UC Santa Cruz
UC Santa Cruz Previously Published Works

Title

Sexism in Childhood and Adolescence: Recent Trends and Advances in Research

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8v92p4sg

Journal

Child Development Perspectives, 12(1)

ISSN

1750-8592

Authors

Leaper, Campbell

Brown, Christia Spears

Publication Date

2018-03-01

DOI

10.1111/cdep.12247

Peer reviewed

Sexism in Childhood and Adolescence: Recent Trends and Advances in Research

Campbell Leaper,[1] and Christia Spears Brown[2]

[1]University of California, Santa Cruz, and [2]University of Kentucky

ABSTRACT—*Sexism in many Western, technological-industrial societies is expressed in more complex ways in the 21st century than it was in the past. Cultural shifts have led to much progress toward gender equality, but narrow definitions of gender expression continue to be reinforced. Developmental research has highlighted the continued impact of sexism on children's and adolescents' development. In this article, we review recent work on sexism in three areas: gender identity and expression, gender disparities in academic achievement, and sexual harassment and sexualized gender stereotypes. We conclude with suggestions for research.*

KEYWORDS—*sexism; gender identity; gender nonconformity; academic achievement; sexual harassment; objectification*

Research on children's gender development began to take off in the 1960s in conjunction with the second wave of the feminist movement (1). Recently, researchers have begun to examine more explicitly the prevalence and impact of sexism on development. To illustrate, in a PsycINFO search using the subject term *sexism*, 77% of journal articles on studies of children or adolescents were published after 2000. However, much research published in earlier decades is pertinent to our understanding of sexism in childhood. The earlier work focused on the development and repercussions of traditional gender stereotypes and preferences in play (e.g., boys are strong and girls are nurturing, girls like dolls and boys like trucks). Today, more developmental psychologists examine direct and indirect manifestations of sexism in childhood.

The idea that more research is now being conducted on sexism in childhood may seem paradoxical. In many respects, the feminist movement has led to greater gender equity in society. For example, it is now commonly expected that women will pursue professional careers and men will be involved in child care. Nonetheless, sexism persists in often complex and subtle ways. For example, girls and women attain academic successes and attend college at higher rates than boys, yet they remain underrepresented in many of the most prestigious and high-paying fields (2). In addition, girls are often sexualized, objectified, and sexually harassed (2). Furthermore, while gender roles have become more flexible for girls over the past 50 years, they remain narrow and rigid for boys (2). These cultural shifts are occurring amid frequent media coverage of individuals with diverse gender and sexual identities who have been granted equal protection under federal laws in several countries yet still face hostility and discriminatory statutes in many communities (3). These paradoxical cultural shifts reflect progress toward gender equality as well as continued resistance to broader expressions of gender. Moreover, they have an impact on children and adolescents and therefore warrant nuanced research within developmental science.

In our review, we highlight new areas of research that address modern and complex forms of sexism during childhood and adolescence in the context of Western, technological-industrialized societies. Specifically, after defining sexism, we describe three areas of recent and burgeoning research on various forms of sexist stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination that have resulted from the shifting cultural contexts: sexism based on gender identity and expression, school-based sexism and disparities in academic outcomes, and sexualization and sexual harassment of girls and boys. We conclude with recommendations for research.

Campbell Leaper, University of California, Santa Cruz; Christia Spears Brown, University of Kentucky.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Campbell Leaper, Department of Psychology, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1156 High Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95064 or Christia Spears Brown, Department of Psychology, University of Kentucky, 125 Kastle Hall, Lexington, KY 40506; e-mail: cam@ucsc.edu or christia.brown@uky.edu.

DEFINING SEXISM

Defining sexism illustrates how diverse the research on sexism can be. The construct encompasses stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination on the basis of gender or gender expression (3). This can include generalized beliefs or cognitions about individuals based on their gender category or expression (e.g., girls like dolls). When generalized beliefs affect individuals' emotional reactions and behaviors, sexism may ensue in the forms of gender-based prejudice and discrimination (3). Gender-based prejudice occurs when people hold positive or negative attitudes toward those who conform to or violate their gender-stereotyped expectations (e.g., it is good for boys—but not for girls—to play football). Prejudice can be unconscious, whereby individuals are unaware of their automatic or implicit associations toward others based on gender (3). Finally, discrimination arises when individuals' behavior toward others is biased positively or negatively based on people's gender or gender expression (e.g., boys are teased for appearing feminine; 3).

NEW RESEARCH ON SEXISM

Gender Identity and Expression
For several decades, much research on gender development examined parents' and peers' encouragement of gender-normative and discouragement of gender-nonnormative activities and play in children (2). Although most children identify with their assigned gender at birth (cisgender) and conform to cultural expectations for their gender, many children do not. These include youth who do not identify with their assigned gender category; instead, they may identify with a different gender category (transgender), more than one gender category (gender fluid), or no gender category (agender). Other children may identify with the gender they are assigned at birth, but express themselves in gender-nonconforming ways such as appearance, behavioral styles, and activities. For example, cisgender boys may like playing dress up and dislike rough play, and cisgender girls may like playing superheroes and dislike dolls.

Many mental health professionals have characterized gender-nonconforming children and adolescents as maladjusted. These children have been labeled with clinical diagnoses such as *gender identity disorder* or *gender dysphoria*, and they have been sent to clinics for treatment designed to foster greater gender conformity (4). These labels and practices have been criticized as forms of discrimination against those who do not conform to mainstream gender roles (4, 5). These diagnoses have been applied more to male than female youth, which likely reflects the greater value placed on gender conformity for boys than girls (6).

In recent years, more researchers have begun to examine how parents and peers respond to either transgender children or children who do not conform to their assigned gender identity. Children's degree of gender nonconformity is related to risks of verbal, psychological, and physical abuse by parents (7), as well as rejection by peers (6). Many transgender youth experience distress about their gender identity (gender dysphoria), which largely stems from rejection by parents, peers, and other sources (8). However, an increasing number of parents in many Western, industrialized societies accept transgender and other gender-nonconforming children (9). Accordingly, when parents or peers are more accepting of gender-nonconforming youth, the youth have higher levels of well-being (10, 11).

Summary and Implications
Conceptions of gender are broadening in society. Many children do not accept traditional binary gender categories. These include youth who are transgender, gender fluid, or agender. Recent research has challenged earlier views of gender nonconformity as symptomatic of a psychological disorder. The adjustment difficulties correlated with gender nonconformity appear related to the rejection, bullying, and abuse these children have faced. To help promote greater tolerance of gender diversity, teachers can include discussions of transgender and gender-nonconforming people in their curriculum (12), and schools can institute policies against bullying and harassment (13).

Sexism in School Achievement
Researchers have studied gender disparities in educational performance in Western, industrialized nations for decades. Recently, more researchers have addressed how sexism and gender biases contribute to average gender differences in academic achievement that lead to gender inequities among adults in occupational status and relative pay. Two topics that have attracted attention are gender biases related to girls' achievement in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), and the relation of traditional gender ideologies to boys' success in school.

Gender and STEM Achievement
Girls earn higher average grades than boys in math and science courses throughout school in many industrialized nations, yet women remain underrepresented in occupations related to math-intensive STEM fields such as physics, computer sciences, and engineering (see 2). Several individual, interpersonal, and institutional factors undermine girls' motivation and achievement in these subjects (14). Among these influences, internalizing negative stereotypes regarding girls' abilities in math and other technical subjects can undercut girls' confidence (14, 15). In addition, some parents expect and encourage boys to achieve more than girls in STEM (16); in a longitudinal study, parents' expectations were related to girls' later math achievement—even after controlling for girls' initial performance (17). Finally, peer groups can either foster or impede girls' motivation to succeed in STEM subjects. In one study of U.S. adolescents, many girls reported hearing negative comments from male and female peers about girls' abilities in math, science, or computers (18). Moreover, in two studies of U.S. adolescents, peer support or

criticism of STEM subjects was related positively or negatively, respectively, to girls' motivation in science, even after controlling for grades (19, 20). Collectively, these experiences can weaken girls' sense of belonging in STEM fields (see 14).

Boys' School Success

In many industrialized nations, boys tend to attain lower average grades and adjust less successfully to school than girls (see 2). This gender disparity in academic achievement extends into later years when fewer men than women graduate from college. Moreover, in the United States, these average gender differences in academic achievement are larger among Black and Latinx youth than among White European American and Asian American youth (see 2).

Boys' internalization of traditional gender ideologies may partly account for this trend. In research, when adolescent boys endorsed traditional notions of masculinity, such as appearing tough and being self-reliant, they were less willing to seek help, comply with teachers, and aspire for educational success (21, 22). In addition, gender-stereotyped beliefs may lead some boys to avoid subjects viewed as feminine, such as reading or the arts (23). In some communities, boys who violate these traditional masculine norms may be teased by peers (24). Furthermore, norms of masculinity may lead some boys to be disruptive and noncompliant in the classroom (21). In turn, these misbehaviors may lead boys to be suspended or expelled from school (25). In the United States, these consequences are often more severe for boys of color from backgrounds of lower socioeconomic status than for other children (26).

Summary and Implications

Gender biases in academic achievement contribute to sexism in two important ways. First, they constrain opportunities for individuals and reduce their likelihood of realizing their potential in life. Many girls may avoid certain STEM subjects and careers they might find fulfilling, and many boys may devalue schoolwork and be less likely to attend college. Gender biases also contribute to later gender inequities in occupational status and pay—STEM careers, such as engineering and computer science, are among the fastest growing and highest paying jobs in the United States and other industrialized nations. To counter these trends, researchers have identified interventions that may reduce school-based sexism, promote girls' interest in STEM subjects, and encourage boys' engagement in school (see 27). For example, discussions with students about gender biases in academic fields may help (28). Also, extracurricular programs that allow students to learn and practice particular subjects with peers may strengthen students' motivation (29).

Sexualized Gender Stereotypes and Sexual Harassment

For decades, researchers have examined sexual harassment of women in the workplace and sexual objectification of women in society. More recently, developmental psychologists have extended these analyses to children and adolescents. As reviewed later, sexual objectification and sexual harassment are directed to girls as well as boys, although it is generally more pervasive among girls.

Sexualized Gender Stereotypes

The American Psychological Association's Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls reviewed the sexualized depictions of girls in media, including magazines, video games, music videos, television shows, and movies (30). Because these pervasive images emphasize thin and White standards of beauty, they can restrict girls' standards for physical attractiveness and undermine their self-images (30). Sexualization and objectification of girls in media also reify traditional heterosexual scripts (31), including, for example, the expectation that boys should focus on girls as sexual objects and that girls should focus on their sexualized appearance (32). Furthermore, children generally perceive sexualized girls as less smart, less nice, and less athletic than nonsexualized girls (32); by extension, accepting these stereotyped beliefs may undermine some girls' own academic confidence and performance (33).

Increasingly over recent years, boys have been exposed to unrealistic images of men as highly muscular. Several studies have documented how these images can negatively affect boys' (and men's) body images (34). The sexualization of men and women in the media exaggerates stereotypical images of attractiveness that are largely unattainable for most people. It also reinforces traditional gender differences in power: Men are supposed to be strong and imposing, whereas women should be frilly and decorative.

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment includes sexually derogatory comments and unwanted sexual contact. These behaviors are reported commonly among youth in many countries and become more prevalent across adolescence—especially toward girls (18, 35, 36). In one national survey of U.S. adolescents, 56% of girls and 40% of boys reported being sexually harassed (35). Another survey of U.S. adolescents found variations in reported incidences of sexual harassment based on respondents' sexual orientations and gender identities (36). The highest rates were among transgender youth (81%), lesbian/queer girls (72%), bisexual girls (66%), gay/queer boys (66%), and bisexual boys (50%). The reported rates were somewhat lower for heterosexual cisgender girls (43%) and heterosexual cisgender boys (23%). In general, researchers find greater incidences of sexual harassment and bullying aimed at sexual-minority and gender-nonconforming children and adolescents. Frequent experiences with sexual harassment are associated with adjustment difficulties (e.g., lower body esteem and self-esteem, more depression and anxiety) and declines in academic motivation and performance (37). Sexual harassment is disproportionally directed toward cisgender girls as

well as lesbian, gay, bisexual, queer, or transgender (LGBQT) and gender-nonconforming youth (relative to heterosexual cisgender gender-conforming boys); these trends thereby reinforce tradi-tional gender roles and power imbalances.

Summary and Implications

Sexualized images of girls are ubiquitous in popular media. Many girls internalize the stereotypes associated with these images, which can have negative academic and psychological ramifications. The sexualization of girls also contributes to a heteronormative culture in which girls are objectified and any youth outside of that heteronormativity are ostracized. As a result, cisgender girls as well as LGBQT and gender-noncon-forming youth are highly likely to be sexually harassed by their peers. Children and adolescents can be taught to recognize these forms of sexism stemming from media and their peers. For example, in one study (38), children who were taught how to identify, analyze, and respond to sexism were more likely to detect sexism in media and challenge peers' sexist comments several months later than were peers who did not receive these lessons. Increasing media literacy and changing the peer culture are critical to combating the impact of sexism.

CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Taken together, research over the past three decades has high-lighted how the changing cultural context of sexism—one in which sexism is pervasive, yet nuanced and complex—continues to affect girls and boys during childhood and adolescence. Sexism has become more covert than it was 50 years ago. Today it often appears as implicit or unconscious prejudices (39), sub-tle reinforcements of stereotypical behaviors (40), or self-socialization to peer group norms (41). Yet it still affects the academic, psychological, social, and health outcomes of both girls and boys.

Although considerable research has documented the impact of sexism on development, we need to expand this work (1). Specifically, researchers should focus on the new ways sexism is expressed today. For example, because sexism has become increasingly subtle in many societies, researchers should con-tinue to explore how implicit biases lead to discriminatory behavior directed at children (see 3). In addition, social media is a breeding ground for gender harassment by peers and for the expression of sexualized gender stereotypes (42). Researchers need to be nimble in examining how and when newly popular platforms (e.g., social media) can create hostile environments for youth. Overall, researchers should have a greater appreciation for the ever-changing experiences of children and adolescents, and they should deftly explore how gender bias is expressed in ways relevant to today's youth.

We also need a deeper understanding of the long-term effects of experiencing sexism in childhood combined with other forms of discrimination, such as those based on individuals' race/eth-nicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, appearance, religion,

or socioeconomic status (3, 43). Variations in gender norms related to cultural traditions may affect how and when sexism is manifested across different ethnic groups. Also, individuals may be more likely to experience discrimination when they belong to more than one stigmatized group (44). Finally, although our review considered sexism in the context of Western, industrialized societies, developmental psychologists should also examine these processes in other regions of the world. In many societies, the lives of girls and gender-nonconforming youth remain highly oppressive (45).

Despite advances in gender equity over the past 50 years, sexism is still prevalent in childhood and adolescence. As we strive for gender equity, researchers must be mindful of the ways sexism has persisted, the ways sexism has transformed over time, and the ways individuals from diverse backgrounds experi-ence sexism differently.

REFERENCES

1. Liben, L. S. (2016). We've come a long way, baby (but we're not there yet): Gender past, present, and future. *Child Development*, *87*, 5–28. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12490
2. Leaper, C. (2015). Gender and social-cognitive development. In R. M. Lerner (Series Ed.), L. S. Liben, & U. Muller (Vol. Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology and developmental science* (Vol. 2, 7th ed., pp. 806–853). New York, NY: Wiley.
3. Brown, C. S. (2017). *Discrimination in childhood and adolescence: A developmental intergroup approach*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.
4. Bryant, K. (2006). Making gender identity disorder of childhood: Historical lessons for contemporary debates. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy: A Journal of the NSRC*, *3*, 23–39. https://doi.org/10.1525/srsp.2006.3.3.23
5. Olson, K. R. (2016). Prepubescent transgender children: What we do and do not know. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *55*, 155–156. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2015.11.015
6. Horn, S. S. (2007). Adolescents' acceptance of same-sex peers based on sexual orientation and gender expression. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *36*, 363–371. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-006-9111-0
7. Grossman, A. H., D'Augelli, A. R., Howell, T. J., & Hubbard, S. (2005). Parents' reactions to transgender youths' gender nonconforming expression and identity. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, *18*, 3–16. https://doi.org/10.1300/J041v18n01_02
8. Toomey, R. B., Ryan, C., Diaz, R. M., Card, N. A., & Russell, S. T. (2013). Gender-nonconforming lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth: School victimization and young adult psychosocial adjustment. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, *1*, 71–80. https://doi.org/10.1037/2329-0382.1.S.71
9. Becker, A. B., & Todd, M. E. (2015). Changing perspectives? Public opinion, perceptions of discrimination, and feelings toward the family. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *11*, 493–511. https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2015.1010055
10. Roberts, A. L., Rosario, M., Slopen, N., Calzo, J. P., & Austin, S. B. (2013). Childhood gender nonconformity, bullying victimization, and depressive symptoms across adolescence and early adulthood:

An 11-year longitudinal study. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, *52*, 143–152. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2012.11.006

11. Simons, L., Schrager, S. M., Clark, L. F., Belzer, M., & Olson, J. (2013). Parental support and mental health among transgender adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *53*, 791–793. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2013.07.019

12. Ryan, C. L., Patraw, J. M., & Bednar, M. (2013). Discussing princess boys and pregnant men: Teaching about gender diversity and transgender experiences within an elementary school curriculum. *Journal of LGBT Youth*, *10*, 83–105. https://doi.org/10.1080/19361653.2012.718540

13. Poteat, V. P., Rivers, I., & Scheer, J. R. (2016). Mental health concerns among LGBTQ youth in schools. In M. K. Holt & A. E. Grills (Eds.), *Critical issues in school-based mental health: Evidence-based research, practice, and interventions* (pp. 105–117). New York, NY: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

14. Cheryan, S., Ziegler, S. A., Montoya, A. K., & Jiang, L. (2017). Why are some STEM fields more gender balanced than others? *Psychological Bulletin*, *143*, 1–35. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000052

15. Dasgupta, N., & Stout, J. G. (2014). Girls and women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics: STEMing the tide and broadening participation in STEM careers. *Policy Insights From the Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *1*, 21–29. https://doi.org/10.1177/2372732214549471

16. Tenenbaum, H. R., & Leaper, C. (2003). Parent-child conversations about science: The socialization of gender inequities? *Developmental Psychology*, *39*, 34–47. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.39.1.34

17. Eccles, J. S. (2014). Gender and achievement choices. In E. T. Gershoff, R. S. Mistry, & D. A. Crosby (Eds.), *Societal contexts of child development: Pathways of influence and implications for practice and policy* (pp. 19–34). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

18. Leaper, C., & Brown, C. S. (2008). Perceived experiences with sexism among adolescent girls. *Child Development*, *79*, 685–704. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2008.01151.x

19. Brown, C. S., & Leaper, C. (2010). Latina and European American girls' experiences with academic sexism and their self-concepts in mathematics and science during adolescence. *Sex Roles*, *63*, 860–870. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9856-5

20. Robnett, R. D., & Leaper, C. (2013). Friendship groups, personal motivation, and gender in relation to high school students' STEM career interest. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *23*, 652–664. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12013

21. Morris, E. W. (2012). *Learning the hard way: Masculinity, place, and the gender gap in education*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

22. Rogers, A. A., Updegraff, K. A., Santos, C. E., & Martin, C. L. (2017). Masculinity and school adjustment in middle school. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *18*, 50–61. https://doi.org/10.1037/men0000041

23. Plante, I., de la Sablonnière, R., Aronson, J. M., & Théorêt, M. (2013). Gender stereotype endorsement and achievement-related outcomes: The role of competence beliefs and task values. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *38*, 225–235. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2013.03.004

24. Sherriff, N. (2007). Peer group cultures and social identity: An integrated approach to understanding masculinities. *British Educational Research Journal*, *33*, 349–370. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411920701243628

25. Skiba, R. J., Michael, R. S., Nardo, A. C., & Peterson, R. L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The Urban Review*, *34*, 317–342. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021320817372

26. Mizel, M. L., Miles, J. N. V., Pedersen, E. R., Tucker, J. S., Ewing, B. A., & D'Amico, E. J. (2016). To educate or to incarcerate: Factors in disproportionality in school discipline. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *70*, 102–111. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2016.09.009

27. Leaper, C., & Brown, C. S. (2014). Sexism in schools. In L. S. Liben & R. S. Bigler (Eds.), *Advances in child development and behavior: The role of gender in educational contexts and outcomes* (Vol. 47, pp. 189–223). San Diego, CA: Elsevier Academic Press.

28. Weisgram, E. S., & Bigler, R. S. (2007). Effects of learning about gender discrimination on adolescent girls' attitudes toward and interest in science. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *31*, 262–269. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2007.00369.x

29. Simpkins, S. D., Davis-Kean, P., & Eccles, J. S. (2006). Math and science motivation: A longitudinal examination of the links between choices and beliefs. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*, 70–83. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.1.70

30. APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls. (2010). *Report of the APA task force on the sexualization of girls*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. Retrieved from http://www.apa.org/pi/women/programs/girls/report-full.pdf

31. Kim, J. L., Sorsoli, C. L., Collins, K., Zylbergold, B. A., Schooler, D., & Tolman, D. L. (2007). From sex to sexuality: Exposing the heterosexual script on primetime network television. *Journal of Sex Research*, *44*, 145–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490701263660

32. Stone, E. A., Brown, C. S., & Jewell, J. A. (2015). The sexualized girl: A within-gender stereotype among elementary school children. *Child Development*, *86*, 1604–1622. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12405

33. McKenney, S. J., & Bigler, R. S. (2016). High heels, low grades: Internalized sexualization and academic orientation among adolescent girls. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *26*, 30–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12179

34. Barlett, C. P., Vowels, C. L., & Saucier, D. A. (2008). Meta-analyses of the effects of media images on men's body-image concerns. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *27*, 279–310. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2008.27.3.279

35. American Association of University Women. (2011). *Crossing the line: Sexual harassment at school*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from http://www.aauw.org/research/crossing-the-line/

36. Mitchell, K. J., Ybarra, M. L., & Korchmaros, J. D. (2014). Sexual harassment among adolescents of different sexual orientations and gender identities. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *38*, 280–295. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2013.09.008

37. Chiodo, D., Wolfe, D. A., Crooks, C., Hughes, R., & Jaffe, P. (2009). Impact of sexual harassment victimization by peers on subsequent adolescent victimization and adjustment: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *45*, 246–252. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2009.01.006

38. Pahlke, E., Bigler, R. S., & Martin, C. L. (2014). Can fostering children's ability to challenge sexism improve critical analysis, internalization, and enactment of inclusive, egalitarian peer relationships? *Journal of Social Issues*, *70*, 115–133. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12050

39. Heyder, A., & Kessels, U. (2013). Is school feminine? Implicit gender stereotyping of school as a predictor of academic achievement. *Sex Roles*, *69*, 605–617. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-013-0309-9

40. Friedman, C. K., Leaper, C., & Bigler, R. S. (2007). Do mothers' gender-related attitudes or comments predict young children's gender beliefs? *Parenting: Science and Practice*, *7*, 357–366. https://doi.org/10.1080/15295190701665656

41. Tobin, D. D., Menon, M., Menon, M., Spatta, B. C., Hodges, E. V. E., & Perry, D. G. (2010). The intrapsychics of gender: A model of self-socialization. *Psychological Review*, *117*, 601–622. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018936

42. Rose, J., Mackey-Kallis, S., Shyles, L., Barry, K., Biagini, D., Hart, C., & Jack, L. (2012). Face it: The impact of gender on social media images. *Communication Quarterly*, *60*, 588–607. https://doi.org/10.1080/01463373.2012.725005

43. Else-Quest, N., & Hyde, J. S. (2016). Intersectionality in quantitative psychological research: Theoretical and epistemological issues. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *40*, 155–170. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684316629797

44. Bucchianeri, M. M., Eisenberg, M. E., & Neumark-Sztainer, D. (2013). Weightism, racism, classism, and sexism: Shared forms of harassment in adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *53*, 47–53. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2013.01.006

45. Rafferty, Y. (2013). International dimensions of discrimination and violence against girls: A human rights perspective. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *14*, 1–23. Retrieved from http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol14/iss1/1