

UC Santa Cruz

UC Santa Cruz Previously Published Works

Title

Variations in recalled familial messages about gender in relation to emerging adults' gender, ethnic background, and current gender attitudes

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9wq67166>

Journal

Journal of Family Studies, 28(1)

ISSN

1322-9400

Authors

Gutierrez, Brenda C

Halim, May Ling D

Leaper, Campbell

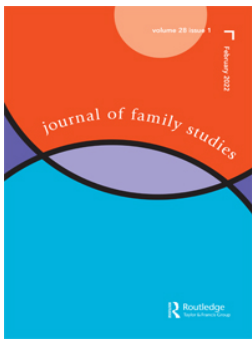
Publication Date

2022-01-02

DOI

10.1080/13229400.2019.1685562

Peer reviewed





Variations in recalled familial messages about gender in relation to emerging adults' gender, ethnic background, and current gender attitudes

Brenda C. Gutierrez, May Ling D. Halim & Campbell Leaper


To cite this article: Brenda C. Gutierrez, May Ling D. Halim & Campbell Leaper (2022) Variations in recalled familial messages about gender in relation to emerging adults' gender, ethnic background, and current gender attitudes, Journal of Family Studies, 28:1, 150-183, DOI: [10.1080/13229400.2019.1685562](https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2019.1685562)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2019.1685562>

 View supplementary material [↗](#)


 Published online: 05 Nov 2019.

 Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)

 Article views: 161


 View related articles [↗](#)

 View Crossmark data [↗](#)

 Citing articles: 2 View citing articles [↗](#)



Variations in recalled familial messages about gender in relation to emerging adults' gender, ethnic background, and current gender attitudes

Brenda C. Gutierrez ^a, May Ling D. Halim^b and Campbell Leaper^a

^aDepartment of Psychology, University of California, Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA, USA; ^bDepartment of Psychology, California State University, Long Beach, Long Beach, CA, USA

ABSTRACT

The present study examined heterosexual emerging adults' retrospective accounts of gender-stereotypical messages about women and men from their families while growing up. We tested the reported frequencies of gendered messages in relation to the participants' current beliefs about gender and their self-reported gender, ethnicity, and family backgrounds. The sample included 499 undergraduate students attending California public universities (48.5% female; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.31$ years; 40.7% Latinx; 30.1% Asian American; 29.3% European American). Participants rated the frequencies that they recalled influential relatives describing men versus women as trustworthy, manipulative, gold-diggers, dangerous, or promiscuous. Women were more likely than men to recall the other gender characterized as untrustworthy, dangerous, and promiscuous; and men were more likely than women to recall the other gender described as manipulative and gold-diggers. Some reported gendered messages were more likely among Latinx participants (vs. other ethnic backgrounds) or those raised in single-mother (vs. dual-parent) households. Next, recalling gendered messages was related to holding congruent beliefs about the other gender and to women's (but not men's) endorsement of benevolent sexism. These findings highlight the potential importance of gendered messages in the development of gender-stereotypical beliefs in emerging adulthood.

ARTICLE HISTORY


Received 19 March 2019
Accepted 22 October 2019

KEYWORDS

Gender; parent child communication; sexism; male female relations; sociocultural factors

During the course of development, individuals may internalize traditional cultural attitudes about women and men that guide their expectations and behaviours in heterosexual romantic relationships (e.g. Hammond & Overall, 2015), platonic friendships (e.g. Lenton & Webber, 2006), and professional relationships (e.g. Good & Rudman, 2010). The family is one socializing agent that may shape the formation of gender attitudes (Leaper & Farkas, 2015). While growing up, individuals may often hear important family members express views about gender. Conversations with relatives might include phrases such as, 'All men are pigs!' or, 'Don't let that woman get her claws into you!' In the present study of

CONTACT Brenda C. Gutierrez  brcgutie@ucsc.edu  Department of Psychology, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1156 High Street, Santa Cruz 95064, CA, USA

 Supplemental data for this article can be accessed at <https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2019.1685562>

This article has been republished with minor change. This change do not impact the academic content of the article.

heterosexual emerging adults from diverse ethnic backgrounds, we investigated messages about gender that they recalled hearing from their families while growing up and their current gender attitudes.

Messages about traditional gender roles are commonly expressed in many families within the United States (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Epstein & Ward, 2011; Leaper & Farkas, 2015) and other countries. For example, these can include expectations that women are supposed to be subordinate while men are supposed to be dominant (Epstein & Ward, 2011). Most of the prior studies, however, have been conducted primarily with middle-class, European-heritage families. Findings from studies with more diverse samples suggest that the ethnic backgrounds and other sociodemographic factors of families (e.g. formal education, religiosity, household structure) may moderate how gender is socialized (e.g. Leaper & Valin, 1996; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Thus, to build on this work, the present study investigated emerging adults' retrospective accounts of gendered family messages heard when they were growing up, and we took into account background characteristics as possible moderators. Furthermore, to consider the potential of the family as a socializing agent of gender, we explored whether the kinds of recalled gendered messages were related to individuals' current gender attitudes.

The family as a socializing agent of gender stereotypes

The family is generally considered an influential context for the socialization of cultural beliefs and values in general (Bronfenbrenner, 1992; Maccoby, 2007) and for the development of gender attitudes in particular (Brown & Tam, 2019; Carter, 2014; Leaper & Farkas, 2015). Familial socialization of gender attitudes may be fostered implicitly through parents' gender-differentiated treatment of girls and boys (Brown & Tam, 2019; McHale, Crouter, & Tucker, 1999; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Socialization additionally occurs through the explicit messages that family members convey about gender (e.g. Epstein & Ward, 2011). Throughout development, the messages about gender that children and adolescents hear from family members may become incorporated into their own gender-related beliefs (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002).

A few prior studies investigated the kinds of gendered messages conveyed to children or adolescents in families. Researchers observed that parents tended to encourage girls to wear gender-stereotypical clothes and act 'ladylike' and to encourage boys to be tough and 'manly' (Epstein & Ward, 2011; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Most of this research has examined communicated messages about sex and sexual behaviours (Averett, Benson, & Vaillancourt, 2008; Deutsch & Crockett, 2016; Epstein & Ward, 2008; Manago, Ward, & Aldana, 2015; Morgan, Thorne, & Zurbriggen, 2010). Using quantitative and qualitative methods, researchers have revealed that parents frequently communicated messages about sexual safety or abstinence until marriage, especially towards girls and women (Epstein & Ward, 2008; Kim & Ward, 2007; Manago et al., 2015; Morgan et al., 2010). Other studies have found that adults recalled messages from parents about romantic relationships (e.g. warning women about men that only want sex) as particularly salient (Heisler, 2014; Kellas, 2010). Together these studies have highlighted that the family may indeed be an influential source of messages about gender roles.

In the present study, we sought to broaden previous research on gendered messages by considering parents and extended family members as sources. Prior work has focused on

parents' communication without considering other family members. Considering family beyond parents may be especially important to consider as the construction of many Latinx and Asian American families include extended relatives (Comeau, 2012; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997). To the extent that important family members characterize women and men in stereotypical ways, youth may adopt similar views. Internalization of familial beliefs might be especially pertinent during emerging adulthood, when many youth are navigating mixed-gender interactions in new college contexts, workplaces, and intimate romantic relationships (Arnett, 2000). Also, some research suggests that individuals may be more likely to show similarity to their parents' gender attitudes during early adulthood after they have undergone identity exploration in adolescence (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). We particularly focused on gender stereotypes that might foster or hinder positive relationships and interactions with the other gender during emerging adulthood (e.g. Zimmer-Gembeck & Petherick, 2006).

To examine the messages families might communicate about gender, we considered prominent cultural messages about the stereotypical traits that describe subtypes of women and men (Green, Ashmore, & Manzi, 2005). Bronfenbrenner's ecological model proposes that development occurs within different systems that include the macrosystem (cultural institutions and values) that defines a society and microsystems, such as the family, that provide contexts for enacting and internalizing broader cultural values (Bronfenbrenner, 1992; Vélez-Agosto, Soto-Crespo, Vizcarrondo-Opppenheimer, Vega-Molina, & García Coll, 2017). Consistent with this model, the macrosystem may include expectations of women and men, whereas the microsystem notably includes the ways gender is enacted and socialized in family contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1992; Vélez-Agosto et al., 2017). Thus, families may communicate messages reflecting the dominant norms in their particular sociocultural community.

Gender stereotypes during emerging adulthood

Prior research has documented some of the prevalent cultural stereotypes about women and men in society. Compared to men, women are often stereotyped as being more trustworthy but also more materialistic or manipulative (McNeely, Knox, & Zusman, 2005; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). In one subtype, some women are stereotyped as 'good' or 'wonderful' because they are considered warm and nurturing (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Eckes, 2002; Fiske, 2018). In another subtype, some women are characterized as ill-intentioned and as manipulating men for material gain (i.e. so-called 'gold-diggers,' 'Jezebel,' or 'Delilah' stereotypes; Kozlovic, 2006; Stephens & Phillips, 2003). In contrast, men are often stereotyped as aggressive and dangerous (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). There is also the pervasive sexual double standard whereby men are expected to be more promiscuous and impersonal toward sex (Sagebin Bordini & Sperb, 2013).

Stereotyped views about women and men in heterosexual relationships reflect benevolent sexism as articulated in the ambivalent sexism model (Glick & Fiske, 2001). The model addresses the apparent paradox between hostile and benevolent attitudes toward women. Hostile sexism refers to misogynistic attitudes and behaviours. These attitudes reinforce men's power by denigrating women who are perceived to threaten men's dominance (e.g. feminists, career women). However, hostile sexism is complemented by benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Benevolent sexism reinforces men's dominance and women's subordination through seemingly benign attitudes. First, it emphasizes protective paternalism, which paradoxically motivates women to rely on men's protection from dangerous men. Second, benevolent sexism emphasizes complementary gender differentiation, which posits women and men have different abilities and roles, with men being ascribed high-status traits and with women ascribed low-status traits (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Thus, men are expected to protect women as long as their female partners adhere to traditional gender roles emphasizing warmth and subservience. Finally, benevolent sexism reinforces the interdependence of women and men through heterosexual intimacy. In this sense, women and men are only happy when in a heterosexual relationship and fulfilling their interdependent roles. Thus, benevolent sexism acts as an insidious form of sexism that may be most salient in romantic relationships, and it is not always recognized as a form of sexism (Glick & Hilt, 2000). Hence, stereotypes of men as dangerous and promiscuous and stereotypes of women as trustworthy but manipulative and only wanting partners for money may reflect aspects of benevolent sexism.

Possible sociocultural variations of gender-stereotyped messages

As reviewed above, little research has systematically examined the kinds of family messages that might influence young adults' attitudes about heterosexual relations. Moreover, to our knowledge, no prior study considered whether the likelihood of these messages might vary based on several sociocultural factors. Accordingly, in our investigation, we considered whether the kinds of recalled messages about gender varied based on participants' self-reported gender, ethnicity, and demographic characteristics of their family.

Gender

Previous research has revealed that families' messages about gender often surround the preparation for heterosexual dating and sex (e.g. Heisler, 2014; Manago et al., 2015). Furthermore, work has found that many parents differently prepare daughters and sons for heterosexual dating, such as encouraging boys' dating experiences while limiting girls' dating experiences (Axinn, Young-DeMarco, & Ro, 2011; Deutsch & Crockett, 2016; Manago et al., 2015; Morgan et al., 2010; Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). If messages about gender function to prepare youth for future heterosexual relationships, familial relatives may be more likely to impart stereotyped messages about the other gender to the recipient. These may include messages about men being dangerous or promiscuous more to women than men. The implicit belief conveyed to women may be that it is important to find one of the 'good' or 'loyal' men who will protect and stay with them. In contrast, families may direct messages about women being trustworthy and manipulative more to men than women. The implicit message to men might be ambivalent inasmuch as they are told that some women are trustworthy and are more appropriate partners. At the same time, they may be told to be wary of women who seek to exploit men for their money.

Ethnic background

When examining familial communication of gender attitudes, relatively few studies have considered non-White samples. In the present study, we tested for possible contrasts

between young adults from Asian, Latinx, and White European backgrounds. Some prior studies suggest that the endorsement of traditional gender roles may vary somewhat across different ethnic groups (e.g. Abreu, Goodyear, Campos, & Newcomb, 2000; Chia, Moore, Lam, Chuang, & Cheng, 1994; Harris & Firestone, 1998; Mori, Bernat, Glenn, Selle, & Zarate, 1995). As explained next, these variations may stem from gender-related cultural values and practices in particular cultural contexts.

In some Latinx families, individuals may endorse *machismo* and *marianismo*. Machismo refers to traditional expectations for Latino men to be hyper-masculine yet chivalrous (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008), whereas marianismo reflects the traditional prescription for Latina women to be self-sacrificing and wholesome in the image of the Virgin Mary (Castillo, Perez, Castillo, & Ghosheh, 2010). In turn, these gender ideologies may influence Latinx families to discuss more traditional gender roles and expectations regarding dating with their children (Carranza, 2013; Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2006; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2001, 2004). Further, in the domain of parenting behaviours, researchers have observed that endorsement of Latinx-related gender ideologies predicted Dominican and Puerto Rican immigrant mothers' gender-differentiated parenting practices (e.g. granting sons more freedom) (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2007). Also, differences in culturally related gender ideologies may have accounted for findings in prior studies where Latinx adults were more likely to endorse traditional gender attitudes compared to African American and European American adults (Abreu et al., 2000; Harris & Firestone, 1998).

In addition, researchers have found that East Asian, Southeast Asian, and Pacific Islander college students expressed more traditional views about gender compared to European American students (Chia et al., 1994; Mori et al., 1995). These group differences may similarly be attributed to the influence of traditional cultural ideologies in some Asian communities. For example, the influence of Confucian philosophy among some East Asian individuals might emphasize more traditional gender roles for women and men. Although the roles of women and men are viewed as complementary, the traditional feminine role is considered subordinate to the traditional masculine role (Tang, Chua, & Jiaqing, 2010). Similarly, the influence of certain Hindu values within many South Asian families emphasize traditional gender-role expectations regarding women's sexuality (Chanana, 2001). Prior work suggests that Latinx and some Asian-heritage immigrant parents engage in greater restrictive control towards their adolescent daughters than sons (Llwan, de la Cruz, & Macapagal, 1998; Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006), perhaps implicitly sending girls the message that men may prey on them. Other research suggests this message may be explicit as well. For example, research with East, South, and Southeast Asian and Pacific Islander heritage families in the U.S. revealed that parents communicated warnings to their daughters to avoid men due to a concern for their daughters' physical and emotional safety (Kim & Ward, 2007). However, researchers have yet to test for differences in the specific messages that Latinx and Asian American families might convey about women and men.

Other sociocultural characteristics

Variations in gender attitudes can be related to other family sociocultural characteristics, including religiosity, formal education, and family composition. First, religious observance has been associated with traditional gender roles in some cultural communities (Seguino,

2011). In prior studies, religiosity was positively correlated with adults' benevolent sexism (Glick, Lameiras, & Rodriguez Castro, 2002; Haggard, Kaelen, Saroglou, Klein, & Rowatt, 2018; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014). Second, higher levels of formal education were associated with more gender-egalitarian beliefs among U. S. parents from Latinx backgrounds (Leaper & Valin, 1996; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004) and lower endorsement of benevolent sexism among Spanish mothers and their daughters (Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2012; Montañés et al., 2012). Finally, previous research in the U.S. has suggested that married (vs. single) mothers were more likely to endorse and socialize traditional gender roles (Amato & Booth, 1991; Leve & Fagot, 1997).

Messages about gender stereotypes and emerging adults' own beliefs

In addition to examining how frequently families discuss certain gendered messages, our second goal was to test whether these recalled messages were associated with emerging adults' current personal beliefs about women and men and their endorsement of benevolent sexism.

Concordant personal beliefs about women and men

Although some youth might diverge from their family's beliefs, researchers have generally observed a trend toward more similarity than difference in parents' and offspring's self-reported values, especially during emerging adulthood (Barni, Alfieri, Marta, & Rosnati, 2013; Cemalcilar, Secinti, & Sumer, 2018). Additionally, a meta-analysis revealed significant similarity between parents and their offspring in gender attitudes, and the association was most strong for offspring during emerging adulthood compared to childhood and adolescence (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002). Work exploring direct communication of gendered messages also suggests an association between messages communicated and current beliefs (Epstein & Ward, 2011) and behaviours (Manago et al., 2015). For example, hearing messages about traditional gender roles from parents was associated with emerging adults and adolescents reporting greater endorsement of traditional gender roles. In contrast, hearing egalitarian messages about gender from parents was associated with lower endorsement of traditional gender roles (Epstein & Ward, 2011). However, most prior research has studied European-heritage families. Among the limited research looking at Latinx families, a positive association between parents' and their adolescents' gender-role beliefs or behaviours has similarly been indicated (e.g. Manago et al., 2015; Updegraff et al., 2014). Further, in prior studies of conversations about dating and sexuality between Latina mothers and their preadolescent children, mothers spent the most time sharing their own beliefs and values compared to the time they spent giving advice or self-disclosing (Romo, Lefkowitz, Sigman, & Au, 2002). Thus, in the present study, we expected similarity between the kinds of messages that emerging adults reported from their families and their own expressed beliefs about women and men.

Sexist attitudes

Family members' communication of gender stereotypes might also be linked to the development of sexist attitudes. In the present research we examined participants' endorsement of benevolent sexism. As reviewed earlier, benevolent sexism is an insidious form of sexism that may appear prosocial (Glick & Fiske, 2001); however, little work has tested

for associations between family and young adults' endorsement of benevolent sexism. Researchers in Spain observed an association between mothers' and adolescent daughters' benevolent sexism (Montañés et al., 2012). In our study, we considered whether recalled gendered messages would be reflected in young adults' endorsement of benevolent sexism. Messages about gender complementarity in traits (e.g. women are trustworthy but men are promiscuous) or the need for protective paternalism (e.g. women need protection from dangerous men yet seek men's financial support) might encourage benevolent sexist beliefs when young adults consider heterosexual dating or other mixed-gender interactions.

The current study and hypotheses

Using a retrospective survey of emerging adults, we examined how frequently participants raised in Latinx, Asian American, and European American families recalled influential family members expressing messages about women and men. We did not limit our definition of influential family members to only parents – as many Latinx and Asian American families include extended relatives (Comeau, 2012; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997). Further, similar to previous work (e.g. Epstein & Ward, 2008, 2011; Manago et al., 2015), we examined messages from family members collapsing across different genders. Prior work suggests both women and men tend to hold salient cultural gender stereotypes (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Thus, to simplify our design, we considered recalled messages averaged across influential female and male family members.

We first hypothesized that individuals would generally report hearing gendered messages as follows: women as trustworthy, women as manipulative, women as wanting partners for money, men as dangerous, and men as promiscuous. We further expected that individuals would be more likely to report hearing gendered messages about the other than same gender. Second, we predicted that these gendered messages would be more likely among Latinx and Asian American participants than European American participants. Third, we predicted that recalled gendered messages would be congruent with their own current beliefs about women and men. Finally, we hypothesized that recalled gendered messages would predict participants' benevolent sexism.

Method

Participants

The initial sample included 710 undergraduate students recruited from two public universities in Southern California and Northern California. Sixteen participants (2.3%) were excluded from the sample due to non-compliance with checks included in the survey to ensure that participants were paying close attention to the questions. Because the proposed study sought to examine gender beliefs relevant for heterosexual relationships, we limited the sample to heterosexual participants (87.0%). Additionally, because we proposed to examine ethnic group differences, we further excluded 86 (14.2%) participants that identified with other ethnicities with sample sizes that were too small to examine separately. Finally, because we intended to examine the effect of household make-up (single mother vs. two-parent), we excluded 19 (3.7%) participants

that were raised by either a single father ($n = 6$), extended family ($n = 4$), or grandparents ($n = 9$) due to small sample sizes.

Thus, a final sample of 499 participants was examined (48.5% female [0% transgender, intersex, or open-ended 'other' gender option]; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.31$ years, $SD_{\text{age}} = 1.70$ years, range = 18–33 years; 40.7% Latinx, 30.1% Asian American, 29.3% European American). There were 3 participants between ages 25 and 33; exploratory analyses with and without these participants did not indicate differences in the pattern of results; therefore, we kept them in the sample. Of the Latinx participants, the majority reported being of Mexican heritage (81.8%). Of the Asian American participants, the majority reported being of Filipino (25.3%), Chinese (14.7%), or Vietnamese heritage (17.3%).

Regarding the participants' primary influential female relatives' formal education, 33.6% had at least a college degree, 23.0% had some college, 17.0% had a high school education, 21.6% had not received a high school diploma, and 4.6% did not know or chose not to report. Considering the participants' primary influential male relatives' formal education, 32.4% were reported to have at least a college degree, 18.6% had some college experience, 19.4% had a high school education, 24.0% had not received a high school diploma, and 5.4% did not know or chose not to report.

Procedure

Participants were recruited from the Psychology Department's Participant Pools at two universities for an online survey. Students received one hour of credit towards research course requirements for their participation. Participants were presented with the following measures in this order: demographic questions, familial messages about men from male relatives, messages about men from female relatives, messages about women from female relatives, messages about women from male relatives, and the benevolent sexism scale. Several other scales were included around these measures that were not analyzed in the current study, which may have helped to reduce reactivity to the measures of interest.

Measures

See [Table 1](#) for means and standard deviations of all the measures by gender and ethnic group. See [Table 2](#) for bivariate correlations by participant gender.

Familial socialization messages about men versus women

Participants were separately asked to recall the frequency to which their influential female and male relatives described women and men with certain traits using the following question: 'How often did you hear these messages growing up from your influential female [male] relatives?' The question was then followed with items beginning with the stem, 'Most women [men] are basically [trait].' The traits were: 'dangerous,' 'bad,' 'trustworthy,' 'faithful,' 'promiscuous,' 'want partners only for their money (are "gold-diggers"),' 'want partners only for sex,' 'manipulative,' 'truthful.' Each statement was rated on a 6-point scale (1 = *Not at all*, 2 = *Rarely, but at least once or twice*, 3 = *A few times over the years*, 4 = *Several times over the years*, 5 = *At least once per year*, 6 = *At least once per month*). Participants were instructed to consider 'influential relatives' as including parents,

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of measures by gender and ethnicity.

Measure	Male participants				Female participants			
	Overall	Latinx	Asian American	European American	Overall	Latinx	Asian American	European American
<i>Familial socialization messages about men versus women</i>								
Trustworthy	-0.23 (1.09)	-0.44 (1.17)	0.01 (1.01)	-0.21 (1.03)	-0.72 (1.09)	-0.98 (1.03)	-0.45 (1.01)	-0.57 (1.21)
Manipulative	-0.60 (1.36)	-0.59 (1.36)	-0.51 (1.25)	-0.69 (1.44)	0.09 (1.32)	0.26 (1.49)	0.01 (1.03)	-0.14 (1.25)
Gold-digger	-1.41 (1.45)	-1.84 (1.63)	-1.01 (1.31)	-1.31 (1.25)	-1.35 (1.36)	-1.44 (1.35)	-1.17 (1.34)	-1.38 (1.39)
Dangerous	0.17 (1.19)	0.09 (1.43)	0.24 (1.15)	0.18 (0.93)	1.14 (1.32)	1.21 (1.46)	1.15 (1.22)	0.99 (1.16)
Promiscuous	0.59 (1.04)	0.62 (0.95)	0.50 (1.05)	0.66 (1.13)	1.19 (1.27)	1.45 (1.30)	0.85 (1.02)	1.07 (1.38)
<i>Personal attitudes about men versus women</i>								
Trustworthy	-0.53 (1.48)	-0.92 (1.56)	-0.36 (1.42)	-0.31 (1.39)	-0.87 (1.71)	-1.13 (1.75)	-0.49 (1.46)	-0.82 (1.83)
Manipulative	-0.03 (2.08)	0.08 (2.08)	0.12 (2.02)	-0.28 (2.13)	-0.02 (2.30)	0.11 (2.38)	0.01 (2.00)	-0.35 (2.50)
Gold-digger	-1.47 (2.54)	-1.87 (2.48)	-0.79 (2.67)	-1.70 (2.35)	-1.82 (2.53)	-1.45 (2.77)	-1.94 (2.28)	-2.41 (2.21)
Dangerous	0.67 (1.62)	0.80 (1.93)	0.44 (1.15)	0.77 (1.66)	0.91 (1.74)	1.14 (1.84)	0.61 (1.58)	0.80 (1.68)
Promiscuous	1.11 (1.46)	1.36 (1.62)	1.01 (1.31)	0.95 (1.41)	1.38 (1.69)	1.66 (1.80)	0.93 (1.54)	1.38 (1.55)
<i>Benevolent sexism</i>	3.69 (0.75)	3.90 (0.75)	3.74 (0.68)	3.42 (0.73)	3.66 (0.81)	3.79 (0.77)	3.68 (0.74)	3.37 (0.89)
<i>Covariate variables</i>								
Relatives' religiosity	4.99 (2.05)	5.42 (1.73)	5.43 (2.13)	4.18 (2.04)	4.81 (2.19)	4.98 (1.83)	5.20 (2.36)	4.02 (2.44)
Female relative did not complete high school	17.9%	39.3%	11.1%	2.3%	25.6%	46.5%	11.6%	1.7%
Female relative completed high school	19.1%	22.5%	16.0%	18.4%	14.9%	16.7%	13.0%	13.6%
Female relative some college or more	58.0%	28.1%	67.9%	79.3%	55.4%	33.3%	69.6%	81.4%
Single-mother household	22.2%	28.1%	17.3%	20.7%	19.0%	25.4%	15.9%	10.2%

Note: For familial messages, personal attitudes, benevolent sexism, and religiosity, means (and standard deviations) are presented above. For primary female relative's formal education, the percentage at each level are presented. For household make-up, the percentages of single-mother (vs. two-parent) households are presented.

Table 2. Zero-order correlations between measures by participant gender.

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Messages: Trustworthy	–	–.03	.23***	–.10	–.03	.22**	–.15*	.05	–.22**	–.15*	.07	–.04	–.14*	.02	–.15*
2. Messages: Manipulative	–.06	–	.37***	.23***	.14*	–.15*	.39***	.02	.16*	.04	–.09	.00	.04	.02	–.08
3. Messages: Gold-digger	.28***	.27***	–	.00	–.07	.10	.12	.15*	–.08	–.14*	–.08	.01	–.11	–.00	–.07
4. Messages: Dangerous	–.28***	.39***	.01	–	.29***	–.27***	.29***	.02	.35***	.18**	–.11	.04	–.076	.05	–.05
5. Messages: Promiscuous	–.24***	.40***	–.04	.41***	–	–.07	.04	–.11	.06	.32***	–.06	–.03	–.05	.15*	–.02
6. Personal attitude: Trustworthy	.33***	–.32***	–.04	–.29***	–.29***	–	–.56***	–.07	–.59***	–.36***	.01	.05	–.11	–.07	–.13*
7. Personal attitude: Manipulative	–.23**	.40***	.12	.21**	.22**	–.60***	–	.09	.45***	.25***	–.13*	–.01	.01	.06	–.02
8. Personal attitude: Gold-digger	–.00	.10	.28***	–.12	.07	–.11	.23***	–	.04	–.18**	–.05	.02	.01	.03	–.05
9. Personal attitude: Dangerous	–.23***	.22**	.03	.41***	.20**	–.64***	.44***	.03	–	.34**	–.00	–.01	.03	.08	–.01
10. Personal attitude: Promiscuous	–.27***	.12	–.06	.19**	.39***	–.61***	.36***	–.01	.43***	–	.13*	.15**	–.02	.02	–.01
11. Benevolent sexism	–.22***	.25***	.02	.15*	.10	–.31***	.30***	–.03	.21**	.22**	–	.22***	.18**	–.01	–.01
12. Relatives' religiosity	.02	.06	.06	.04	–.03	.10	–.02	–.03	–.13*	–.12	.15*	–	.12	–.10	–.12
13. Female relative did not complete HS	–.02	.11	.02	–.01	–.02	–.01	.06	.15*	–.02	–.08	.13	.12	–	–.24***	.05
14. Female relative completed HS	–.08	.05	–.06	.08	.10	–.08	.01	–.08	.11	.03	.13	–.01	–.25***	–	.03
15. Household make-up	–.17**	.14*	–.12	.12	.10	–.07	.02	–.11	.08	.07	–.01	–.20**	–.03	.12	–

Note: Female participants ($n = 242$) are below the diagonal, and male participants ($n = 257$) are above the diagonal. Messages represent difference scores of messages about men versus messages about women. Personal attitudes represent difference scores of personal attitudes about men versus women. Female relative did not complete HS was scored as 1 = Did not complete high school, 0 = Some college or more. Female relative completed HS was scored as 1 = Completed high school, 0 = Some college or more. Household make-up was scored as 1 = Single-mother household, 0 = Two-parent household.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

aunts/uncles, cousins, grandparents, and siblings to capture influence from relatives beyond parents. If participants indicated they did not have any female or male relatives while growing up ('Growing up did you have any influential female [male] figures present in your life?'), they did not respond to measures for those relatives. This measure was extensively pilot-tested to ensure that the wording made sense to participants and that participants could ably recall these messages.

Data reduction. A *trustworthy* scale was created by averaging messages about three traits: trustworthy, faithful, and truthful (about men from male relatives: $\alpha = .88$; about men from female relatives: $\alpha = .92$; about women from male relatives: $\alpha = .92$; about women from female relatives: $\alpha = .88$). Although we initially considered creating a manipulative scale by averaging the items for 'manipulative' and 'wants partners only for their money (are "gold-diggers")', the items had low reliability for messages about men from male relatives ($\alpha = .50$). Therefore, the *manipulative* item and the *gold-digger* item were used as separate measures. A *dangerous* scale was created by averaging two traits: dangerous and bad (about men from male relatives: $\alpha = .87$; about men from female relatives: $\alpha = .94$; about women from male relatives: $\alpha = .94$; about women from female relatives: $\alpha = .79$). Lastly, a *promiscuous* scale was created by averaging two traits: promiscuous and only wanting partners for sex (about men from male relatives: $\alpha = .69$; about men from female relatives: $\alpha = .76$; about women from male relatives: $\alpha = .76$; and about women from female relatives: $\alpha = .59$).

Messages from female and male relatives were highly correlated for messages about men, $r_s = .54$ to $.76$, $p_s < .001$, and for messages about women, $r_s = .58$ to $.70$, $p_s < .001$. Messages from female and male relatives also showed substantially similar patterns in subsequent analyses that examined gender and ethnic group differences. Thus, we created five composite variables averaging together trait messages from female and male relatives about men and five composite variables averaging together trait messages from female and male relatives about women (see Table 1S in supplementary materials).

For each composite variable we then subtracted messages about women from messages about men, which resulted in five final composite difference scores for each trait message. Higher scores indicated that participants reported hearing particular messages more about men than about women. On average, consistent with gender stereotypes, participants heard trustworthy, manipulative, and gold-digger messages more frequently about women than about men (trustworthy: $M = -0.47$, $SD = 1.12$; manipulative: $M = -0.26$, $SD = 1.38$; gold-digger: $M = -1.38$, $SD = 1.50$). On average, participants heard dangerous and promiscuous messages more frequently about men than about women (dangerous: $M = 0.65$, $SD = 1.34$; promiscuous: $M = 0.89$, $SD = 1.20$).

Personal attitudes about men versus women

Participants evaluated their current beliefs about women and men. Participants were presented with a bipolar scale with each of the traits presented in the socialization messages that were reduced to the five constructs (trustworthy, manipulative, gold-diggers, dangerous, and promiscuous) on one end and a trait representing the opposite evaluation (untrustworthy, genuine, not gold-diggers, safe, and chaste) on the other and asked to indicate where they believed women and men were on the spectrum ('Overall, I think women [men] primarily are ...'). The possible range was 1 (negative traits) to 9 (positive

traits). To be congruent with the socialization messages, responses for the negative messages (dangerous, manipulative, gold-diggers, and promiscuous) were then reverse-scored so that higher scores represented more belief of these attitudes (believing women [men] to be more dangerous, manipulative, gold-digging, and promiscuous).

Data reduction. Evaluations about women and men were then separately averaged into the same scales created for the socialization messages: trustworthy attitudes, manipulative attitudes, gold-digger attitudes, dangerous attitudes, and promiscuous attitudes.

For each composite variable we then subtracted personal attitudes about women from personal attitudes about men, which resulted in five final composite difference scores for each trait personal attitude. Higher scores indicated that participants believed these traits characterized men more than women. Consistent with gender stereotypes, on average participants believed women were trustworthy ($M = -0.70$, $SD = 1.60$), manipulative ($M = -0.02$, $SD = 2.19$), and gold-diggers ($M = -1.64$, $SD = 2.53$) more so than they believed about men. Conversely, participants on average believed men were more dangerous ($M = 0.79$, $SD = 1.68$) and promiscuous ($M = 1.24$, $SD = 1.58$) than they believed about women.

Benevolent sexism

The Benevolent Sexism Scale from the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001) was administered. The scale consists of 11 items (e.g. ‘Women should be cherished and protected by men’) rated on a 6-point scale (1 = *Disagree strongly* to 6 = *Agree strongly*). Reliability was acceptable ($\alpha = .77$) and consistent with prior work (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996: $\alpha = .73$ to $.85$). On average, participants generally reported slight agreement with benevolent sexism ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 0.78$).

Family background characteristics

Primary influential relatives’ religiosity. Participants rated the religiosity of the individual they considered to be their primary female and male influence (‘How religious was your mother [father] or primary female [male] influence?’). On a 9-point scale (1 = *Not religious at all* to 9 = *Extremely religious*). The levels of religiosity for primary influential female relative and primary influential male relative were strongly correlated, $r(488) = .52$, $p < .001$, and an average was taken of the two for a final composite measure of primary influential relatives’ religiosity ($M = 4.90$, $SD = 2.12$).

Primary influential female relatives’ formal education. Participants reported the highest level of formal education for their primary influential female and male relative (‘What is the highest level of education of your mother [father] or primary female [male] influence?’). The ordinal responses were: 1 = *Elementary school*, 2 = *Some high school*, 3 = *High school graduate*, 4 = *Some college*, 5 = *Bachelor’s degree*, 6 = *Some graduate school*, 7 = *Graduate degree*. For the subsequent analyses, these responses were recoded into three categories so that 1 = *Did not complete high school*, 2 = *Completed high school*, 3 = *Some college or more*. To limit the number of variables in our statistical models for parsimony, we only used the highest education level of the primary female relative. Female relatives educational experience was selected because in addition to serving as a proxy for socioeconomic status, women’s access to education has historically been restricted;

also, women's greater formal educational experience has been associated with greater gender-egalitarian attitudes (Buchmann, DiPrete, & McDaniel, 2008). Overall, 21.6% of influential female relatives had not completed high school, 17.0% completed only high school and 56.7% completed some college or more.

Household make-up. Participants also reported their household make-up growing up ("Who raised you while growing up?"). The ordinal responses were: 1 = *Primarily my mother*, 2 = *Primarily my father*, 3 = *Both my mother and my father*, 4 = *Two mothers*, 5 = *Two fathers*, 6 = *Extended family (please describe)*, 7 = *Other (please describe)*. As previously mentioned, participants from households that were not single-mother households or two-parent households were excluded due to small samples. Responses were recoded for use as a dummy code so that 0 = *two-parent households* and 1 = *single-mother households*. Within the sample, 79.4% of participants reported being raised in a 2-parent household and 20.6% reported being raised in single-mother household.

Results

In this section, we first examine gender and ethnic group differences in familial socialization messages about men versus women. Higher scores indicated that participants heard these messages more about men than about women. Next, we test whether familial socialization messages about men versus women predict current personal attitudes about men versus women. Higher scores indicated that participants believed a given attribute characterized men more than women. Finally, we examine whether familial socialization messages about men versus women predict emerging adults' current benevolent sexism.

Familial socialization messages about men versus women

We conducted a 2 (participant gender: female, male) \times 3 (ethnicity: Latinx, Asian American, European American) MANCOVA with the five familial socialization messages difference scores (trustworthy, manipulative, gold-digger, dangerous, promiscuous) as the outcomes. Preliminary analyses indicated ethnic group differences regarding the religiosity and formal education of participants' influential relatives and household make-up (see Supplementary Materials); thus, these factors were included as covariates. See Table 1 for means and standard deviations.

Across the five scales (trustworthy, manipulative, gold-digger, dangerous, promiscuous), the MANCOVA revealed omnibus main effects of participant gender, $F(5, 427) = 16.07$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$, and ethnic group, $F(10, 854) = 3.48$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$. No omnibus Gender \times Ethnic Group interaction was observed, $F(10, 854) = 1.18$, $p = .298$.

Among the covariates, the MANCOVA also revealed an effect of household make-up, $F(5, 427) = 3.26$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2 = .04$, but not for primary influential relatives' religiosity, $F(5, 427) = .39$, $p = .856$, and formal education, $F(5, 427) = 1.49$, $p = .191$. Follow-up analyses indicated household-makeup was only a significant covariate for trustworthy and gold-digger messages (described below). Household makeup was not significant for the other messages (manipulative: $F(1, 431) = .43$, $p = .510$; dangerous: $F(1, 431) = .43$, $p = .512$; promiscuous: $F(1, 431) = .21$, $p = .650$).

In sum, the MANCOVA pointed to significant main effects for gender and ethnicity and a significant effect for the household makeup covariate. The corresponding significant univariate results for each message type are summarized below.

Trustworthy

Results indicated a significant gender main effect. As expected, both genders more frequently heard messages that women more than men were trustworthy. However, contrary to our prediction, female participants heard these messages more than male participants did across all three ethnic groups, $F(1, 431) = 19.52, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$ (see [Figure 1\(a\)](#)).

A significant main effect for ethnic group was also indicated, $F(2, 431) = 5.84, p = .003, \eta^2 = .03$. As expected, the difference in frequency of messages that women more than men were trustworthy was greater among Latinx participants ($M = -.74, SD = 1.12$) than among either European American participants ($M = -.37, SD = 1.12$), $F(1, 331) = 7.71, p = .006, \eta^2 = .02$, or Asian American participants ($M = -.21, SD = 1.03$), $F(1, 330) = 17.39, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$. Contrary to our prediction, European American and Asian American participants did not differ, $F(1, 274) = 1.56, p = .212$.

Additionally, participants who grew up in single-mother households more frequently heard messages that women more than men were trustworthy ($M = -.79, SD = 1.19$) compared to participants who grew up in two-parent households ($M = -.39, SD = 1.08$), $F(1, 431) = 12.19, p = .001, \eta^2 = .03$.

Manipulative

A significant main effect of participant gender was observed, $F(1, 431) = 25.16, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$ (see [Figure 1\(b\)](#)). Both female and male participants more frequently heard manipulative messages about the other gender than the same gender. Consistent with our hypothesis, this pattern was stronger among male than female participants. No significant ethnic group effect was indicated, $F(2, 431) = .52, p = .593$, which suggests these gender effects were robust across the three ethnic groups.

Gold-digger

Participants generally tended to hear gold-digger messages more about women than men, as expected. However, contrary to our hypothesis, there was no main effect of gender, $F(1, 431) = .10, p = .752$. That is, female and male participants did not differ in the frequency of gold-digger messages.

A significant main effect for ethnic group was observed, $F(2, 431) = 7.23, p = .001, \eta^2 = .03$. Whereas the general trend was to hear gold-digger messages described more about women than men, the difference was greater among Latinx participants ($M = -1.61, SD = 1.49$) compared to Asian American participants ($M = -1.08, SD = 1.32$), $F(1, 328) = 10.11, p = .002, \eta^2 = .03$ (see [Figure 1\(c\)](#)). Contrary to expectations, European American participants ($M = -1.34, SD = 1.30$) did not differ compared to Latinx participants, $F(1, 330) = 2.30, p = .131$, or Asian American participants, $F(1, 273) = 2.61, p = .107$.

Finally, the family household covariate was significant, $F(1, 431) = 5.18, p = .023, \eta^2 = .01$. Participants who grew up in single-mother households more frequently heard messages that women (vs. men) were gold-diggers ($M = -1.63, SD = 1.45$) compared to participants who grew up in two-parent households ($M = -1.31, SD = 1.38$).

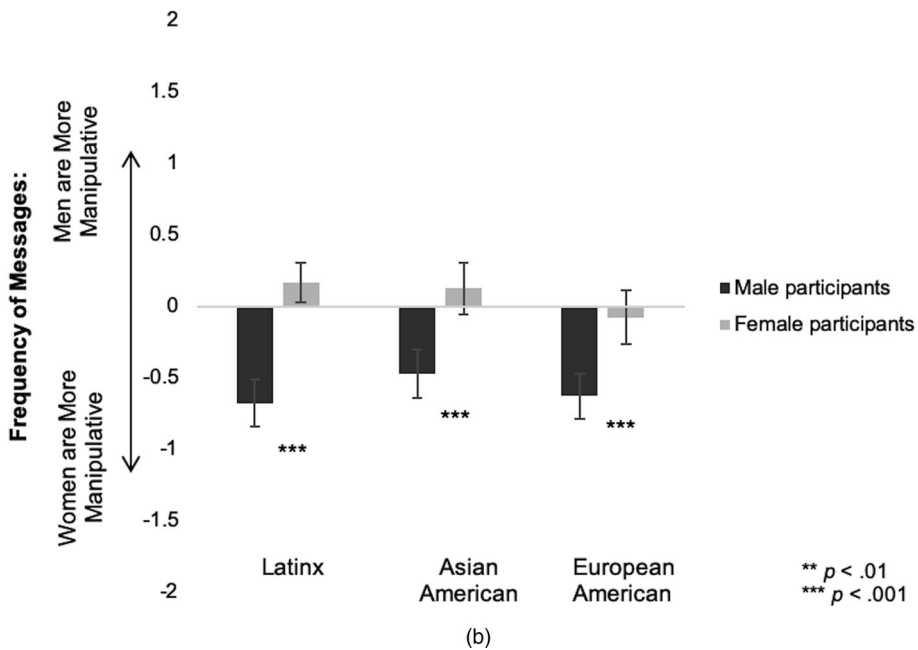
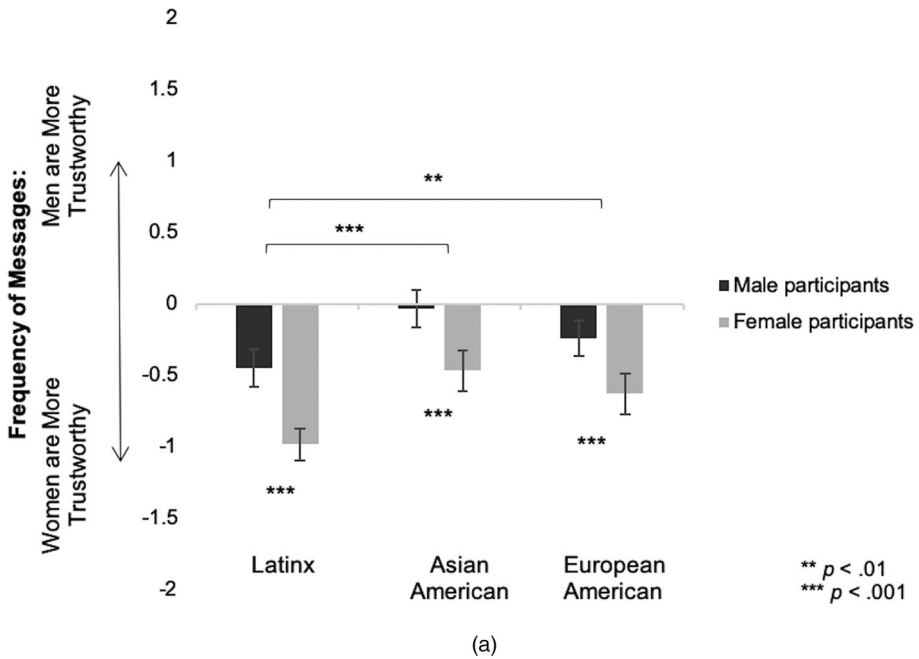


Figure 1. Means and standard errors of (a) (top panel) frequency of messages that men versus women are trustworthy; (b) (middle panel) frequency of messages that men versus women are manipulative; and (c) (bottom panel) frequency of messages that men versus women want partners only for money (are 'gold-diggers') by ethnic group and gender while covarying the religiosity of influential relatives, the formal education of influential female relative, and household make-up.

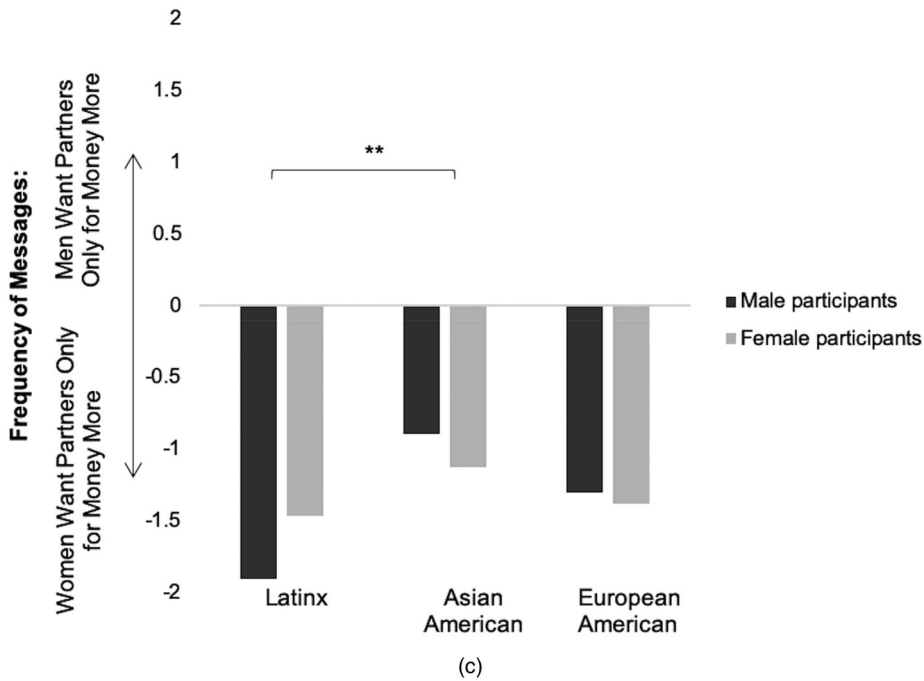


Figure 1 Continued

Dangerous

A significant main effect of gender was indicated, $F(1, 431) = 67.38, p < .001, \eta^2 = .14$. Across ethnic groups, both genders recalled hearing men more than women described as dangerous. This difference was greater among female than male participants, as hypothesized. No ethnic group main effect was observed, $F(2, 431) = .26, p = .771$ (see Figure 2(a)).

Promiscuous

A significant gender main effect was observed consistent with our hypothesis, $F(1, 431) = 19.09, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$. Across the three ethnic groups, both female and male participants recalled hearing men more than women described as promiscuous; however, this difference was greater for female than male participants (see Figure 2(b)).

Additionally, a main effect of ethnic group occurred, $F(2, 431) = 4.51, p = .011, \eta^2 = .02$ (see Figure 2(b)). Recalling that men were promiscuous was more likely among Latinx participants ($M = 1.08, SD = 1.23$) than Asian American participants ($M = .66, SD = 1.05$), $F(1, 328) = 9.74, p = .002, \eta^2 = .03$, but not compared to European American participants ($M = .83, SD = 1.25$), $F(1, 330) = 3.38, p = .067$. Asian American and European American participants did not differ, $F(1, 273) = 1.44, p = .231$.

Familial socialization messages predicting personal gender attitudes

To determine whether reported familial messages about men versus women predicted congruent current personal attitudes about men versus women, we conducted five

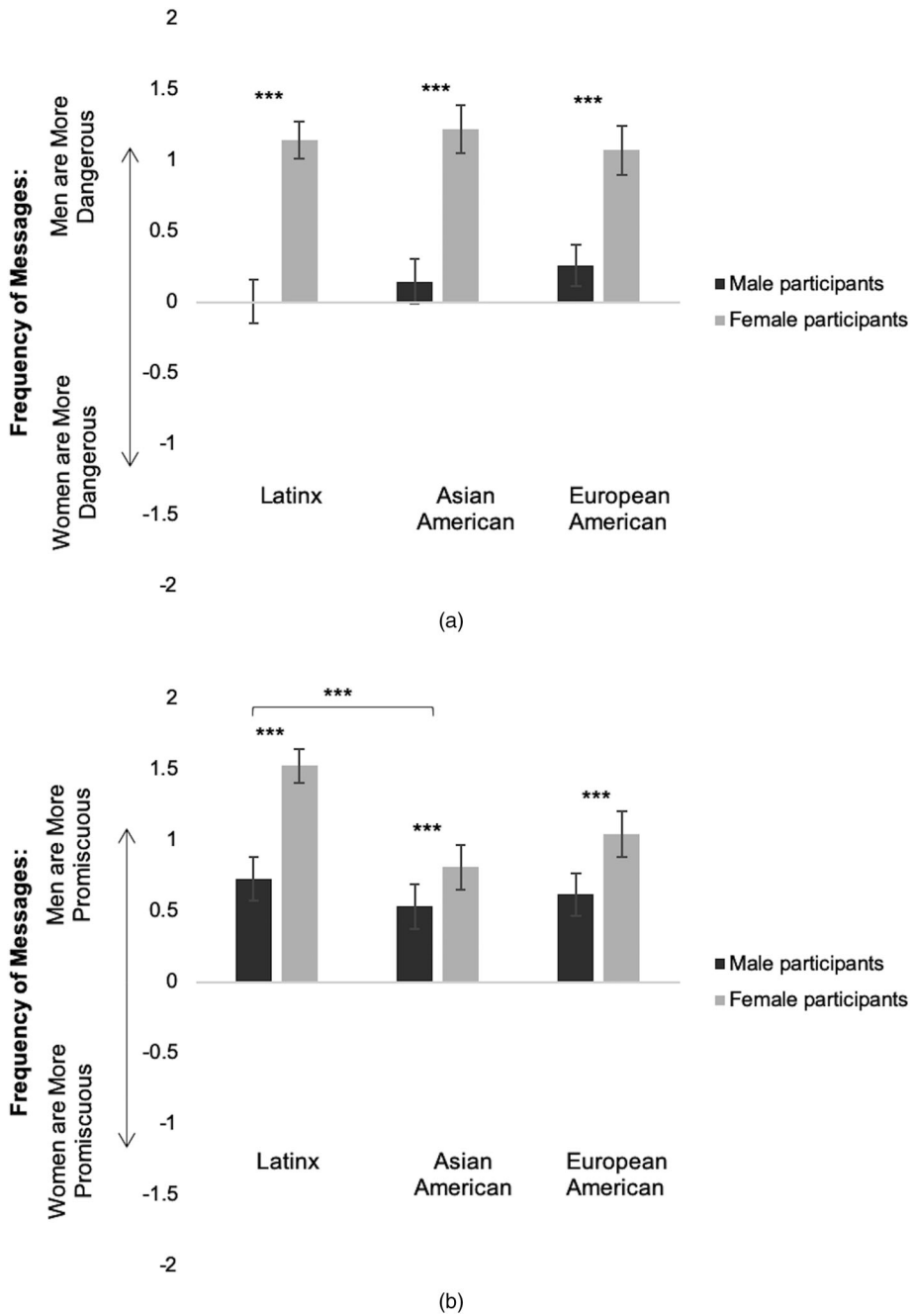


Figure 2. Means and standard errors of (a) (top panel) frequency of messages that men versus women are dangerous; and (b) (bottom panel) frequency of messages that men versus women are promiscuous by ethnic group and gender while covarying the religiosity of influential relatives, the formal education of influential female relative, and household make-up.

hierarchical regressions with each stereotypical attribute (trustworthy, manipulative, gold-digger, dangerous, and promiscuous) as separate outcomes. For each regression in the first step we included participant male gender (dummy coded with female participants as the

reference group), Asian American group membership (dummy coded with Latinx as the reference group), European American group membership (dummy coded with Latinx as the reference group), primary influential relatives' religiosity (mean centred), primary female influential relative's formal education as not completing high school (dummy coded with some college or more as the reference group), primary female influential relative's formal education as completing high school (dummy coded with some college or more as the reference group), and household make-up (dummy coded with two-parent households as the reference group). In the second step the corresponding socialization message (mean centred) was included. Finally, the third step included two-way interactions between the message and participant gender and between the message and ethnic group. The same step included the three-way message by participant gender by ethnic group interactions. These results are summarized below and presented in Tables 3–7.

Trustworthy

In the first step of the model, demographic characteristics accounted for 6.0% of the variance of personal attitudes that men versus women were trustworthy. The addition of trustworthy messages in the second step significantly explained an additional 6.6% of the variance in trustworthy personal attitudes. Finally, the third step including the interaction terms significantly contributed an additional 3.6% of variance explained ($R^2_{\text{model}} = .16$; see Table 3).

Consistent with our predictions, hearing gendered messages about men versus women as trustworthy while growing up significantly predicted currently holding congruent beliefs about men versus women as trustworthy. Additionally, a group difference among Asian American participants emerged but these effects were subsumed by a significant three-way Message \times Gender \times Asian American Ethnic Group interaction.

Table 3. Hierarchical regressions for familial messages about men versus women as trustworthy predicting personal attitudes about men versus women.

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	B
Gender	.31	.15	.09*	.11	.15	.04	.20	.15	.06
Asian American (AA)	.54	.21	.15**	.34	.20	.10	.51	.21	.14*
European American (EA)	.48	.22	.14*	.37	.21	.11	.32	.21	.09
Relatives' religiosity	.07	.04	.10	.08	.04	.11*	.08	.04	.11*
Female relative did not complete HS	-.10	.22	-.03	-.10	.21	-.03	-.10	.21	-.03
Female relative completed HS	-.33	.21	-.08	-.31	.20	-.07	-.28	.20	-.07
Household make-up	-.18	.19	-.05	.00	.19	.00	-.07	.19	-.02
Trustworthy messages				.41	.07	.28***	.40	.15	.27**
Messages \times Gender							.03	.22	.01
Messages \times AA							.05	.24	.02
Messages \times EA							.23	.22	.09
Messages \times AA \times Gender							-.81	.35	-.20*
Messages \times EA \times Gender							-.06	.32	-.02
R^2_{change}	.060			.066			.036		
F_{change}	3.98***			32.87***			3.72**		

Note: Dichotomous variables were coded as follows: Participant gender (1 = men, 0 = women). Asian American (1 = Asian American, 0 = Latinx). European American (1 = European American, 0 = Latinx). Female relative did not complete HS (1 = Did not complete high school, 0 = Some college or more). Female relative completed HS (1 = Completed high school, 0 = Some college or more). Household make-up (1 = single mother, 0 = two parent).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

To explore this three-way interaction, Latinx, Asian American, and European American samples were tested separately for a possible Message \times Gender interaction. A two-way Message \times Gender interaction was indicated for Asian American participants, $\beta = -.45$, $p = .001$, but not for Latinx participants, $\beta = .02$, $p = .983$, or European American participants, $\beta = -.01$, $p = .950$. Instead, there was only a simple message main effect in the expected direction for Latinx, $\beta = .30$, $p < .001$, and European American participants, $\beta = .43$, $p < .001$.

Following up the two-way Message \times Gender interaction, simple effects indicated that for Asian American women, hearing messages about men (vs. women) being trustworthy were associated with more congruent beliefs about men (vs. women) being trustworthy $\beta = .32$, $p = .010$. Unexpectedly, for Asian American men, hearing messages that men (vs. women) were trustworthy was negatively associated with holding congruent beliefs about men's versus women's trustworthiness, $\beta = -.31$, $p = .001$.

Finally, the model additionally indicated that greater religiosity of influential relatives was associated with greater personal belief that men (vs. women) were trustworthy.

Manipulative

None of the demographic characteristics significantly predicted personal attitudes regarding men versus women as manipulative ($R^2 = .01$). However, including the recalled manipulative socialization messages significantly contributed to the model by explaining an additional 14.9% of variance ($R^2_{\text{model}} = .16$). The third step including the interaction terms did not significantly contribute to the model (see Table 4). As expected, hearing men (vs. women) characterized as manipulative was associated with congruent beliefs. No other significant effects were revealed.

Table 4. Hierarchical regressions for familial messages about men versus women as manipulative predicting personal attitudes about men versus women.

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	B
Gender	-.15	.21	-.04	.27	.20	.06	.28	.20	.06
Asian American (AA)	.03	.28	.01	-.01	.26	-.00	-.05	.27	-.01
European American (EA)	-.31	.30	-.07	-.25	.28	-.05	-.23	.28	-.05
Relatives' religiosity	-.05	.05	-.05	-.05	.05	-.05	-.05	.05	-.05
Female relative did not complete HS	.26	.31	.05	.06	.28	.01	.05	.29	.01
Female relative completed HS	.37	.29	.07	.24	.27	.04	.25	.27	.04
Household make-up	-.03	.27	-.01	-.10	.25	-.02	-.09	.25	-.02
Manipulative messages				.64	.07	.40***	.66	.13	.41***
Messages \times Gender							-.01	.22	-.00
Messages \times AA							.12	.30	.03
Messages \times EA							-.07	.25	-.02
Messages \times AA \times Gender							-.33	.41	-.07
Messages \times EA \times Gender							.12	.35	.03
R^2_{change}	.014			.149			.003		
F_{change}	.88			76.41***			.28		

Note: Dichotomous variables were coded as follows: Participant gender (1 = men, 0 = women). Asian American (1 = Asian American, 0 = Latinx). European American (1 = European American, 0 = Latinx). Female relative did not complete HS (1 = Did not complete high school, 0 = Some college or more). Female relative completed HS (1 = Completed high school, 0 = Some college or more). Household make-up (1 = single mother, 0 = two parent).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 5. Hierarchical regressions for familial messages about men versus women as gold-diggers predicting personal attitudes about men versus women.

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	<i>B</i>	SE	β	<i>B</i>	SE	β	<i>B</i>	SE	<i>B</i>
Gender	.41	.24	.08	.43	.24	.09	.51	.25	.10*
Asian American (AA)	.37	.33	.07	.13	.33	.02	.20	.33	.04
European American (EA)	-.38	.34	-.07	-.51	.34	-.09	-.52	.34	-.10
Relatives' religiosity	-.08	.06	-.06	-.07	.06	-.06	-.06	.06	-.05
Female relative did not complete HS	.49	.35	.08	.45	.35	.07	.46	.35	.08
Female relative completed HS	.03	.33	.00	.05	.32	.01	.08	.32	.01
Household make-up	-.68	.30	-.10	-.54	.30	-.09	-.57	.30	-.09
Gold-digger messages				.38	.09	.21***	.42	.18	.23*
Messages \times Gender							-.01	.25	-.01
Messages \times AA							.14	.30	.04
Messages \times EA							.17	.30	.05
Messages \times AA \times Gender							-.58	.43	-.11
Messages \times EA \times Gender							-.33	.41	-.07
R^2_{change}	.033			.040			.010		
F_{change}	2.08*			18.65***			.91		

Note: Dichotomous variables were coded as follows: Participant gender (1 = men, 0 = women). Asian American (1 = Asian American, 0 = Latinx). European American (1 = European American, 0 = Latinx). Female relative did not complete HS (1 = Did not complete high school, 0 = Some college or more). Female relative completed HS (1 = Completed high school, 0 = Some college or more). Household make-up (1 = single mother, 0 = two parent).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Gold-digger

In the first step of the model, the demographic variables significantly explained 3.3% of the variance in personal attitudes of men versus women as only wanting partners for money (i.e. gold-diggers). The inclusion of the gold-digger socialization messages significantly explained an additional 4.0% of the variance ($R^2_{\text{model}} = .07$). The third step containing the interaction terms did not significantly contribute to the model (see Table 5). As expected, hearing gendered messages of men versus women as gold-diggers was associated with congruent beliefs. No other significant effects were observed.

Dangerous

The demographic variables included in the first step of the model significantly accounted for 3.8% of the variance explained in personal attitudes of men versus women as dangerous. The inclusion of the dangerous messages as a predictor in the second step significantly explained an additional 14.1% of the variance in personal attitudes. However, the third step significantly contributed an additional 3.9% of variance ($R^2_{\text{model}} = .22$; see Table 6).

Confirming our hypotheses, hearing gendered messages about men versus women as dangerous while growing up significantly predicted currently endorsing congruent beliefs about men versus women as dangerous. The third step additionally revealed significant group differences by gender and for Asian American participants, as well as a significant Gender \times Asian American Ethnic Group interaction and a Message \times Asian American Ethnic Group interaction; however, these effects were subsumed by a significant three-way Message \times Gender \times Asian American Ethnic Group interaction.

To explore the three-way interaction, Latinx, Asian American, and European American samples were tested separately to explore a possible Message \times Gender interaction. A two-way Message \times Gender interaction was indicated for Asian American participants, $\beta = -.54$, $p < .001$ and European American participants, $\beta = .22$, $p = .042$, but not for Latinx

participants, $\beta = .14, p = .170$. Rather, only a simple message main effect in the expected direction emerged for Latinx participants, $\beta = .39, p < .001$.

Simple effect analyses indicated that, for Asian American women, hearing men (vs. women) described as more dangerous was predictive of current belief that men were dangerous, $\beta = .70, p < .001$. Messages were not a significant predictor of current belief for Asian American men, $\beta = -.01, p = .915$. Additional simple effect analyses indicated that for European American participants, hearing men versus women described as

Table 6. Hierarchical regressions for familial messages about men versus women as dangerous predicting personal attitudes about men versus women.

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	B
Gender	-.12	.16	-.04	.39	.16	.12*	.42	.16	.13**
Asian American (AA)	-.56	.21	-.15**	-.61	.20	-.17**	.88	.21	-.24***
European American (EA)	-.30	.22	-.08	-.34	.04	-.09	-.29	.21	-.08
Relatives' religiosity	-.06	.04	-.07	-.07	.21	-.09	-.07	.04	-.09
Female relative did not complete HS	-.07	.23	.10	-.15	.04	-.04	-.17	.21	-.04
Female relative completed HS	.42	.22	.10	.29	.21	.07	.24	.20	.06
Household make-up	-.05	.20	-.01	-.10	.04	-.03	-.04	.18	-.01
Dangerous messages				.50	.21	.41***	.35	.10	.28**
Messages \times Gender							.25	.16	.13
Messages \times AA							.42	.18	.17*
Messages \times EA							.15	.20	.06
Messages \times AA \times Gender							-1.00	.28	-.28***
Messages \times EA \times Gender							.20	.29	.05
R^2_{change}	.038			.141			.039		
F_{change}	2.47*			74.87***			4.24**		

Note: Dichotomous variables were coded as follows: Participant gender (1 = men, 0 = women). Asian American (1 = Asian American, 0 = Latinx). European American (1 = European American, 0 = Latinx). Female relative did not complete HS (1 = Did not complete high school, 0 = Some college or more). Female relative completed HS (1 = Completed high school, 0 = Some college or more). Household make-up (1 = single mother, 0 = two parent).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Table 7. Hierarchical regressions for familial messages about men versus women as promiscuous predicting personal attitudes about men versus women.

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	B
Gender	-.21	.16	-.06	.06	.15	.02	.04	.15	.01
Asian American (AA)	-.78	.21	-.22***	-.55	.21	-.15**	-.55	.21	-.15**
European American (EA)	-.62	.22	-.18**	-.47	.04	-.13*	-.43	.21	-.12*
Relatives' religiosity	.01	.04	.01	.01	.21	.02	.02	.04	.02
Female relative did not complete HS	-.56	.23	-.14*	-.44	.20	-.11*	-.45	.21	-.12*
Female relative completed HS	-.05	.21	-.01	-.18	.18	-.04	-.20	.20	-.05
Household make-up	-.01	.19	-.00	-.03	.04	-.01	-.03	.18	-.01
Promiscuous messages				.48	.06	.36***	.47	.11	.35***
Messages \times Gender							-.16	.22	-.07
Messages \times AA							.21	.23	.07
Messages \times EA							-.06	.18	-.03
Messages \times AA \times Gender							-.11	.34	-.03
Messages \times EA \times Gender							.34	.30	.10
R^2_{change}	.043			.114			.005		
F_{change}	2.78**			58.02***			.57		

Note: Dichotomous variables were coded as follows: Participant gender (1 = men, 0 = women). Asian American (1 = Asian American, 0 = Latinx). European American (1 = European American, 0 = Latinx). Female relative did not complete HS (1 = Did not complete high school, 0 = Some college or more). Female relative completed HS (1 = Completed high school, 0 = Some college or more). Household make-up (1 = single mother, 0 = two parent).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

dangerous predicted congruent personal attitudes, but this effect was stronger among men ($\beta = .69, p < .001$) than women ($\beta = .36, p = .001$). No other significant effects were observed.

Promiscuous

In the first step of the model demographic characteristics accounted for 4.3% of the variance explained for personal attitudes about men versus women as promiscuous. The addition of promiscuous socialization messages in the second step significantly explained an additional 11.4% of variance ($R^2_{\text{model}} = .16$). The third step did not contribute significantly to the model (see Table 7).

Confirming our hypothesis, hearing gendered messages of men versus women as promiscuous was associated with congruent beliefs. Additionally, Latinx participants reported more belief that men were more promiscuous compared to Asian American and European American participants. Finally, participants with a primary female influential relative who had completed at least some college were more likely to endorse the belief that men (vs. women) were promiscuous compared to participants with a primary female influential relative who did not complete high school.

Familial socialization messages predicting benevolent sexism

To determine whether familial socialization messages about men versus women predict current benevolent sexism, we conducted a hierarchical regression with benevolent sexism as the outcome for the messages about men versus women. The regression model was similar to the above, except all five socialization messages were included in the second step. The 2-way and 3-way interaction terms including ethnic group were tested and found to be nonsignificant; therefore, to simplify the model, the regression was run again without interaction effects involving ethnic group memberships. Coefficients and model statistics appear in Table 8.

In the first step of the model, the demographic characteristics significantly accounted for 9.0% of the variance in benevolent sexism. The addition of the five socialization messages in the second step did not significantly contribute to the model ($\Delta R^2 = 0.7\%$). In the third step, the inclusion of the gender interaction terms significantly contributed 5.1% to the variance explained ($R^2_{\text{model}} = .15$; see Table 8). In this step of the model, trustworthy and manipulative messages about men versus women predicted benevolent sexism; however, both were subsumed by interactions with participant gender. Reported gendered messages regarding the gold-digger, dangerous, and promiscuous stereotypes were not significant predictors of benevolent sexism.

The final model additionally revealed that Latinx participants reported greater benevolent sexism than European American participants. Also, having primary influential relatives who were religious was associated with greater benevolent sexism endorsement. To understand the two interaction effects, follow-up simple effects were conducted. Interaction effects are depicted in Figure 3(a,b).

Simple effect analyses with female participants indicated that hearing gendered messages from relatives about men versus women as trustworthy was significantly associated with benevolent sexism, $\beta = -.22, p = .002$. Thus, the more female participants heard more messages about women than men as trustworthy, they tended to have higher

Table 8. Hierarchical regression coefficients for familial socialization messages about men versus women predicting benevolent sexism.

Variable	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	<i>B</i>	SE	β	<i>B</i>	SE	β	<i>B</i>	SE	<i>B</i>
Gender	.09	.08	.06	.13	.08	.08	.11	.08	.07
Asian American (AA)	-.10	.10	-.06	-.07	.11	-.04	-.05	.10	-.03
European American (EA)	-.37	.11	-.22***	-.35	.11	-.21**	-.32	.11	-.19**
Relatives' religiosity	.05	.02	.13**	.05	.02	.13*	.05	.02	.12*
Female relative did not complete HS	.14	.11	.07	.13	.11	.07	.14	.11	.07
Female relative completed HS	.14	.10	.07	.14	.10	.07	.14	.10	.07
Household make-up	-.02	.09	-.01	-.05	.10	-.03	-.09	.09	-.04
Trustworthy messages				-.05	.04	-.07	-.16	.05	-.22**
Manipulative messages				.03	.03	.05	.13	.05	.22**
Gold-digger messages				-.01	.03	-.02	.01	.04	.02
Dangerous messages				-.01	.03	-.01	.01	.05	.01
Promiscuous messages				-.00	.04	-.01	-.02	.05	-.04
Trustworthy \times Gender							-.20	.07	.19**
Manipulative \times Gender							-.17	.06	-.21**
Gold-digger \times Gender							-.04	.06	-.05
Dangerous \times Gender							-.05	.07	-.06
Promiscuous \times Gender							-.01	.07	-.01
R^2_{change}	.090			.007			.051		
F_{change}	6.01***			.66			5.05***		

Note: Dichotomous variables were coded as follows: Participant gender (1 = men, 0 = women). Asian American (1 = Asian American, 0 = Latinx). European American (1 = European American, 0 = Latinx). Female relative did not complete HS (1 = Did not complete high school, 0 = Some college or more). Female relative completed HS (1 = Completed high school, 0 = Some college or more). Household make-up (1 = single mother, 0 = two parent).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

benevolent sexism. Conversely, when they heard more messages about men than women as trustworthy, they tended to have lower benevolent sexism.

In addition, simple effect tests with female participants indicated hearing gendered messages about men versus women as manipulative was significantly related to benevolent sexism, $\beta = .22$, $p = .007$. Thus, the more female participants heard more messages about women than men as manipulative, they tended to have lower benevolent sexism. Conversely, when they heard more messages about men than women as manipulative, they tended to have higher benevolent sexism.

Among male participants, simple effects tested revealed their benevolent sexism was unrelated to either gendered messages about being trustworthy, $\beta = .06$, $p = .443$; or gendered messages about being manipulative, $\beta = -.08$, $p = .299$.

Discussion

Prior research has highlighted the importance of the family in the socialization of gender (see Brown & Tam, 2019; Carter, 2014; Leaper & Farkas, 2015). Gender socialization can include hearing direct messages from family members about expected gender roles (Epstein & Ward, 2011; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004) and about dating and sexuality norms (Averett et al., 2008; Epstein & Ward, 2008; Heisler, 2014; Kellas, 2010; Manago et al., 2015; Morgan et al., 2010). The present study sought to expand this work through the study of heterosexual emerging adults' retrospective accounts of gendered messages heard from their family while growing up. We were particularly interested in how family members differentially referred to other- and same-gender persons. Women and

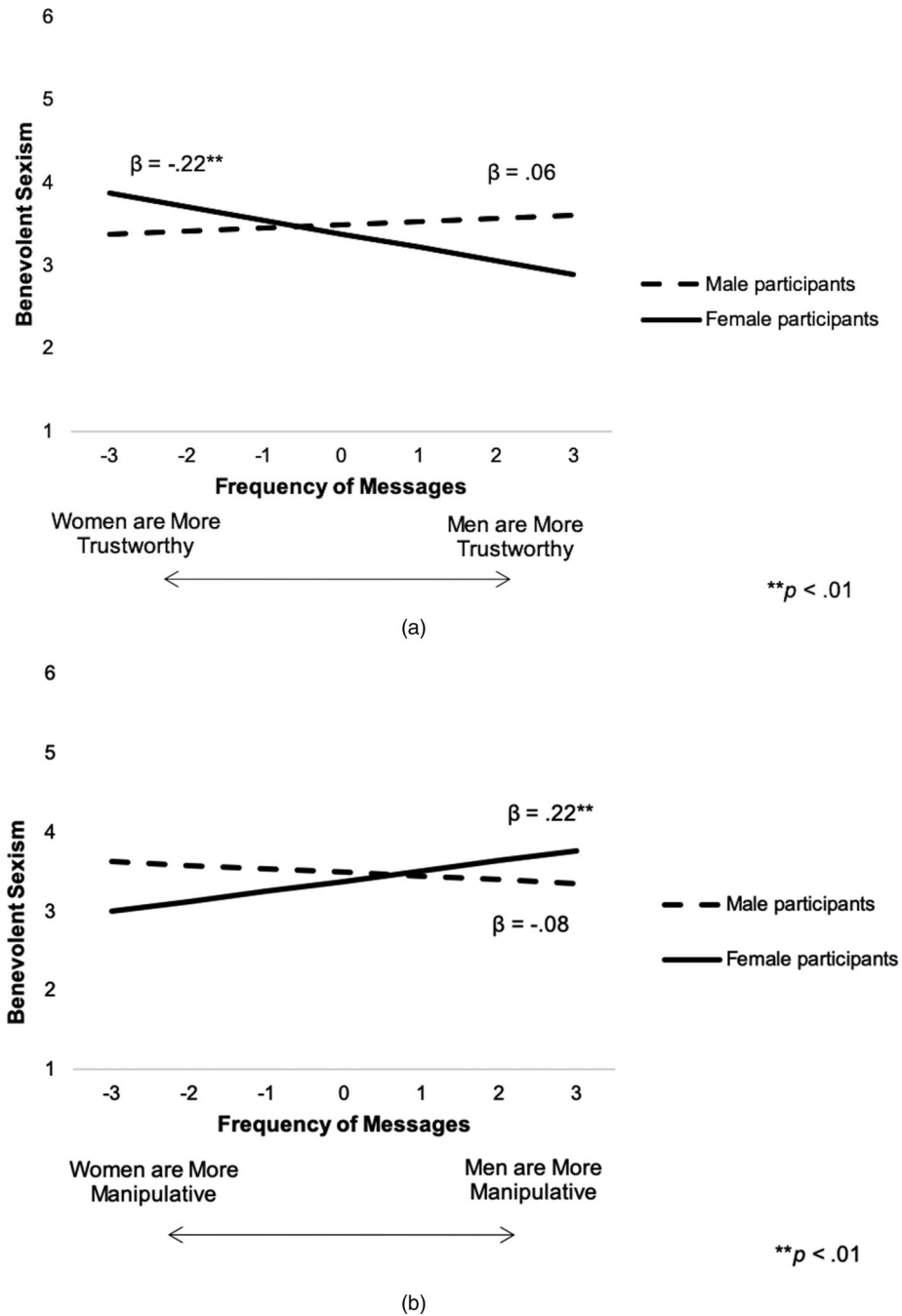


Figure 3. Predicted values of (a) (top panel) trustworthy messages for benevolent sexism by gender; and (b) (bottom panel) manipulative messages for benevolent sexism by gender. Higher numbers indicate more benevolent sexism endorsement.

men in our study generally indicated they heard gender-stereotypical messages about the other gender from family members while growing up. Indeed, it was notable that these gender-stereotypical messages were heard among all three ethnic groups examined

(Latinx, Asian American, and European American). We discuss these results more fully below.

Variations in reported family messages about gender

Participants generally recalled hearing gender-stereotypical messages about women and men. Their retrospective accounts indicated that women, as compared to men, were generally characterized as trustworthy or wanting partners for money. These recalled messages about women are consistent with cultural stereotypes of women as either wholesome or manipulative (Fiske, 2018; Green et al., 2005; Kozlovic, 2006; Miller, 1986). In contrast, participants generally recalled hearing that men, as compared to women, were portrayed as dangerous and promiscuous. These messages about men reflected cultural stereotypes of men as inherently aggressive and seeking casual sex (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Sagebin Bordini & Sperb, 2013). Additionally, these messages may reflect the realistic risks of men's sexual violence for women in all ethnic communities in the U.S. (Breiding, Black, & Ryan, 2008). In addition to these overall effects, we next discuss some ways participants' self-identified gender and ethnicity moderated the likelihood of reported gender messages.

Participants' gender as a moderator

As expected, the self-identified gender of the listener moderated the frequency of most of the gendered messages. Women more often than men recalled hearing the other gender described as untrustworthy, dangerous, or promiscuous. These patterns are consistent with prior work indicating that women are more often socialized in their everyday lives to be wary of men as potentially dangerous (Berman, McKenna, Arnold, Taylor, & MacQuarrie, 2000). These messages may lead some women to be wary of men in romantic and non-romantic contexts.

Both women and men in the study tended to report hearing the other gender was manipulative. Consistent with our prediction, this trend was stronger among male than female participants. For men, hearing these messages about women as manipulative may reflect ambivalent sexism, whereby men's dominance in society is maintained through a combination of benevolent sexism and hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001). On the one hand, women are expected to rely on men for protection in romantic relationships (i.e. the protective paternalism aspect of benevolent sexism). At the same time, some men may view women as manipulative and as threats to their power for seeking financial support from men (i.e. hostile sexism). We did not anticipate the observed tendency of women in the study to report hearing men (vs. women) described as manipulative. For these women, perhaps recalling these negative messages about men reflected a general wariness about men's potential danger. For example, this pattern might have been related to cautions about men's use of coercive or manipulative strategies to engage in sex with women (Eyre, Read, & Millstein, 1997; Lopez, 2017).

Participants' ethnic background as a moderator

Prior research on family messages about gender have focused primarily on participants of White European-heritage. We extended this line of inquiry to include samples of families of Latinx and Asian heritage. Our study revealed that self-identified ethnic group

membership indeed moderated some of the frequencies to which families communicated messages about women and men. Three types of gendered messages were more commonly reported in participants who grew up in Latinx families than either European- or Asian-heritage families.

Participants who grew up in Latinx families were especially likely to report hearing messages that women (vs. men) are trustworthy and gold-diggers. Also, Latinx participants were most likely to recall hearing that men (vs. women) were promiscuous. Conveying this message in Latinx families may have been guided by *marianismo* and *machismo* ideologies (Arciniega et al., 2008; Castillo et al., 2010). The dual characterizations of women as trustworthy or gold-diggers reflect these traditional ideologies that women are supposed to be pure and focused on starting a family while seeking men who are strong providers (Castillo et al., 2010). At the same time, a view of men as promiscuous is consistent with the traditional expectation that men should have sex with many different women (e.g. Hurtada & Sinha, 2016). This set of cultural beliefs overlaps with the expectation of traditional gender roles in benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Other tested moderators

In addition to participants' gender and ethnicity, other tested moderators of reported gendered messages included religiosity, the primary influential female relative's formal education, and family structure. Previous research indicated these factors were related to gender attitudes and beliefs (e.g. Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2012; Leaper & Valin, 1996; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Seguino, 2011). In our analyses, we found that family structure was significantly related to differences in the frequency of gendered messages. Participants who were raised in single-mother (vs. dual-parent) households were more likely to report hearing gendered messages about men being untrustworthy and women only wanting partners for money. Messages about men's lack of trustworthiness may have reflected some single mothers' negative relationship experiences with men in the past (e.g. Siegel, 1995). Additionally, women's own negative attitudes towards other women may sometimes result from a sense of competition for romantic partners (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Associations between reported messages and current attitudes

In our next set of analyses, we examined recalled gendered messages in relation to young adults' current gender attitudes. First, we tested if recalled family messages about gendered traits predicted participants' endorsement of similar gendered attitudes. As hypothesized, we found that emerging adults' recalled familial messages of women and men being trustworthy, manipulative, gold-diggers, dangerous, and promiscuous predicted their likelihood of holding similar personal beliefs about women and men. Moreover, the observed effects had moderate effect sizes. These findings are consistent with other research documenting associations between recalled gender messages from parents and young adults' current gender-typed beliefs and preferences (e.g. Epstein & Ward, 2011; Manago et al., 2015). These associations imply that there is a possibility for the socialization of non-stereotypical gender attitudes. For example, one prior study has found that greater exposure to more messages about gender egalitarianism was associated with holding less traditional gender attitudes (Epstein & Ward, 2011).

We next tested the relation of family gendered messages to participants' endorsement of benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism is particularly relevant to the traditional construction of gender in heterosexual relationships (Glick & Fiske, 2001). That is, it is premised on protective paternalism (i.e. men protect and provide for women) and complementary gender roles (e.g. women as nurturers, men as self-assertive). Also, compared to overt expressions of misogyny, benevolent sexism is a relatively subtle form of sexism. Hence, many women who endorse gender equality do not necessarily recognize manifestations of benevolent sexism as forms of sexism (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998).

Consistent with our hypotheses, some recalled gendered messages predicted emerging adults' benevolent sexism. However, we only saw this link among women. Specifically, women's reports of gendered messages about women (vs. men) being trustworthy and men (vs. women) being manipulative predicted their benevolent sexism. For women, hearing more messages about men as untrustworthy may contribute to endorsing protective paternalism (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Additionally, women's expectation that men are basically manipulative could be associated with ideas that they need to find 'a good man' who will treat them in a protective manner rather than in a hostile manner. These observed patterns may reflect the traditional gender roles explicated in the ambivalent sexism model whereby men are generally seen as threatening and women need to seek men's protection and support (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

One unexpected result was that recalled family messages predicted benevolent sexism among women but not among men. Perhaps familial gendered messages about the other gender were more salient to women than men when they were growing up. Prior research has found stronger familial influence on the romantic intimacy of daughters than sons (Feldman, Gowen, & Fisher, 1998). Furthermore, heterosexual intimacy is emphasized in the traditional socialization of girls and young women (Leaper & Farkas, 2015; Manago et al., 2015). By extension, influential family members may push young women toward thinking about romantic partners for their potential benefits (e.g. providers) while overshadowing the downsides of traditional arrangements (e.g. loss of power). Also, family members may send overall messages about dating rules more to daughters than sons (e.g. Madsen, 2008; Morgan et al., 2010), which may increase the salience of selecting dating partners in young women. In contrast, while growing up, young men may receive fewer messages about potential romantic partners given their greater status and presumed agency.

For emerging adults, adopting stereotypical beliefs about women and men may potentially hinder their interactions with the other gender. Emerging adulthood is characterized by increasing mixed-gender relationships in romantic contexts (for heterosexual youth) and additionally in school and work settings (Arnett, 2000). Women's mistrust and fear of men may be related to a general fear of violence from men (Broll, 2014; Phelan, Sanchez, & Broccoli, 2010). Conversely, men's mistrust of women may be tied to antagonistic and patronizing attitudes towards women in dating (Hammond & Overall, 2017) and work relationships (Good & Rudman, 2010; Hideg & Ferris, 2016). Internalizing these expectations about men may maintain power imbalances in mixed-gender relationships (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007; Expósito, Herrera, Moya, & Glick, 2010). Consequently, women might avoid going on dates, skip office hours with a male professor, or hesitate to work with male mentors. At the same time, men might avoid

intimacy in dating relationships or choose to collaborate with only other men in educational and occupational settings. Overall, men's and women's adoptions of these attitudes may further contribute to unequal relationships and gender-segregated fields in the classroom and the workplace.

In sum, our findings highlight the potential of the family in socializing emerging adults' current attitudes about gender. Family members are generally considered influential agents in the socialization of gender beliefs and attitudes (Leaper & Farkas, 2015; Maccoby, 2007; Updegraff et al., 2014). A meta-analysis revealed a small but significant average association between parents' and offspring's gender attitudes (Tenenbaum & Leaper, 2002), which is generally consistent with our findings. Moreover, the association was strongest with offspring in emerging adulthood (18–21 years) compared to younger ages. Parents and other family members can shape children's developing gender attitudes in implicit and explicit ways (Bigler & Liben, 2007; Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Implicit socialization occurs indirectly through role modelling, whereas explicit socialization occurs directly through gendered messages. Although we asked participants about their recall of the latter, both explicit and implicit forms of socialization likely affected their current attitudes.

Limitations and future directions

Despite our study's contributions, we acknowledge some limitations and suggest corresponding directions for expanding our inquiry. We discuss these below.

First, because of the retrospective nature of examining reports of messages recalled while growing up, we do not know the degree to which the participants' recollections were accurate. However, research on autobiographical memory has highlighted the impact of individuals' memory of events on their working self and relationships (Conway, 2005; Furman & Collibee, 2018). Thus, participants' *recollections* of how relatives discussed gender may shape their gender attitudes as much or more than what actually occurred. Looking ahead, prospective longitudinal research could best address these possibilities regarding the relative impact of perceived and actual messages on the development of gender attitudes. A related question to consider is to what extent family members convey gendered messages with the intention to prepare women and men for heterosexual dating relationships.

A second suggestion is to consider why some emerging adults do not endorse the gender beliefs they recall hearing from their family while growing up. In our sample, small to moderate associations were indicated between recalled gendered messages and current attitudes regarding similar gendered traits. These associations suggest that some participants may have formed different views about gender than what they recalled hearing from their family members. Research suggests that some individuals are more strongly influenced by family members than others; for example, in one study, parents' science beliefs were related to boys', but not girls', science interest (Lee, Shin, & Bong, 2019). Furthermore, relatives' messages may have more or less influence depending on the specific source (e.g. messages from parents might be considered more or less influential than messages from siblings). Other potential influences on the formation of gender-related beliefs include peers, schools, and media (Leaper & Farkas, 2015).

Related to the limitation above, thirdly, we would like to see studies explore the possible influences of different family members. In our study, we sought to look beyond the typical focus on only the parents in most prior studies of family and gender socialization. However, we did not differentiate more specifically among particular family members who may influence the development of gender attitudes, such as brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, grandmothers and grandfathers, stepparents, and mothers and fathers (e.g. see Farkas & Leaper, 2014; Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986).

Fourth, our findings revealed some variations based on ethnic group in the frequency of reported gendered messages; however, we were not able to test whether this variation was based on cultural values or other sociocultural factors unexamined in the present study. Therefore, future research needs to understand why Latinx families might have communicated certain gender-stereotypical messages at a greater frequency than Asian American and European American families.

Fifth, our study focused on benevolent sexism because it might be most relevant to dating socialization inasmuch as this form of sexism reflects the gender roles in traditional heterosexual relationships (Glick & Fiske, 2001). However, benevolent sexism works in tandem with hostile sexism, and endorsement of the two are generally positively correlated (Glick et al., 2000). In future research, exploring the association of gendered messages to both hostile and benevolent sexism might further our understanding of the family's role in developing sexist attitudes.

Finally, we recommend that researchers consider how family gendered messages might influence more than heterosexual dating relationships. Future research can explore the ways families communicate messages about a variety of genders or to family members who are not heterosexual or non-cisgender (e.g. Shechory & Ziv, 2007).

Conclusions

The present research extends our understanding of how diverse families may transmit gender cultural stereotypes to youth. We allowed for a broader spectrum of potentially influential family members beyond the typical focus on parents. Also, we considered ethnicity and other sociocultural factors as potential moderators of recalled gendered messages. Our work suggests that gender-stereotypical messages are prominent in Latinx, Asian American, and European American families—even when taking into account family members' religiosity, formal education, and household make-up. Young adults generally reported that their influential relatives tended to convey negative stereotypes about the other gender to them. Moreover, these recalled messages predicted their current gender attitudes. While potentially meant to protect their children from harm, family members' gendered messages may have unintended consequences by hindering trusting, positive, and egalitarian relationships between women and men in romance, school, and work.

Acknowledgements

Doug Bonett is thanked for his helpful statistical advice.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

The research was supported by a Cota-Robles Fellowship at the University of California, Santa Cruz to Brenda Gutierrez as well as faculty grants to May Ling Halim and Campbell Leaper from their respective universities.

ORCID

Brenda C. Gutierrez  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0307-0592>

References

- Abreu, J. M., Goodyear, R. K., Campos, A., & Newcomb, M. D. (2000). Ethnic belonging and traditional masculinity ideology among African Americans, European Americans, and Latinos. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 1*(2), 75–86.
- Amato, P. R., & Booth, A. (1991). The consequences of divorce for attitudes toward divorce and gender roles. *Journal of Family Issues, 12*(3), 306–322.
- Arciniega, G. M., Anderson, T. C., Tovar-Blank, Z. G., & Tracey, T. J. G. (2008). Toward a fuller conception of machismo: Development of a Traditional Machismo and Caballerismo scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55*(1), 19–33.
- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist, 55*(5), 469–480.
- Averett, P., Benson, M., & Vaillancourt, K. (2008). Young women's struggle for sexual agency: The role of parental messages. *Journal of Gender Studies, 17*(4), 331–344.
- Axinn, W. G., Young-DeMarco, L., & Ro, M. C. (2011). Gender double standards in parenting attitudes. *Social Science Research, 40*(2), 417–432.
- Barni, D., Alfieri, S., Marta, E., & Rosnati, R. (2013). Overall and unique similarities between parents' values and adolescent or emerging adult children's values. *Journal of Adolescence, 36*(6), 1135–1141.
- Barreto, M., & Ellemers, N. (2005). The burden of benevolent sexism: How it contributes to the maintenance of gender inequalities. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 35*(5), 633–642.
- Berman, H., McKenna, K., Arnold, C. T., Taylor, G., & MacQuarrie, B. (2000). Sexual harassment: Everyday violence in the lives of girls and women. *Advances in Nursing Science, 22*(4), 32–46.
- Bigler, R. S., & Liben, L. S. (2007). Developmental intergroup theory: Explaining and reducing children's social stereotyping and prejudice. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 16*(3), 162–166.
- Breiding, M. J., Black, M. C., & Ryan, G. W. (2008). Prevalence and risk factors of intimate partner violence in eighteen U.S. States/territories, 2005. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 34*(2), 112–118.
- Broll, R. (2014). “Criminals are inside of our homes”: Intimate partner violence and fear of crime. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice, 56*(1), 1–22.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1992). Ecological systems theory. In R. Vasta (Ed.), *Six theories of child development: Revised formulations and current issues* (pp. 187–249). London: Jessica Kingsley.
- Brown, C. S., & Tam, M. (2019). Parenting girls and boys. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting* (3rd ed. Vol. 2: Parenting children of varying status, pp. 258–287). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Buchmann, C., DiPrete, T. A., & McDaniel, A. (2008). Gender inequalities in education. *Annual Review of Sociology, 34*, 319–337.
- Bussey, K., & Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review, 106*(4), 676–713.
- Carranza, M. E. (2013). Value transmission among Salvadorian mothers and daughters: Marianismo and sexual morality. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 30*(4), 311–327.
- Carter, M. (2014). Gender socialization and identity theory. *Social Sciences, 3*(2), 242–263.

- Castillo, L. G., Perez, F. V., Castillo, R., & Ghosheh, M. R. (2010). Construction and initial validation of the Marianismo Beliefs Scale. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, 23(2), 163–175.
- Cemalcilar, Z., Secinti, E., & Sumer, N. (2018). Intergenerational transmission of work values: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 47(8), 1559–1579.
- Chanana, K. (2001). Hinduism and female sexuality: Social control and education of girls in India. *Sociological Bulletin*, 50(1), 37–63.
- Chia, R. C., Moore, J. L., Lam, K. N., Chuang, C. J., & Cheng, B. S. (1994). Cultural differences in gender role attitudes between Chinese and American students. *Sex Roles*, 31(1/2), 23–30.
- Comeau, J. A. (2012). Race/ethnicity and family contact: Toward a behavioral measure of familism. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 34(2), 251–268.
- Conway, M. A. (2005). Memory and the self? *Journal of Memory and Language*, 53(4), 594–628.
- Dardenne, B., Dumont, M., & Bollier, T. (2007). Insidious dangers of benevolent sexism: Consequences for women's performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93(5), 764–779.
- Deutsch, A. R., & Crockett, L. J. (2016). Gender, generational status, and parent-adolescent sexual communication: Implications for Latino/a adolescent sexual behavior. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 26(2), 300–315.
- Eagly, A. H., & Mladinic, A. (1994). Are people prejudiced against women? Some answers from research on attitudes, gender stereotypes, and judgments of competence. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 5(1), 1–35.
- Eckes, T. (2002). Paternalistic and envious gender stereotypes: Testing predictions from the stereotype content model. *Sex Roles*, 47(3/4), 99–114.
- Epstein, M., & Ward, L. M. (2011). Exploring parent-adolescent communication about gender: Results from adolescent and emerging adult samples. *Sex Roles*, 65(1/2), 108–118.
- Epstein, M., & Ward, M. L. (2008). “Always use protection”: Communication boys receive about sex from parents, peers, and the media. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37(2), 113–126.
- Expósito, F., Herrera, M. C., Moya, M., & Glick, P. (2010). Don't rock the boat: Women's benevolent sexism predicts fears of marital violence. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 34(1), 36–42.
- Eyre, S. L., Read, N. W., & Millstein, S. G. (1997). Adolescent sexual strategies. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 20(4), 286–293.
- Farkas, T., & Leaper, C. (2014). Is having an older sister or older brother related to younger siblings' gender typing? A meta-analysis. In P. J. Leman & H. R. Tenenbaum (Eds.), *Gender and development* (pp. 63–77). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Feldman, S. S., Gowen, L. K., & Fisher, L. (1998). Family relationships and gender as predictors of romantic intimacy in young adults: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 8(2), 263–286.
- Fiske, S. T. (2018). Stereotype content: Warmth and competence endure. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(2), 67–73.
- Furman, W., & Collibee, C. (2018). The past is present: Representations of parents, friends, and romantic partners predict subsequent romantic representations. *Child Development*, 89(1), 188–204.
- Garaigordobil, M., & Aliri, J. (2012). Parental socialization styles, parents' educational level, and sexist attitudes in adolescence. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology*, 15(2), 592–603.
- Glass, J., Bengtson, V. L., & Dunham, C. C. (1986). Attitude similarity in three-generation families: Socialization, status inheritance, or reciprocal influence? *American Sociological Review*, 51(5), 685–698.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(3), 491–512.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56(2), 109–118.
- Glick, P., Fiske, S. T., Mladinic, A., Saiz, J. L., Abrams, D., Masser, B., ... López, W. L. (2000). Beyond prejudice as simple antipathy: Hostile and benevolent sexism across cultures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(5), 763–775.
- Glick, P., & Hilt, L. (2000). From combative children to ambivalent adults: The development of gender prejudice. In T. Eckes & M. Trautner (Eds.), *Developmental social psychology of gender* (pp. 243–272). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Glick, P., Lameiras, M., & Rodriguez Castro, Y. (2002). Education and Catholic religiosity as predictors of hostile and benevolent sexism toward women and men. *Sex Roles, 47*(9–10), 433–441.
- Good, J. J., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). When female applicants meet sexist interviewers: The costs of being a target of benevolent sexism. *Sex Roles, 62*(7–8), 481–493.
- Green, R. J., Ashmore, R. D., & Manzi, R. (2005). The structure of gender type perception: Testing the elaboration, encapsulation, and evaluation framework. *Social Cognition, 23*(5), 429–464.
- Guilamo-Ramos, V., Dittus, P., Jaccard, J., Goldberg, V., Casillas, E., & Bouris, A. (2006). The content and process of mother-adolescent communication about sex in Latino families. *Social Work Research, 30*(3), 169–181.
- Guilamo-Ramos, V., Dittus, P., Jaccard, J., Johansson, M., Bouris, A., & Acosta, N. (2007). Parenting practices among Dominican and Puerto Rican mothers. *Social Work, 52*(1), 17–30.
- Haggard, M. C., Kaelen, R., Saroglou, V., Klein, O., & Rowatt, W. C. (2018). Religion's role in the illusion of gender equality: Supraliminal and subliminal religious priming increases benevolent sexism. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1037/rel0000196
- Hammond, M. D., & Overall, N. C. (2015). Benevolent sexism and support of romantic partner's goals: Undermining women's competence while fulfilling men's intimacy needs. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 41*(9), 1180–1194.
- Hammond, M. D., & Overall, N. C. (2017). Sexism in intimate contexts: How romantic relationships help explain the origins, functions, and consequences of sexist attitudes. In C. G. Sibley & F. K. Barlow (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of the psychology of prejudice* (pp. 321–343). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, R. J., & Firestone, J. M. (1998). Changes in predictors of gender role ideologies among women: A multivariate analysis. *Sex Roles, 38*(3/4), 239–252.
- Heisler, J. M. (2014). They need to sow their wild oats: Mothers' recalled memorable messages to their emerging adult children regarding sexuality and dating. *Emerging Adulthood, 2*(4), 280–293.
- Hideg, I., & Ferris, D. L. (2016). The compassionate sexist? How benevolent sexism promotes and undermines gender equality in the workplace. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 111*(5), 706–727.
- Hurtada, A., & Sinha, M. (2016). *Beyond machismo: Intersectional Latino masculinities*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Kellas, J. K. (2010). Transmitting relational worldviews: The relationship between mother–daughter memorable messages and adult daughters' romantic relational schemata. *Communication Quarterly, 58*(4), 458–479.
- Kilianski, S. E., & Rudman, L. A. (1998). Wanting it both ways: Do women approve of benevolent sexism? *Sex Roles, 39*(5–6), 333–352.
- Kim, J. L., & Ward, L. M. (2007). Silence speaks volumes: Parental sexual communication among Asian American emerging adults. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 22*(1), 3–31.
- Kozlovic, A. K. (2006). Making a “bad” woman wicked: The devilish construction of Delilah within Cecil B. DeMille's Samson and Delilah (1949). *McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry, 7*, 70–102.
- Leaper, C., & Farkas, T. (2015). The socialization of gender during childhood and adolescence. In J. E. Grusec & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 541–565). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Leaper, C., & Valin, D. (1996). Predictors of Mexican American mothers' and fathers' attitudes toward gender equality. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 18*(3), 343–355.
- Lee, M., Shin, D. D., & Bong, M. (2019). Boys are affected by their parents more than girls are: Parents' utility value socialization in science. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. doi:10.1007/s10964-019-01047-6
- Lenton, A. P., & Webber, L. (2006). Cross-sex friendships: Who has more? *Sex Roles, 54*(11–12), 809–820.
- Leve, L. D., & Fagot, B. I. (1997). Gender-role socialization and discipline processes in one- and two-parent families. *Sex Roles, 36*(1–2), 1–21.

- Llwan, M. E. C., de la Cruz, A. S., & Macapagal, M. E. J. (1998). How we raise our daughters and sons: Child-rearing and gender socialization in the Philippines. *Philippine Journal of Psychology*, 31(1-4), 1-46.
- Lopez, V. (2017). Love is a battlefield: Mexican American girls' strategies for avoiding players. *Youth & Society*, 49(1), 23-45.
- Maccoby, E. E. (2007). Historical overview of socialization research and theory. In J. E. Grusec & P. D. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research* (pp. 3-34). New York, NY: Guilford.
- Madsen, S. D. (2008). Parents' management of adolescents' romantic relationships through dating rules: Gender variations and correlates of relationship qualities. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 37(9), 1044-1058.
- Manago, A. M., Ward, L. M., & Aldana, A. (2015). The sexual experience of Latino young adults in college and their perceptions of values about sex communicated by their parents and friends. *Emerging Adulthood*, 3(1), 14-23.
- McHale, S. M., Crouter, A., & Tucker, C. J. (1999). Family context and gender role socialization in middle childhood: Comparing girls to boys and sisters to brothers. *Child Development*, 70(4), 990-1004.
- McNeely, A., Knox, D., & Zusman, M. (2005). College student beliefs about women: Some gender differences. *College Student Journal*, 39(4), 769-774.
- Mikołajczak, M., & Pietrzak, J. (2014). Ambivalent sexism and religion: Connected through values. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 70(9-10), 387-399.
- Miller, C. T. (1986). Categorization and stereotypes about men and women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 12(4), 502-512.
- Montañés, P., de Lemus, S., Bohner, G., Megías, J. L., Moya, M., & Garcia-Retamero, R. (2012). Intergenerational transmission of benevolent sexism from mothers to daughters and its relation to daughters' academic performance and goals. *Sex Roles*, 66(7-8), 468-478.
- Morgan, E. M., Thorne, A., & Zurbriggen, E. L. (2010). A longitudinal study of conversations with parents about sex and dating during college. *Developmental Psychology*, 46(1), 139-150.
- Mori, L., Bernat, J. A., Glenn, P. A., Selle, L. L., & Zarate, M. G. (1995). Attitudes toward rape: Gender and ethnic differences across Asian and Caucasian college students. *Sex Roles*, 32(7-8), 457-467.
- Oyserman, D., & Sakamoto, I. (1997). Being Asian American identity, cultural constructs, and stereotype perception. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 33(4), 435-453.
- Phelan, J. E., Sanchez, D. T., & Broccoli, T. L. (2010). The danger in sexism: The links among fear of crime, benevolent sexism, and well-being. *Sex Roles*, 62(1-2), 35-47.
- Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What women should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26(4), 269-281.
- Raffaelli, M., & Ontai, L. L. (2001). 'She's 16 years old and there's boys calling over to the house': An exploratory study of sexual socialization in Latino families. *Culture, Health, & Sexuality*, 3(3), 295-310.
- Raffaelli, M., & Ontai, L. L. (2004). Gender socialization in Latino/a families: Results from two retrospective studies. *Sex Roles*, 50(5/6), 287-299.
- Romo, L. F., Lefkowitz, E. S., Sigman, M., & Au, T. K. (2002). A longitudinal study of maternal messages about dating and sexuality and their influence on Latino adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 31(1), 59-69.
- Sagebin Bordini, G., & Sperb, T. M. (2013). Sexual double standard: A review of the literature between 2001 and 2010. *Sexuality & Culture*, 17(1), 686-704.
- Seguino, S. (2011). Help or hindrance? Religion's impact on gender inequality in attitudes and outcomes. *World Development*, 39(8), 1308-1321.
- Shechory, M., & Ziv, R. (2007). Relationships between gender role attitudes, role division, and perception of equity among heterosexual, gay and lesbian couples. *Sex Roles*, 56(9-10), 629-638.
- Siegel, J. M. (1995). Looking for Mr. Right? Older single women who become mothers. *Journal of Family Issues*, 16(2), 194-211.
- Stephens, D. P., & Phillips, L. D. (2003). Freaks, gold diggers, divas, and dykes: The sociohistorical development of adolescent African American women's sexual script. *Sexuality & Culture: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly*, 7(1), 3-49.

- Suárez-Orozco, C., & Qin, D. B. (2006). Gendered perspectives in psychology: Immigrant origin youth. *International Migration Review*, 40, 165–198.
- Tang, C. S., Chua, Z., & Jiaqing, O. (2010). A gender perspective on Chinese social relationships and behavior. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 533–553). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Tenenbaum, H. R., & Leaper, C. (2002). Are parents' gender schemas related to their children's gender-related cognitions? A meta-analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, 38(4), 615–630.
- Updegraff, K. A., McHale, S. M., Zeiders, K. H., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Perez-Brena, N. J., Wheeler, L. A., & Rodríguez De Jesús, S. A. (2014). Mexican-American adolescents' gender role attitude development: The role of adolescents' gender and nativity and parents' gender role attitudes. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 43, 2041–2053.
- Vélez-Agosto, N. M., Soto-Crespo, J., Vizcarrondo-Oppeneheimer, M., Vega-Molina, S., & García Coll, C. (2017). Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory revision: Moving culture from the macro into the micro. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 12(5), 900–910.
- Zimmer-Gembeck, M. J., & Petherick, J. (2006). Intimacy dating goals and relationship satisfaction during adolescence and emerging adulthood: Identity formation, age and sex as moderators. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 30(2), 167–177.