

DIMENSIONS OF SEXIST BELIEFS AND PSYCHOSOCIAL ADJUSTMENT IN
CHILDHOOD

by

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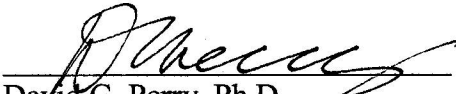
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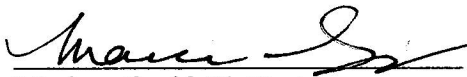
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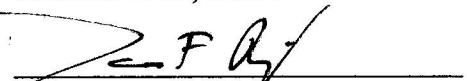
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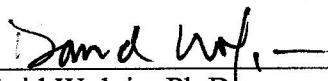
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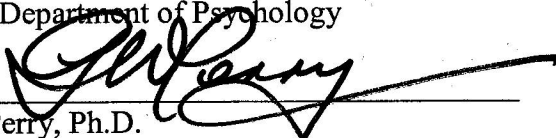
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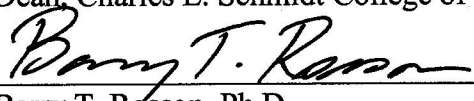

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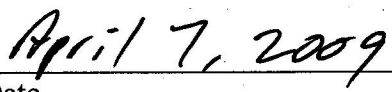

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ABSTRACT

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The levels of 3 dimensions of sexism and 13 measures of psychosocial adjustment were assessed in 236 children in grades 4 through 8. The adjustment measures were factor analyzed to produce 5 adjustment factors. Analysis revealed that one of the factors, peer-reported prosocial tendencies, was moderately and negatively correlated with two of three measures of sexism. This effect was more pronounced for girls than for boys. Another factor, body self-esteem, was negatively correlated with one of the measures of sexism for girls. The findings are congruent with the view that traditionally sexist ideology may detrimentally impact children's psychosocial adjustment.

DIMENSIONS OF SEXIST BELIEFS AND PSYCHOSOCIAL ADJUSTMENT IN
CHILDHOOD

List of Tables	vii
Introduction.....	1
Empirical Findings Related to the Adjustment-Stereotype Link	5
Could Subscription to Gender Stereotypes Benefit Adjustment?	8
Method	13
Participants	13
Measures.....	13
Self-efficacy	13
Body Satisfaction	14
Peer-reported Adjustment.....	14
Narcissism	14
Global Self-worth	15
Sexism	15
Factor Analysis.....	15
Results.....	17
Gender and Age Differences in Measures.....	17
Correlations among Measures of Sexism	17
Relation between Adjustment Factors and Sexism	18

Age Differences in Correlations	18
Discussion	20
Appendix	25
Self-efficacy.....	25
Body Satisfaction.....	33
Peer-reported Adjustment.....	35
Narcissism	37
Global Self-worth	39
Sexism	40
Bibliography	44

TABLES

Table 1.	Factor Loadings	50
Table 2.	Means and Standard Deviations of Measures.....	52
Table 3.	Correlations among Measures of Sexism	53
Table 4.	Correlations between Adjustment Factors and Sexisms.....	54
Table 5.	Correlations between Adjustment Factors and Sexisms for Younger Children.....	55
Table 6.	Correlations between Adjustment Factors and Sexisms for Older Children.....	56

I. INTRODUCTION

Gender is among the most salient and basic distinctions made between people, with its development, differentiation, and schematic knowledge in children providing long-standing areas of interest for a broad range of social science theorists and researchers (e.g., Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Kohlberg, 1966; Ruble & Martin, 1998; Slaby & Frey, 1975). Such an important component in the lives of children and adults should almost certainly impact individuals' well-being and adjustment. The relation between gender variables and adjustment has not been neglected by researchers. Studies have focused on the relationship between children's adjustment and gender-related variables such as sex-typed attributes or behavior (McHale, Kim, Whiteman & Crouter, 2004; Hoffmann, Powlishta, & White, 2004; Ahrens & O'Brien, 1996), sexual orientation (Galliher, Rostosky & Hughes, 2004;), experienced sexism (Moradi & Subich, 2004; Swim, Hyers, Cohen & Ferguson, 2001), gender identity (Yunger, Carver, and Perry, 2004; Egan & Perry, 2001), sexual behavior (Boden & Horwood, 2006; McGee & Williams, 2001), and biological gender (Hankin & Abramson, 2001; Quatman & Watson, 2001; DuBois, Burk-Braxton, Swenson, Tevendale & Hardesty, 2002; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Fewer studies have explored the relationship between psychosocial adjustment and children's sexist stereotypes. It is on this topic that the current thesis focuses.

The present study investigates how children's psychosocial adjustment may be impacted by the espousal of sexist stereotypes. It will take a multifaceted approach to gauging adjustment levels in children, using both the self- and peer-reported instruments to measure several facets of adjustment. The study will also investigate three dimensions of prescriptive sexist stereotypes. Subjects will be grade-school students between the ages of seven and 12, an age group not regularly studied by researchers of sex-role attitudes. The present study aims to ascertain the degree to which holding sexist stereotypes negatively (or positively) affects psychosocial adjustment, and whether the effect, if found, is similar for boys and girls.

Gender stereotypes are made available to children through a variety of conduits, including parents, peers, television, print media, and school (Bussey & Bandera, 1999; Ruble & Martin, 1998). Children differ in their degree of knowledge about gender stereotypes (Ruble & Martin, 1998) as well as in their degree of felt pressure to conform to stereotypes (Egan & Perry, 2001). Further, cultural and societal differences exist in children's and adults' level of espousal of sexist stereotypes (e.g., Trice, 2000; Glick et al., 2000). The process of learning about gender norms begins at an early age, and is accompanied by, if not aided by, positive reactions from adults for gender-appropriate behavior, and negative reactions for gender-inappropriate behavior (Sanchez & Crocker, 2005).

Gender stereotypes can be thought of as comprising two main types: descriptive stereotypes and prescriptive stereotypes. *Descriptive stereotypes* are cognitions about the way the sexes differ, whereas *prescriptive stereotypes* are statements about how men and women ought to differ (Cota, Reid, & Dion, 1991; Glick & Fiske, 1999). Both types of

gender stereotypes encompass an important domain of research, as researchers have indicated that they shape the way children and adults view themselves and others. Normative beliefs about expected behavior by one's own and the other gender shape many facets of everyday interaction (Eagly, 1987; Wood, Christensen, Hebl, & Rothgerber, 1997). Further, espousal of gender role stereotypes has been found to correlate with attitudes toward policies such as affirmative action, as well as with racism (Sidanius, 1993). Thus, a greater understanding of the development of gender role stereotypes in children, and its psychosocial effects, may contribute to our understanding of related attitudes and behaviors of children and adults.

The work of Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek, and Mellott (2002) provides a useful framework for understanding relationships between stereotypes and attitudes toward self and others that may impact adjustment. The authors have conceptualized a stereotype as an association between a group (such as female, Asian, or French) and an attribute (such as weak, athletic, or intelligent). The connections of groups and attributes that comprise stereotypes are thought to exist within social knowledge structures, or connectionist networks that link various social cognitive concepts (e.g., the self, attributes, persons, and groups). These knowledge structures are characterized by links between concepts of differential strength. Further, concepts differ in valence on a continuum that runs from negative to positive. Thus, stereotypes (the associations between groups and attributes) are cognitions that hold a valence that may be very positive, very negative, or somewhere in between, as a result of the valence of the relevant group and associated attributes. Because social cognitive concepts are linked, one would expect that the valence of the attributes associated with a particular group (i.e.

the affective positivity or negativity of a stereotype) should impact the valence of individual persons who are members of that group (including both the self and others). Forming strong associations between the self or others with attributes may therefore sometimes detrimentally impact psychosocial adjustment. This should be the case especially when the attributes associated with individuals or groups are very negative or unattainable.

Prior investigation has indicated that, in general, male- and female-typed attributes do not carry equal valences. Rather, male-typed attributes tend to be more highly regarded than female-typed attributes (McHale et al., 2004). Therefore, it is plausible that children who hold strong gender stereotypes (those who strongly associate groups with attributes) may differ in adjustment from other children, as they should expect themselves and others to conform to especially rigid gender roles. Further, it is likely that those children who associate themselves more strongly with females than with males will have lower self-esteem (a central adjustment variable) than those who associate more strongly with males. Consistent with this idea is the finding that time spent engaged in female-typed activities during middle childhood was predictive of lower self-esteem, while time spent engaged in male-typed activities was predictive of higher self-esteem (McHale et al., 2004). In addition, sexist stereotypes imply a view of the world that is unjust and unequal, an ideology itself that may lead to negative affect.

Thus far, I have considered only theory that suggests a negative association between sexist stereotypes and healthy psychosocial adjustment. However, an alternative position regarding the relationship between gender stereotypes and adjustment in children would maintain that psychosocial adjustment is positively linked with espousal of sexist

stereotypes. Consistent with this notion, it has been suggested that women who conform to the norms of society should benefit from the protection and esteem of benevolent sexism (Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997). Because of the relatively great pressure to conform to social norms during childhood, subscription to sexist stereotypes could have a favorable impact on children's adjustment, because children who endorse sexist stereotypes may benefit from "fitting in" with prevailing notions of sex-appropriate behavior. The next section will explore extant literature for evidence of either hypothesis for the relationship between gender stereotypes and psychosocial adjustment.

Empirical Findings Related to the Adjustment-Stereotype Link

It has been theorized that gender plays a role in the emotional and behavioral adjustment of children and adolescents. Sex differences in adjustment have been the focus of much developmental research, with a common finding that, in general, girls fare worse than boys, especially with regard to internalizing symptoms (McHale et al., 2004). Martinez and Duke (1991) found that of 6,651 7-12th graders in 1983 and 6,838 7-12th graders in 1986, female students scored lower in "satisfaction with self" than males for all race categories (white, black, chicano/a, asian, native American, and other) in both years (with the exception of black females in 1983). Some theory points to the existence of gender role stereotypes for this sex difference: DuBois and colleagues (2002) hypothesized that gender and socio-environmental experiences (such as prejudice/discrimination experiences and gender "daily hassles") interact and contribute to a general stress context, which detrimentally impacts adjustment. Other research has shown that self-efficacy in traditionally male-typed activities is more correlated with boys' than girls' psychosocial adjustment (e.g., Hay & Ashworth, 2003), and that time

spent engaged and female-typed activities is associated with impaired psychosocial adjustment for both girls and boys (McHale et al., 2004).

It has been indicated in previous studies that subscription to sexist stereotypes may predict low adjustment outcomes. Yunger, Carver and Perry (2004) assessed the gender identity and psychosocial adjustment of preadolescents. Three measures of gender identity (felt gender typicality, contentment with gender assignment, and felt pressure for gender conformity) as well as four measures of psychosocial adjustment (acceptance by peers, internalizing symptoms, externalizing symptoms, and self-esteem) were assessed two times over a one-year period. In this study, children (especially girls) who felt relatively great pressure to conform to gender ideals in Year 1 showed an increase in internalizing symptoms and a decrease in acceptance by peers in Year 2. Presumably, some of the gender-related attitudes measured by felt pressure for gender conformity should overlap with those measured by prescriptive sexist stereotypes, indicating that prescriptive stereotypes may be detrimentally related to adjustment. However, the authors found that not all measures of adjustment were predicted by felt pressure to conform to gender ideals: only internalizing symptoms and acceptance by peers, and not externalizing symptoms or self-esteem in Year 2 were related to felt pressure in Year 1.

Poor adjustment outcomes have also been empirically linked to neosexism. Neosexism is a measure of subscription to modern sexist ideals, described as "a manifestation of a conflict between egalitarian values and residual negative feelings toward women" by its authors (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995, p. 843). A sample item from the neosexism scale reads, "Due to social pressures, firms frequently have to

hire underqualified women.” Garaigordobil and Dura (2006) surveyed 322 adolescents (ages 14-17) for several adjustment variables as well as ratings of neosexism.

Adolescents of both sexes who displayed high levels of neosexism were rated by their parents as having academic and behavioral difficulties. They also displayed low emotional stability, uncooperativeness, and overconfidence. Interestingly, male but not female adolescents who were high in neosexism showed decreased levels of self-esteem and increased levels of aggression relative to peers.

Ahrens and O’Brien (1996) tested for correlations between a measure of sexism and three measures of agency in a sample of 409 high school-aged females. Sexism was measured using the Attitudes Toward Women Scale (AWS), which assesses attitudes toward the marital, professional, and intellectual roles of women. Higher scores on this scale indicated lower levels of sexism. An example item reads, “[A] woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage”. The first measure of agency was the Career Confidence Scale (CARSE), which measured confidence levels in career decision-making efficacy. The instrumentality items from the Bem Sex-Role Inventory comprised the Instrumentality scale (INSTRUM). High scorers on this scale indicated strong feelings of instrumentality. The final measure of agency was the Mathematics Self-Efficacy scale (MSE), which assessed confidence in completing math tasks. The authors found a significant, positive correlation between the AWS and all three agency measures. Although adjustment outcomes were not measured per se, these data indicate that sexist beliefs are linked to decreased self-efficacy, which would presumably affect adolescents’ psychosocial well-being.

Further evidence for a link between sexist ideology and poor adjustment outcomes is found in a study by Sanchez and Crocker (2005). The authors investigated the relationship between the well-being (as measured by self-esteem, depression, and symptoms of disordered eating) and investment in gender ideals in 677 college freshmen. *Investment in gender ideals* is defined as "the extent to which an individual believes it is important to be similar to the ideal for their gender" (Sanchez & Crocker, 2005, p.63). It was found that investment in gender ideals was positively associated with depression and disordered eating, and negatively associated with self-esteem. The authors presented a model to explain the results where the relationship between well-being and investment in gender ideals was mediated through externally contingent self-worth. They suggest that for individuals who believe that living up to an ideal for his or her gender is important, self-esteem is affected adversely especially when self-esteem is based upon the approval of others. Additionally, they found that this model fit for both male and female college freshmen, as well as White Americans, Asian Americans and African Americans.

Could Subscription to Gender Stereotypes Benefit Adjustment?

While fewer in number, some studies imply a positive link between espousal of gender role stereotypes and healthy psychosocial adjustment. College-aged men and women who considered gender role stereotypes to be personally relevant (those who believed it was important for themselves to emulate gender norms) were found to experience greater positive affect following imagining experiences that were norm-congruent (i.e. involved communion for women or dominance for men) than did those who did not find gender role stereotypes to be important ideals (Wood et al., 1997). Thus, individuals for whom gender norms are not considered particularly important may

not have the opportunity for positive affect afforded to those who do consider gender norms important ideals.

An additional line of evidence for a possible positive relationship between sexism and adjustment comes from a study by DeSouza and Ribeiro (2005). The authors studied the relationship between bullying behavior and ambivalent sexism in Brazilian high school girls and boys. In this sample, the first component of ambivalent sexism, hostile sexism, had no relationship to bullying for either girls or boys. However, benevolent sexism was negatively correlated with bullying for boys. That is, boys who scored low in benevolent sexism were more likely to bully other children than were those boys who scored high in benevolent sexism. Because one aspect of sexism is a protective, paternalistic attitude toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996), it is possible that boys who are benevolently sexist hold more positive and less hostile feelings toward others and thus display fewer externalizing symptoms.

Congruent with a positive association between sexist stereotypes and beneficial outcomes, research has indicated that some high school students may benefit in certain situations from endorsing ethnic stereotypes. Ingroup high school students who strongly endorsed negative, achievement-related stereotypes of an ethnic outgroup experienced a boost in score on a scholastic achievement test when stereotypes were made salient relative to a low salience condition (Chatard, Selimbegovic, Konan & Mugny, 2008). For members of the perceived "superior" group, at least, the existence of negative stereotypes about another group may afford an advantage ("stereotype lift") in performance, and presumably self-efficacy. In their study, Chatard et al. (2008) found that students who did not endorse negative stereotypes of the ethnic outgroup did not

experience a boost in performance when outgroup stereotypes were made salient. If this research on ethnic groups is applied to gender, it is possible that boys who hold sexist stereotypes would experience a heightened sense of self-esteem in situations where sex stereotypes were made salient.

In summary, a good deal of research has touched on a possible relationship between sexist stereotypes and psychosocial adjustment. The effect of self-relevant gender ideals or felt-pressure to conform to gender ideals on affect and adjustment has revealed a generally negative association (Yunger et al., 2004; Wood et al., 1997; Sanchez & Crocker, 2005). Traditional sexist attitudes toward women have been found to correlate positively with self-reported agency, which tends to be associated with higher self-esteem (Ahrens & O'Brien, 1996). Perhaps most strikingly, a measure of neo-sexism predicted “many psychopathological symptoms...many behavioural problems...low self-concept, low level of cooperativeness, low level of social skills, high overconfidence, jealous loneliness, low emotional stability, low sociability, and low responsibility” in a sample of high school-aged girls and boys (Garaigordobil & Dura, 2006, p.127). However, at least one study has documented a negative association between espousal of sexist beliefs and externalizing behavior (DeSouza & Ribeiro, 2005), thus indicating the possibility of a positive outcome of benevolent sexism.

The present study aims to investigate the relationship between prescriptive gender role stereotypes and several measures of psychosocial adjustment. This differs from some prior work in that the current sample is of a younger age than that of most extant research on sexist stereotypes (e.g., Sanchez & Crocker, 2005; Grieve, Rosenthal, & Cavallo, 1988). The dependent variables were five adjustment factors: agency, body-

self-esteem, peer-reported prosocial tendencies, communal tendencies, and macho-narcissism. It was decided to use multiple measures of adjustment to capture qualitatively different dimensions of self-appraisal that should impact well-being. These five factors are the result of a factor analysis performed using 13 adjustment measures. Agency touches on one's perceived self-efficacy for instrumental tasks. Body-self-esteem reflects affect and efficacy with regard to one's physical attractiveness. Peer-reported prosocial tendencies indicate the degree to which peers find one to behave in a prosocial rather than antisocial manner. Communal tendencies reflect self-efficacy for acting in a manner that is sensitive to the needs of others. Finally, macho-narcissism measures narcissistic and macho tendencies. Based on prior research regarding sexism and adjustment (e.g., Garaigordobil & Dura, 2006), it is predicted that sexism will correlate negatively with the first four measures of adjustment and positively with macho-narcissism. Thus, I expect that acceptance of sexist stereotypes will be associated with negative adjustment outcomes.

Prescriptive sexist beliefs will be measured using one scale composed of three dimensions: parenting sexism, work sexism, and dating sexism. It was decided to investigate attitudes toward sex roles over three distinct dimensions in order to more finely examine their effects. Because children learn about sex roles through a variety of media, it is possible that their understanding about sex roles differs between contexts. For example, a child with egalitarian parents may espouse nonsexist beliefs regarding the roles of mothers and fathers, but may espouse sexist beliefs regarding men and women in the workplace, if his or her main conduit for learning about the workplace is television or movies.

Biological sex will serve as a moderator, with the expectation that any negative impact of sexist beliefs will be felt more strongly among girls than boys. This hypothesis comes from prior work that indicates girls are more susceptible to negative mental health outcomes as a result of felt pressure to conform to sexist stereotypes (Yunger et al., 2004). Because sexist stereotypes tend to assign inferior status to females and superior status to males, it is not expected that any healthy adjustment outcomes will be positively associated with sexism among girls. However, I acknowledge the possibility that espousal of sexist stereotypes could produce a boost in self-appraisal among boys, and may be related to positive adjustment outcomes.

II. METHOD

Participants

All students in grades 4 to 8 at a public university-run grade school were invited to participate in the study. Parents were contacted via a letter sent home with students. Of the students invited, 236 received parental consent. Prior to participation, the students themselves also signed an informed consent. The selection criteria of the school ensure that the demographic makeup of the student body reflects that of Florida as a whole (68% European-American, 18% African-American, 13% Hispanic, and 1% Asian-American). Of the 236 students who received parental consent, were 129 female and 107 were male. The average age of the students was 11 years and three months.

Measures

The data considered in the present study were collected as part of a larger study involving a number of gender-development and adjustment instruments. For simplicity, only the scales relevant to the current study are discussed. First, 13 adjustment variables that were entered into a factor analysis will be described. Then, the measures of sexism will be described. All scales, with the exception of the narcissism scale (adapted from Barry, Frick, & Killian, 2003), were created by David G. Perry and colleagues. The entire content of each scale is listed in the Appendix.

Self-efficacy. A 60-item scale assessed children's perceived efficacy across six behavioral domains: academic competence, sports, machoism, body image, and

communal behavior. The 60 statements were comprised of 10 statements from each behavioral domain. Statements from the six domains were randomly intermingled throughout the scale. An example statement from the academic competence domain is "Doing homework on time is _____ for me." For each statement, children were asked to decide whether the behavior listed in the statement was very easy, easy, hard, or very hard for them. Items were scored numerically from 1 to 4, and averaged within domains to produce a self-efficacy score for each of the six domains.

Body satisfaction. This dimension of adjustment was measured by a 10-item scale comprised of statements about feelings toward one's body. Children were asked to circle whether the statements were not at all true, a little true, pretty true, or very true for them. A sample item from this scale reads "I am unhappy with the way my body is developing." All 10 items were scored numerically from 1 to 4 and averaged to yield a body satisfaction score.

Peer-reported adjustment. Children's peer-reported internalizing symptoms, externalizing symptoms, prosocial tendencies, and agency were measured using a modification of the Peer Nomination Inventory (PNI). Prior studies have shown that evaluations from peers have been effective for assessing children's behavioral characteristics within the peer group. The modified PNI used in the current study was comprised of 53 items. The names of all same-sex grade-mates were listed, and children were asked to check off each grade-mate who fit each of the 53 behavioral descriptors. Only the names of students who had received parental permission to participate in the study were listed on the inventory. A factor analysis yielded 4 factors: externalizing problems, internalizing problems, agency, and prosocial tendencies.

Narcissism. To assess childrens' level of narcissism, we used the short Narcissistic Personality Inventory for Children (adapted from Barry, Frick, & Killian, 2003). Children were given two options and told to circle the sentence that was more true for him- or herself. An example item reads: "I'm not interested in ruling the world" or "If I ruled the world, it would be a better place." Items were scored 0 or 1 and summed to yield a narcissism score.

Global self-worth. Global self-worth was assessed using a six-item scale. For each item, children were asked first to decide which of two options was more like them, and then to indicate how true that option was for them. Item scores could range from 0 to 4, and the scale score was produced by averaging across items, with higher scores indicating higher self-esteem.

Sexism. Children's espousal of prescriptive sexist stereotypes was measured by a 24-item scale that included three domains: dating sexism, parenting sexism, and work sexism. Eight statements belonged to each of the sexism domains, and statements from each domain were randomly intermingled throughout the scale. Children were asked to decide whether they disagreed strongly, disagreed a little, neither agreed nor disagreed, agreed a little, or agreed strongly with each statement. An example from the dating sexism domain is "[o]n a date, the girl should let the boy decide what to do." From the work sexism domain, a sample item reads "[a] woman can run a business just as well as a man." An example from the parenting sexism domain is "[a] wife should do what her husband says." Items were scored numerically from 1 to 5, and then averaged within each domain to produce scores for dating sexism, work sexism, and parenting sexism.

Factor Analysis

I conducted a preliminary factor analysis using the 13 adjustment variables described above with a Principal Component Analysis. A varimax rotation yielded five adjustment factors. These were computed by the SPSS regression method, which automatically weights factors with eigenvalues over 1.0. It was decided that variables loaded onto factors when they were weighted higher than 0.60.

The first factor was labeled "Agency," with adjustment measures *sports self-efficacy* and *peer-reported sports efficacy* loading positively, and *peer-reported internalizing symptoms* loading negatively. The second factor was labeled "Body Self-esteem" and had positive loadings of *body satisfaction*, *global self-worth*, and *body image self-efficacy*. The third factor was labeled "Peer-reported Prosocial" and was loaded positively by *peer-reported prosocial tendencies* and negatively by *peer-reported externalizing behavior*. *Communal self-efficacy* and *self-sacrifice self-efficacy* loaded positively onto the fourth factor, labeled "Communal". Finally, *macho self-efficacy* and *narcissism* both loaded positively onto a fifth factor, labeled "Macho-narcissism". Table 1 lists the factor loadings for each of the five factors. The following analyses will utilize these five adjustment factors as dependent variables.

III. RESULTS

Gender and Age Differences in Measures

Table 2 lists the means and standard deviations of the sexism and adjustment measures separately by gender of child. To ascertain any significant gender and age differences, regressions were run, treating each of the sexism and adjustment measures as a dependent variable, and entering age and sex as simultaneous predictors. All three measures of sexism were significantly predicted by gender when controlling for age, wherein girls were less sexist than boys (work sexism: $B = .481, p < .001$; parenting sexism: $B = .505, p < .001$; dating sexism: $B = .457, p < .001$). Further, age predicted all three measures of sexism when controlling for gender, wherein older children were less sexist than younger children (work sexism: $B = -.152, p = .006$; parenting sexism: $B = -.196, p = .001$; dating sexism: $B = -.223, p < .001$). Two of the five adjustment measures were significantly predicted by gender when controlling for age, with boys scoring higher than girls on the agency factor ($B = .219, p = .001$), and girls scoring higher than boys on the communal factor ($B = -.184, p = .005$). Only one of the five adjustment measures, Peer-reported Prosocial tendencies was predicted by age, where younger children were rated as more prosocial than older children ($B = -.158, p = .015$).

Correlations among Measures of Sexism

The three dimensions of sexism correlated positively with one another at the $p < .001$ level for both sexes, with the exception of dating sexism and work sexism for girls (r

= .25, $p < .01$). Table 3 lists the correlations among the measures of sexism for each gender.

Relation between Adjustment Factors and Sexism

Table 4 displays for correlations between the adjustment factors and the three sexism dimensions. Peer-reported prosocial tendencies are correlated negatively with two of the three of the sexism dimensions (work sexism and parenting sexism) for both boys and girls, although the correlation with parenting sexism for boys is marginal. For girls, there is a moderately strong and negative correlation between Body Self-esteem and dating sexism. For boys, there is a marginally significant, positive correlation between communal tendencies and espousal of parenting sexism.

Age Differences in Correlations

It was decided to investigate whether the patterns observed for the above correlations differed among older and younger children. Data was divided into younger (grades 4 and 5) and older (grades 6, 7, and 8) age groups. The correlations between adjustment factors and dimensions of sexism were rerun separately for each age group and gender. Data for younger children are reported in Table 5; data for older children are found in Table 6. For younger girls, peer-reported prosocial tendencies correlated negatively with all three measures of sexism, dating sexism correlated negatively with body self-esteem, and parenting sexism correlated negatively with agency. For younger boys, there are no significant correlations between adjustment factors and dimensions of sexism. Data for older girls shows only a negative correlation between peer-reported prosocial tendencies and work sexism. For older boys, work and parenting sexism are

marginally and negatively correlated with peer-reported prosocial tendencies, and dating sexism is marginally and positively correlated with self-reported communal behavior.

IV. DISCUSSION

This research sought to test the competing hypotheses that sexist ideology is (1) predictive of negative adjustment outcomes, or that it is (2) predictive of healthy adjustment outcomes. The analyses indicate that the espousal of sexist beliefs in childhood is linked to elevated peer-reported antisocial tendencies. Children who expressed agreement with traditional gender roles were rated by their peers as likely to act out or bully, and less likely to help or be kind to others. This trend was more evident for girls than for boys. Furthermore, espousal of sexist beliefs in the realm of dating was associated with lower body self-esteem for younger girls. There was no support for the hypothesis that holding sexist stereotypes is associated with beneficial adjustment outcomes, with the exception of the marginal, positive correlation between parenting sexism and self-reported communal behavior among boys.

Overall, the measures of sexism seemed to be more heavily associated with adjustment for girls than for boys, consistent with my prediction. Sexist ideology tends to place higher value on male than female roles. Associating a negative valence with a group to which one belongs should have a detrimental impact on self-esteem, which was implicated by the negative association between dating sexism and body self-esteem for girls. Girls may have more to lose by subscribing to sexist stereotypes, and thus be more strongly affected by them.

The current study found little evidence that girls who subscribed to traditionally sexist stereotypes were internalizing personality traits characteristic of prescriptive stereotypes about women. The negative association between peer-reported prosocial tendencies and degree of work and parenting sexism implies that girls with sexist attitudes may behave in a relatively unhelpful, aggressive manner, seemingly incongruent with the notion that girls should behave in a caring and communal way. None of the three dimensions of sexism were correlated with self-reported communal behavior for girls, indicating that girls with sexist attitudes do not consider themselves either more or less efficacious at communal behavior than other girls. Plausibly, the girls with sexist attitudes who are rated by peers as antisocial are not aware that they behave in a manner that may be construed as cross-sex-typed.

Interestingly, there was a marginal, positive association between parenting sexism and self-reported communal behavior for boys. This is a surprising finding, given that communal behavior is a cross-sex-typed behavior for boys, seemingly incongruent for boys with a sexist ideology. Further, parenting sexism is *negatively* correlated with peer-reported prosocial tendencies for boys. It could be that two distinct types of individuals, boys high in self-reported communal behavior and those rated by peers as antisocial, both tend to have sexist beliefs in the realm of parenting. Alternatively, it could be that some boys who are considered less helpful by their peers consider themselves to be efficacious at communal behavior. Perhaps some boys, while believing themselves to be effectively helping others, are perceived as *intrusive* by peers. These individuals may be overbearing in their style of interaction and try to provide help or input that is not wanted,

leading to simultaneous self-appraisals of helpfulness and peer-reports of low pro-sociality.

This research is in line with some prior work on the relationship between negative adjustment outcomes and sexist stereotypes (Sanchez & Crocker, 2005; Garaigordobil & Dura, 2006) and felt pressure to conform to stereotypes (Yunger et al., 2004). As in Garaigordobil and Dura (2006), there was a positive association between a measure of externalizing behavior (peer-reported prosocial tendencies) and measures of sexism for boys. However, the current research differs in that there was an association between peer-reported prosocial tendencies and measures of sexism for girls as well. This discrepancy may be due to the use of differential measures of sexism. In Garaigordobil and Dura (2006), the authors measured levels of "Neosexism" or modern sexism, whereas the current research focuses on three dimensions of traditional sexist beliefs. It may be that girls who hold traditional, but not modern, sexist beliefs exhibit antisocial tendencies.

One unexpected finding was that while dating sexism and body self-esteem were negatively correlated for younger girls, there was no correlation for older girls. This finding seems counter-intuitive, given that the importance of one's body image self-efficacy should increase with age. Additionally, more dimensions of sexism were correlated with peer-reported prosocial tendencies for younger girls than for older girls. Moreover, agency was negatively correlated with parenting sexism for younger girls, but did not correlate significantly for older girls. These apparently more robust findings for younger girls may be in part due to increased levels of sexism for younger children overall, who were found to be more sexist than older children.

It is not known whether the antisocial behavior reported by peers is directed primarily to others of the same, the opposite, or of both sexes. Future investigation could explore the question of whether the apparent increase in antisocial behavior is directed mainly toward boys or toward girls. It is plausible that children who hold traditional gender ideals may direct aggression toward girls, who should be considered to hold a lower social status.

It should be noted that while the three levels of sexism have been conceptualized as independent variables, the correlational nature of the findings do not necessitate this view. An alternative interpretation of the present findings could reverse the direction of causation and posit that increased sexist attitudes follow from poor adjustment (i.e. peer-reported antisocial behavior and low body self-esteem). While seemingly less likely than the supposition that adjustment outcomes arise from level of sexist ideology, the present data cannot rule out this possibility. Furthermore, a third potential interpretation is that a third variable (e.g., some personality trait not considered here, or parental education or income level) may be responsible for the observed co-occurrence of sexist beliefs and certain adjustment outcomes. Further research could utilize a longitudinal design to investigate change in adjustment outcomes for children with certain levels of sexist attitudes in order to more clearly identify causal patterns.

In conclusion, more support was found for the hypothesis that holding traditionally sexist beliefs is associated with negative adjustment outcomes than for the hypothesis that sexist beliefs are associated with positive adjustment outcomes, although causal relationships could not be established. The associations between gender ideology and adjustment were stronger for girls than for boys. The main dimension of

psychosocial adjustment that was associated with gender ideology was peer-reported prosocial tendencies, which encompassed peer-reported externalizing behavior and peer-reported prosocial behavior.

APPENDIX

Scales

Self-efficacy

1. Being good at sports is _____ for me.

HARD! Hard easy EASY!

2. Doing cool and dangerous stunts is _____ for me.

HARD! Hard easy EASY!

3. Helping others is _____ for me.

HARD! Hard easy EASY!

4. Taking care of your body so you look good is _____ for me.

HARD! Hard easy EASY!

5. Feeling bad for arguing with someone is _____ for me.

HARD! Hard easy EASY!

6. Bossing others around is _____ for me.

HARD! Hard easy EASY!

7. Doing homework on time is _____ for me.

HARD! Hard easy EASY!

8. Making a sad kid feel better is _____ for me.

HARD! Hard easy EASY!

9. Acting tough when afraid on the inside is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

10. Throwing a ball far is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

11. Watching your weight is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

12. Taking the blame for an argument is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

13. Fighting back when challenged is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

14. Rescuing weak kids from bullies is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

15. Feeling guilty if you accidentally hurt someone is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

16. Trying for good grades is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

17. Being physically strong is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

18. Being good at computers is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

19. Being aware of other kid's feelings is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

20. Being a fast runner is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

21. Getting others to respect you is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

22. Allowing people to treat you badly, to stay friends is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

23. Having a perfect body is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

24. Being good at English and reading is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

25. Keeping from crying when sad is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

26. Apologizing when you are wrong is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

27. Feeling bad if you beat somebody in a game or contest is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

28. Following directions from a teacher is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

29. Being a good fighter is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

30. Enjoying talking about sports is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

31. Letting others win games and contests is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

32. Feeling attractive is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

33. Trying exciting but dangerous activities is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

34. Enjoy going to school is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

35. Forgiving someone who makes you mad is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

36. Agreeing with someone, to avoid an argument is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

37. Proving that you are better than others is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

38. Paying attention during school is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

39. Exercising to improve your body is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

40. Learning a new sport quickly is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

41. "Patching things up" with someone you're fighting with is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

42. Hiding your worries from others is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

43. Pleasing others by letting them have their way is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

44. Looking good in a bathing suit is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

45. Being good at math is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

46. Getting even with people you're mad at is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

47. Walking away from a fight is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

48. Giving in to others to be polite is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

49. Being good looking is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

50. Winning at sports is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

51. Doing things to prove you're tough is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

52. Being good at music is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

53. Accepting an apology is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

54. Showing others that you're tough and strong is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

55. Letting others have their way is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

56. Being handsome is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

57. Hiding your weaknesses and fears is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

58. Being good at science is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

59. Sharing your things with others is _____ for me.

HARD! hard easy EASY!

60. Forcing others to do things is _____ for me.

Body Satisfaction

1.	I don't like how much I weigh.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me
2.	Most of the time I am happy with the way I look.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me
3.	I worry about how healthy I am.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me
4.	I wish that I were in better physical condition.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me
5.	I am unhappy with the way my body is developing.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me
6.	I am proud of my body.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me
7.	I am happy with my height.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me
8.	I feel ugly and unattractive a lot of the time.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me
9.	My body is growing about as quickly as I would like it to.	Not at all true for me	A little true for me	Pretty true for me	Very true for me

10. I feel strong and healthy.

Not at all
true for me

A little true
for me

Pretty true
for me

Very true
for me

Peer-reported Adjustment

BOY'S FORM										
1. He is good at sports.										
2. He is afraid to do things.										
3. He makes fun of people.										
4. He doesn't know how to stand up for himself.										
5. He tries to help kids who are sad or afraid.										
6. He hits and pushes others around.										
7. He catches a ball well.										
8. He seems unhappy and looks sad often.										
9. He is good to have in a group because he shares										

things and gives other people a turn.										
10. When he's mad at a kid, he gets even by keeping the kid out of his group of friends.										
11. He stands up for kids who get picked on by bullies.										
12. He learns a new sport quickly.										
13. When he's mad at someone, he ignores them or stops talking to them.										
14. He is easy to push around.										
15. When he's mad at a kid, he gossips or spreads rumors about the kid.										
16. He helps other kids solve their problems.										

Narcissism

- | | | | |
|-----|---|----|--|
| 1. | I like to show off the things I do well. | or | I do not show off the things that I do well. |
| 2. | I'm not interested in ruling the world. | or | If I ruled the world, it would be a better place. |
| 3. | I can usually talk my way out of anything. | or | I try to accept what happens to me because of my behavior. |
| 4. | I would do almost anything if someone dared me to. | or | I am usually a careful person. |
| 5. | I expect people to appreciate what I do. | or | People usually appreciate what I do. |
| 6. | It is easy to get people to do what I want. | or | It's not important to me to get people to do what I want. |
| 7. | I like to blend in with other people around me. | or | I like to be the center of attention. |
| 8. | I just try to be happy. | or | I want the world to think that I am something special. |
| 9. | I can always tell what people are like. | or | Sometimes it's hard to know what people are like. |
| 10. | I try not to be a show off. | or | I usually show off when I get the chance. |
| 11. | I expect to get a lot from other people. | or | I like to do things for other people. |
| 12. | Sometimes I tell good stories and jokes. | or | My stories and jokes are the best. |
| 13. | I am not comfortable being the center of attention. | or | I really like to be the center of attention. |
| 14. | I am happy whenever something good happens. | or | I won't be happy until I get everything that I should get. |

15. People sometimes believe what I tell them. or I can make anybody believe anything I want them to.
16. I get upset when other people don't notice how I look. or I don't mind looking like everyone else when other people are around.
17. I want to control other people. or I'm not really interested in controlling others.

Global Self-worth

<p>1.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> I am sad once in a while.<input type="checkbox"/> I am sad many times.<input type="checkbox"/> I am sad all the time.	<p>6.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> Things bother me all the time.<input type="checkbox"/> Things bother me many times.<input type="checkbox"/> Things bother me once in a while.
<p>2.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> Nothing will ever work out for me.<input type="checkbox"/> I am not sure if things will work out for me.<input type="checkbox"/> Things will work out for me OK.	<p>7.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> I look OK.<input type="checkbox"/> There are some bad things about my looks.<input type="checkbox"/> I look ugly.
<p>3.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> I do most things OK.<input type="checkbox"/> I do many things wrong.<input type="checkbox"/> I do everything wrong.	<p>8.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> I do not feel alone.<input type="checkbox"/> I feel alone many times.<input type="checkbox"/> I feel alone all the time.
<p>4.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> I hate myself.<input type="checkbox"/> I do not like myself.<input type="checkbox"/> I like myself.	<p>9.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> I have plenty of friends.<input type="checkbox"/> I have some friends, but I wish I had more.<input type="checkbox"/> I don't have any friends.
<p>5.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> I feel like crying some days.<input type="checkbox"/> I feel like crying once in a while.<input type="checkbox"/> I never feel like crying.	<p>10.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><input type="checkbox"/> Nobody loves me.<input type="checkbox"/> I am not sure anybody loves me.<input type="checkbox"/> I am sure that someone loves me.

Sexism

1. A woman needs to be protected and taken care of by a man.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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2. Because women are so sensitive and caring, only women should be grade school teachers or nurses.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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3. In a marriage, it is more important for the husband to have a job than for the wife to have a job.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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4. On a date, the girl should let the boy decide where to go and what to do.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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5. A woman can live without a man.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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6. A woman can run a business just as well as a man.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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7. A girl should treat her boyfriend like he's the boss.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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8. Important family decisions should be made by the husband rather than the wife.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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9. On a date, the girl should not allow the boy to make all the decisions.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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10. Some jobs should only be open to men, like joining the army or being a firefighter.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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11. Men should drive and open doors when with a woman.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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12. A wife has the same right as her husband to take a job outside the home.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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13. A woman could do just as good a job being President of the U.S. as a man.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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14. A woman's place is in the home.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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15. Women need men to help them do things.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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16. It is OK for a boy to be mean to his girlfriend if she doesn't listen to him.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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17. Men should be chosen over women when being hired or promoted for a job.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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18. A wife should do what her husband says.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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19. On a date, the girl should have as much say as the boy in deciding on the activity.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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20. Women do not need a man to protect and take care of them.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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21. Just about any job can be done equally well by both men and women.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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22. On a date, the girl should go along with whatever the boy decides.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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23. Cooking and taking care of children are jobs that should be done by both husbands and wives.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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24. Women can make just as much money as men.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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25. It is fine if a wife earns as much money as her husband.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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26. It is the man's job to investigate if there is a strange noise in the house at night.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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27. It is OK for a girl to disagree with her boyfriend.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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28. It is OK for a wife to disagree with her husband's decisions.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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29. There are some jobs that only men should do and some jobs that only women should do.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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30. On a date, the boy should not make all the important decisions.

Disagree Strongly!	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree Strongly!
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Table 1

Factor Loadings

Variable	Body Self-		Peer-reported		Macho- Narcissism
	Agency	Esteem	Prosocial	Communal	
acompe	-.137	.315	.445	.347	.540
bodimse	.167	.669	-.201	.075	.397
machose	.461	-.122	-.118	-.109	.688
comunse	-.049	.161	.062	.849	.061
sportsse	.700	.200	-.067	.104	.317
selfsacse	.110	-.011	.028	.805	-.143
gsw	-.009	.832	.097	.067	-.129
narc	-.016	.008	-.483	-.269	.581
bodsat	.132	.854	.102	.055	.002
sportpni	.907	.043	.078	-.138	-.056
intpni	-.791	-.054	.082	-.123	-.035
extpni	.214	-.028	-.827	-.010	.044
propni	.141	.033	.826	.026	-.096

Note. acompe = academic competence self-efficacy. bodimse = body image self-efficacy. machose = machoism self-efficacy. comunse = communal behavior self-

efficacy. sportsse = sports self-efficacy. selfsacse = self-sacrifice self-efficacy. gsw = global self-worth. narc = narcissism. bodsat = body satisfaction. sportpni = peer-reported sports efficacy. intpni = peer-reported internalizing symptoms. extpni = peer-reported externalizing symptoms. propni = peer-reported prosocial tendencies.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of Measures

Measure	Girls		Boys	
	M	SD	M	SD
Agency (range: -2.95 – 1.91)	-0.20	0.97	0.24	0.99
BodyGSW (range: -3.71 – 2.10)	-0.02	1.11	0.02	0.85
PRProsocial (range: -2.67 – 2.20)	-0.06	0.97	0.08	1.03
Communal (range: -2.82 – 2.36)	0.17	0.95	-0.21	1.03
Machonarc (range: -2.75 – 3.11)	0.04	1.00	-0.05	1.00
Work Sexism (range: 1.00 – 5.00)	1.58	0.50	2.28	0.73
Parenting Sexism (range: 1.00 – 5.00)	1.51	0.44	2.15	0.62
Dating Sexism (range: 1.00 – 5.00)	1.58	0.49	2.27	0.78

Note. BodyGSW = Body Self-esteem. PRProsocial = Peer-reported Prosocial.

Machonarc = Macho-narcissism.

Table 3

Correlations among Measures of Sexism

Sexism Measure	Sexism Measure		
	1	2	3
1. Work sexism	--	.45***	.25**
2. Parenting sexism	.70***	--	.62***
3. Dating sexism	.54***	.66***	--

Note. Entries are partial correlations within age controlled. Correlations for girls are above the diagonal; correlations for boys are below the diagonal.

p < .01. *p < .001.

Table 4

Correlations between Adjustment Factors and Sexisms

	Girls			Boys		
	Worksex	Parsex	Datesex	Worksex	Parsex	Datesex
Agency	.05	-.05	-.06	.11	.01	.02
BodyGSW	-.07	-.15	-.25**	-.09	-.13	-.06
PRProsocial	-.32***	-.20**	-.06	-.20*	-.18 [†]	-.08
Communal	-.03	.04	.07	.08	.17 [†]	.15
MachoNarc	.06	.00	-.04	.08	.08	.09

Note. Entries are partial correlations with age controlled.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 5

Correlations between Adjustment Factors and Sexisms for Younger Children

	Girls			Boys		
	Worksex	Parsex	Datesex	Worksex	Parsex	Datesex
Agency	-.11	-.27*	-.20	.07	-.08	-.12
BodyGSW	-.10	-.21	-.35**	-.04	-.13	-.15
PRProsocial	-.40**	-.31*	-.27*	-.18	-.13	.06
Communal	-.15	-.06	-.12	.05	.11	.05
MachoNarc	.04	-.09	-.08	.21	.12	.14

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

Table 6

Correlations between Adjustment Factors and Sexisms for Older Children

	Girls			Boys		
	Worksex	Parsex	Datesex	Worksex	Parsex	Datesex
Agency	.18	.11	.04	.17	.10	.20
BodyGSW	-.07	-.08	-.14	-.14	-.11	.07
PRProsocial	-.31**	-.15	.11	-.25 [†]	-.25 [†]	-.21
Communal	.03	.08	.19	.12	.24	.27 [†]
MachoNarc	.08	.12	.02	-.15	-.12	.00

[†] p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.