitarian Gender Roles (EGAL)	Anxiety (ANX)		-.10*
	Depression (DEP)		-.12*
	Body Dissatisfaction (BODY)		-.07*
	Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	-.28*	.10*
	Gender Attitudes (GENATT)	-.41***	
Sexual Double Standard (SDS)	Anxiety (ANX)		.19***
	Depression (DEP)		.22***
	Body Dissatisfaction (BODY)		.13**
	Sexual Risk (SEX)	.33**	
	Substance Use (DRUG)	.47***	
	Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	.36***	
Abstinence (ABST)	Sexual Risk (SEX)	-.33***	
	Substance use (DRUG)	-.34***	
Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	Depression (DEP)	.63***	
	Anxiety (ANX)	.54***	
	Body Dissatisfaction (BODY)	.37***	
Gender Attitudes (GENATT)	Anxiety (ANX)		-.13*
	Depression (DEP)		-.14*
	Body Dissatisfaction (BODY)		-.08*
	Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	-.23*	

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

Table 3.17

Residual effects for High School Students (Step 3)

<u>Residual</u>	<u>Variance (SE)</u>
Body Dissatisfaction (BODY)	0.48(0.05)
Depression (DEP)	0.13(0.02)
Anxiety (ANX)	0.24(0.03)
Sexual Risk (SEX)	0.31(0.01)
Substance Use (DRUG)	0.19(0.03)
Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	0.29(0.05)
Gender Beliefs (GENATT)	0.13(0.02)

Table 3.18

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. SDS	-										
2. EGAL	.22	-									
3. TRAD	.55	-.21	-								
4. ABST	.33	.27	.37	-							
5. GENATT	.12	-.49	.47	.03	-						
6. CONFLICT	.27	-.09	.15	.03	-.05	-					
7. ANX	.10	-.03	.05	.01	-.02	.37	-				
8. BODY	.36	.01	.13	-.18	.04	.11	.04	-			
9. DRUG	.14	-.05	.08	.02	-.03	.54	.20	.29	-		
10. DEP	.17	-.06	.09	.02	-.03	.63	.41	.07	.68	-	
11. SEX	.23	-.01	.06	-.22	.03	.08	.03	.76	.15	.05	-

Table 3.19

## Gender Differences in Unconstrained Structural Path Coefficients for High School Students

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Standardized Coefficient	
		Girls	Boys
Traditional Gender Roles (TRAD)	Gender Beliefs (GENATT)	0.40	0.39
Egalitarian Gender Roles (EGAL)	Gender Beliefs (GENATT)	-0.35	-0.42
	Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	-0.24	-0.17
Sexual Double Standard (SDS)	Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	0.35	0.29
	Substance Use (DRUG)	0.42	0.61
	Sexual Risk (SEX)	0.37	0.25
Abstinence (ABST)	Substance Use (DRUG)	-0.38	-0.27
	Sexual Risk (SEX)	-0.36	-0.21
Gender Beliefs (GENATT)	Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	-0.20	-0.15
Gender Conflict (CONFLICT)	Anxiety (ANX)	0.53	0.54
	Depression (DEP)	0.66	0.58
	Body Dissatisfaction (BODY)	0.36	0.40



Appendix 2

Reliability of the Sexual Subscales of the Gender Socialization Scale

Item	Alpha is item is deleted
<b>Sexual Double Standard Subscale (alpha = .90)</b>	
1. Men want as much as they can get on a first date	.88
2. Men will say whatever they need to say to get a woman into bed	.88
3. Men think about sex all the time	.88
4. Men want sex, women want relationships	.88
5. In dating, the goal for men is "to score" with as many women as possible	.89
6. Men are mostly interested in women as potential sex partners and don't want to be "just friends" with a woman	.89
7. It's difficult for men to resist their sexual urges	.90
8. Men lose respect for women who sleep with them too early into the relationship	.89
9. Almost all men cheat some of the time	.89
10. It is up to women to limit the sexual advances of men and to keep them from "going too far"	.90
<b>Abstinence Subscale (alpha = .90)</b>	
1. Abstinence is the best policy. Just say no.	.89
2. Sex belongs only in married relationships	.87
3. You should abstain from sex until marriage to avoid getting pregnant or getting someone pregnant	.89
4. The primary goal of sexual intercourse is to have children	.91
5. People who have sex before marriage typically regret it later	.89
6. Sex outside of marriage is a sin	.90
7. People who have premarital sexual relations risk bringing shame to the family name	.89
<b>Sex-Positive Subscale (alpha = .77)</b>	
1. Women have just as many sexual urges and desires as men	.70
2. Being sexual is a natural part of being human	.72
3. Having sex should be viewed as just a normal part of dating relationships	.74
4. It is perfectly acceptable for women to make the first move and to ask men out directly	.77
5. No sexual act should be considered immoral as long as both people are consenting adults	.71

## Appendix 3

### Gender Socialization Scale

PROMPT: While we are growing up, we get many messages about how people SHOULD behave, feel, and interact. These messages come in many forms; some can be things you have heard and some you just “know” without having to ask. **What kind of messages did you receive from your parents while you were growing up?** Listed below are some ideas and beliefs that exist in society. For each message, use the 1 to 3 scale to indicate how much you heard or picked up each message. You may or may not agree with the message. We are interested only in whether or not you received it.

**0= NONE**

**1=A LITTLE**

**2=SOME**

**3=A LOT**

1. Stand up for yourself; don't let people walk all over you	
2. It is a man's responsibility to provide for his family	
3. Men should be the initiators in romantic relations and should be the ones to ask women out	
4. It shouldn't matter how you look; it's what's inside that counts	
5. Only you can know when you are ready for sex	
6. Women are naturally just more nurturing than men	
7. It is important to keep your emotions under control	
8. Women shouldn't be too loud or too rowdy	
9. A woman can do anything a man can do	
10. The father always knows what is best for the family	
11. It is not appropriate to lose your temper in public	
12. People who have premarital sexual relations risk bringing shame to the family name	
13. Don't settle for anything but the best	
14. It is better for a woman to use her “feminine charm” (e.g. flirting, body language) to indicate her interest than to express it directly	
15. It is important for both men and women to help take care of the children	
16. It's difficult for men to resist their sexual urges	
17. Being gay makes a guy less of a man	
18. In dating, the goal for men is “to score” with as many women as they can	
19. It is perfectly acceptable for women to make the first move and to ask men out directly	
20. People are people; gender doesn't matter	
21. Never show fear	
22. The primary goal of sexual intercourse is to have children	
23. Mothers need to be there for their children when the children are young	
24. Your body is never good enough the way it is	
25. Men are natural-born leaders	
26. Being sexual is a natural part of being human	
27. Men lose respect for women who sleep with them too early in the relationship	
28. People will think you are weak/soft if you talk about your problems.	
29. Women have just as many sexual urges and desires as men	
30. Men and women should treat each other as equals at home, school, and at work	
31. Family comes first	
32. If you are overweight, you will have a hard time finding a date	
33. You should abstain from sex until marriage to avoid getting pregnant ore getting someone pregnant	
34. Relationships work better when men and women work together and neither is more in charge	

0= NONE    1=A LITTLE    2=SOME    3=A LOT	
35. Women are happiest when they are in a relationship	
36. Sex is a private matter and should not be discussed in private	
37. Being polite is more important than getting your way	
38. Men shouldn't touch other men	
39. It is important to look good, no matter how much time or energy it takes	
40. It is important to act strong and together even if you are freaking out inside.	
41. Abstinence is the best policy. Just say no	
42. One's life isn't quite complete without a boyfriend/girlfriend	
43. Being gay is bad/wrong	
44. Men will say whatever they need to say to get a woman into bed	
45. Sex belongs only in married relationships	
46. Keeping things inside isn't healthy	
47. It is inappropriate to masturbate or touch yourself for sexual pleasure	
48. A man should be muscular	
49. The human body is nothing to be ashamed of	
50. Quitting is for losers	
51. Having sex should be viewed as just a normal part of dating relationships	
52. There's nothing wrong with being gay	
53. Men are mostly interested in women as potential sex partners and don't want to be "just friends" with a woman	
54. You need to be strong enough to defend yourself in a physical fight	
55. It is worse for a woman to sleep around than it is for a man	
56. A girl has to be thin to be beautiful	
57. A woman needs a man who will protect her	
58. It is not appropriate to hug and kiss your partner in front of members of your family	
59. No man wants a woman to boss him around	
60. It is up to women to limit the sexual advances of men and to keep them from "going too far"	
61. A part of being nice is pretending to be happy even if you don't feel like it	
62. There is something wrong with people who don't have a boyfriend/girlfriend	
63. In order to catch a man, a woman should not be too friendly or available, but should play "hard to get"	
64. It is important to help those who can't help themselves.	
65. Having children adds meaning to one's life	
66. A real man will not hesitate to fight to defend himself or his woman	
67. There's no shame in asking for help	
68. People who have sex before marriage typically regret it later	
69. A husband's career is more important than the wife's	
70. Men want as much as they can get on the first date	
71. A real man gets what he wants	
72. A woman should cater to her man's needs	
73. Sex outside of marriage is a sin	
74. Never let them see you cry	
75. Use your words, not your fists	
76. Men think about sex all the time	
77. Always put others' feelings before your own	
78. Almost all men cheat some of the time	

0= NONE    1=A LITTLE    2=SOME    3=A LOT	
79. Be a leader, not a follower	
80. A husband shouldn't have to do housework	
81. No sexual act should be considered immoral as long as both parties are consenting adults	
82. You need to go along with what others want to get along.	
83. Men want sex, women want relationships	

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