JENNIFER M. HEISLER

"My Mother Told Me that Fat Girls Don't Have Friends"

Mothers' Messages about Gender to their Children

Assuming intergenerational socialization occurs in the family, the current study explored how mothers influence future generations' understanding of gender roles through the communication of "memorable messages" (Knapp, Stohl and Reardon). Ninety-five university students completed open-ended questionnaires recalling verbally communicated gendered messages from mothers. Results showed 99 percent of participants could recall a gendered message (N = 112); Recalled message themes included relationships (n = 55), equality (n = 35), and self-sufficiency (n = 20). Discussion of these findings focuses on the prevalence of traditional gender roles ideologies, the intergenerational nature of mother-child communication, and extensions to the memorable message literature.

> …everything has a past. Everything—a person, an object, a word, everything. If you don't know the past, you can't understand the present and plan properly for the future. —Chaim Potok, *Davita's Harp*

In a moment of philosophical reflection, I saw my own motherhood scholarship in Chaim Potok's words. As researcher, I am trained to look to the words of others, to summarize and assess with the intent of reporting upon the present in order to predict the future. As a mother, my present mothering is influenced by the past while I engage with the child who will become the future. As mothers, we are products of our individual histories—whether rejected or embraced—while simultaneously shaping future generations with our words and deeds.

An exploration of these generational connections reflects Joan Kelly-Gadol's conceptualization of and argument for pursuing women's history: "Women's history has a dual goal: to restore women to history and to restore our history

to women" (211). Most feminist researchers acknowledge the absence of women's experience in the construction of popular history. A phenomenological approach (akin to Munhall's "In Women's Experience" volumes) calls for reframing our exploration of women's history. What does it mean to be a woman? Munhall argues,

> Researchers who ask such questions are dealing with extraordinary complexity. Paradoxically, the answers to these questions can be best found in everyday, concrete experience … we simply cannot understand women by comparing them to some 'thing' or by merely theorizing or conceptualizing. We must hear women speak of their experiences if we are to understand their meanings and perceptions. Their description and interpretations come from living in the everyday world—in a body' in time, space, and place; in situated context. (xiii)

Therefore, to understand woman's experiences, we must talk to women. From those conversations we may gain an appreciation of the complex, multi-tiered facets of motherhood.

Within these conversations exist insight into our beliefs about family and our roles within. Gross has suggested that our current relationships are largely the result of how we experienced relationships in our families of origin: "In viewing a relationship, it is important to remember that we carry this family from childhood within us, a family culture, made up of expectations about the world and how to act in it" (Gross n. pag). As such, we are connected and influenced by previous generations through our conversations about life, gender and motherhood.

In family communication studies, this intergenerational connection is called 'socialization.' Socialization, simplified, is the process by which we become social humans. It begins in our first moments of life; we are molded by others, acquiring understandings that shape our identities as women, mothers, daughters, and partners. In turn, as mothers, we shape the next generation, and so on.

Research documents mothers' intergenerational influence on children in a variety of areas including children's understanding of careers (Bulte and Horan 87; Escriche and Olcina 494), relationships (Cui et al. 695; Ehrensaft et al. 748) and future parenting practices (see Högnäs and Carlson 1490; Starrels and Holm 422). A primary element in socialization, however, is the communication of values, beliefs about self and society. Thus gender, the psychological learned construct that shapes our understanding and expectations for male/female, is a large part of the socialization process. While children may learn about sexual stereotypes elsewhere, most experts agree that a child's socialization to gender begins in the family (Witt n. pag; Lytton and Romney 290).

Understanding that mothers play a particularly strong role in socialization process (for examples see Carlson and Knoester 730; Kitamura et al 544), the current study explored one way mothers participate in the process of gender socialization. Borrowing from Hareven's challenges to family scholars, this study "represents an effort to understand the interrelationship between individual time, family time, and historical time" (95) by asking adolescents to recall their past conversations with their mothers about their future gender and relationship roles. One way mothers might communicate these gendered expectations to their children is through the use of "memorable messages" (Knapp, Stohl, and Reardon 29). Following Knapp et al's conceptualization of communicative socialization, the goal of this paper was to identify the presence and content of recalled maternal memorable messages about gender.

Review of Literature

Although sociologists differ in their explanation of the socialization process, most would include a version of Arnett's outcomes: (1) impulse control and the development of conscious, (2) role preparation and performance, including occupation, gender, and institutional, and (3) the development of sources of meaning, what is important, values and gives purpose (618). The socialization process is neither quick nor finite; rather, it is a life-long on-going journey from childhood through adulthood. Individuals develop personality, attitudes toward others, and even gender identities, through observation and imitation. However, in childhood and adult life, only some of our copied behaviors are met with praise and approval from others. Mead (153) argued that we are particularly sensitive to the feedback from *significant* others, such as mothers, in our lives. Thus, we strive to please these important individuals by performing (and repeating) the behaviors that win their approval. As a result, the rewarded behaviors became reinforced and shape the child's worldview. Cheney and Hammond explain the process this way: "When they live up to expectations they are "big boys and girls," when they don't they are naughty" ("Chapter 6: Socialization").

Research in intergenerational transmission suggests this significant other is often the child's mother. In their longitudinal study of women's roles, Farré and Vella explored the impact of a mother's attitudes about work on her children's choice of career(s). The authors found that a mother's impact on her son's beliefs and behaviors ultimate carry weight for the woman he marries; The authors summarize:

> Our results clearly suggest that attitudes towards gender roles are passed from generation to generation and that cultural transmission

> has implications for the labour market behaviour of younger generations.... This result reflects the fact that a woman's attitudes affect her labour supply indirectly through other lifetime choices such as education and fertility. In contrast, the effect of a husband's attitudes on his fertility or educational choices is much smaller. This evidence indicates that men's inherited [maternal] attitudes have an economically and statistically significant effect on the choice of women they marry (234).

Even when adjusting for the variables characterizing the child's household during his/her youth (such as birth order, income, race, religious affiliation), the mother's influence on her child's future career choices remains significant. Moreover, a mother's attitudes and understandings about roles, relationships, and norms will affect the next generation of women—even when those women are not her daughters.

This intersection of relationship and instruction serves as the basis for examining the communicative elements within the socialization process. Individuals' need for connection with others often manifests in communication. In fact, the success of this connection may be determined by the quality and quantity of the communication. Further, communication itself requires social interaction. As children mature, mothers "teach" children cultural and familial norms and rules, sometimes through direct, verbal instructions (e.g., "We don't use words like that in our family"), and other times through more indirect, nonverbal role-modeling (e.g., maternal occupations or education) (Thomas et al. 407; Witt n. pag.).

One way mothers might instruct their children is through the use of "memorable messages" (Knapp, Stohl, and Reardon 25). Memorable messages are those communicative phrases an individual remembers for an extended period of time. According to Knapp et al, memorable messages are relatively short communication units that are remembered and perceived (by the individual) to be influential in his/her life. These "if-then" conditional statements, originally examined in organizational contexts, reflected guidelines or prescriptions for behavior that demanded action from listeners. In spite of the limited verbal history of these messages, Knapp et al argued that the content of the messages "transcended any one specific context" (32) to influence a receiver's general life actions. Further, the messages were most often communicated from older, more experienced individuals to new, lower status employees.

In families, mothers typically assume the role of guide to their "newcomer" adolescents. As experienced cultural "employees," mothers may offer pieces of advice similar to the socializing messages offered to new organizational employees. Furthermore, the developmental "turmoil" of the adolescent years

may be an ideal context for memorable messages. Knapp et al suggested that at different times in life, different messages take on an importance not found in other stages. Assuming adolescence is a particularly tumultuous time with decisions about self and values, communication about roles and/or identity should be unusually salient. This atmosphere of adolescent "self-searching" may allow maternal communication about identity to become particularly memorable. Indeed, Stohl suggested that individual messages become memorable because "they functioned to socialize the individuals by inculcating appropriate values, expected behaviors, and knowledge essential for effectively assuming … [a] role" (233).

Gender expectations certainly form a core of one's self-identity. Unlike sex, which is determined by biology, one's gender is acquired "under the guidance of others through a trial and error learning process" (Wood 21). Children certainly receive information about gender from a variety of sources (e.g., Diekman, McDonald, and Gardner; England Descartes Collier-Meek). Most experts, however, agree that gender socialization within the family is a powerful influence (see Chodorow; Kulik; Lytton and Romney; Horan, Houser and Cowan).

Mothers' own attitudes about gender permeate their parenting practices (Kingsbury and Coplan 513). Research illustrates that mothers continue to hold different expectations for their male and female children; differences that manifest through sex-typing in chores, curfews, toys/gifts (Peters n. pag.; Raag 815), and sports (Messner Ch.2). Traditional ideologies remain most dominate. Kane (160) found that mothers continue to actively discourage (or even prohibit) their children from displays of gender nonconformity, such as boys crying or showing an interest in dance, regardless of social economic status, racial/ethnic background, or sexual orientation. Further, we know that these maternal attitudes influence children's adherence to gender roles in later life (Carlson and Knoester 729; Epstein and Ward 114).

Unfortunately, the content of the communication during the socialization process has largely been overlooked, particularly in the acquisition of gender. Further, traditional methodologies assess gender socialization through check lists requiring participants to 'mark' appropriate categories (e.g., Bem's Sex Role Inventory). With a few notable exceptions (e.g., Gelman, Taylor, and Nguyen 15), little is known about the talk that mothers share with their children about what it means to be a woman (or man) in our current culture.

Therefore, the current study seeks to expand our knowledge of how previous generations influence the present by applying a memorable message conceptualization to recalled maternal messages about gender. Given the research on the intergenerational transmission of maternal attitudes to children, perhaps children's gender socialization occurs through maternal

verbal communication about expectations, similar to the memorable messages found in organizational environments. This discussion suggested the following research questions:

> RQ1: To what extent are participants able to recall verbal memorable gendered messages from mothers?
> RQ2: What are the themes of these recalled verbal gendered messages from mothers?

Method

Participants

Subjects consisted of 95 participants (31 men and 65 women) recruited from undergraduate communication students at a large mid-western university. The majority of participants were in the latter part of their degree (35 percent juniors, 33 percent seniors, 23 percent sophomores, 6 percent freshman, 2 percent other). Participants ranged in age from 18-32 years (*M*= 21yrs, *std. dev.* = 2.82), and represented predominantly Caucasian (76 percent), followed by African American (10 percent) and Asian (9 percent) ethnicities. Five percent of participants did not include ethnicity information. Most participants were members of two (biological) parent households (73 percent). Twenty percent of participants were from separated or divorced families; the remaining 7 percent of participants defined their family situation as "other." When asked to identify the individual who filled the role of "mother", most participants referred to biological parents (95 percent). Other responses included "grandmother," "sibling," "aunt" or "teacher/role model." The majority of participants' mothers worked full-time (64 percent).

Procedure and Analysis

A modified version of Stohl's (1986) memorable message interview script was condensed into an open-ended questionnaire format. Participants received a general description of a "memorable message" and were then prompted to think about the messages they received from their mothers about what it means to be a man/woman. Using approximately ten percent of the questionnaires as representative responses, categories were inductively developed. Through this method, categories and themes emerged that were grounded in the data (Strauss and Corbin 159). These categories were then used as a coding scheme by two trained coders for the analyses of all open-ended responses. Inter-coder agreement reached 93 percent for the message themes. All coding disputes were resolved through discussion resulting in agreement across all categories.

Results

Verbal Gendered Messages

Ninety-four participants (99 percent) produced a total of 112 verbal messages from mothers. These recalled messages were consistent with previous conceptualizations of memorable communication, as defined by Knapp, Stohl, and Reardon (30); the majority of messages contained directives for the recipient's behaviors (e.g., "Don't talk too much, especially in front of a male"). The messages appeared to be guidelines and advice for successful completion of life roles, such as "daughter," "girlfriend/wife," "child." The messages also followed Knapp et al.'s "if-then" format. Although less than half of the messages (n = 45) actually used "if-then" language, the causal relationship was implied in most responses (N = 102). For example, one female participant wrote:

> *My mom always emphasized house chores as the most important job women have to do … [if] I cleaned the house, did the laundry, [then] I could marry with a person who has a wonderful background.*

Most messages contained a simplified cause-effect relationship between their current actions and future relationships, status, and success. Thus, it appeared that the memorable message was not limited solely to the workplace but, rather, exists in other relationships. When the content of these recalled message was examined, three distinct themes emerged: relationships, self-sufficiency, and equality.

Relationships

Participants most frequently recalled gendered messages about relationships, specifically interactions between the recipient of the message (the child) and others in the outside world (n = 55, 49 percent). For instance, approximately three-fourths of recalled messages centered on preparing adolescents for future romantic, heterosexual relationships (e.g., "There is one person out there for everyone. You just have to find him."—female, 22yrs.). Overall, the content of these "relationship" messages seemed to emphasize difference between males and females. Often times, these messages contained references to physical differences. For instance, one female student recalled a message surrounding the onset of menses: "She told me, 'You are a woman now. You need to be careful [referring to pregnancy]." Those messages referencing sexual activity often highlighted a female's reproductive system, or her ability to get pregnant, in contrast to the impossibility of male impregnation. Other messages, however, highlighted psychological difference between males and females:

Guys think about one thing and one thing ONLY!" (female, 19 years)

Regardless of the type of difference mentioned, the recalled messages seemed to incorporate an unstated rationale for the assignment of different gender roles to men and women in daily life. For instance, many of the messages regarding sexual reputations or sexual activity emphasized physical differences (e.g., the female possibility of pregnancy) as mandating different social roles. For instance, one daughter (25 years) recalled her mother's message about sex:

She got really quiet and said, 'YOU can get pregnant, he can't. It will be your life that's ruined, not his. You need to be the one with self-control. YOU need to say no [to sex].

In this case, and others, biological differences were offered as evidence for a deterministic approach to gender role identity.

Equality

Thirty-five memorable messages, however, revolved around equality and similarity between males/females (31 percent). Participants recalling equality messages referred to "you can do anything your brother/sister can," "Its what's on the inside that counts," "Biology means nothing." While these messages were remembered by both male and female participants, the messages seemed to more frequently encourage women to ignore gender stereotypes than men. Messages to women offered guidance and support for future, gender-defying behaviors:

[My mom] always told me I could be anything I wanted when I grew up. There were no rules. (female, 22 years)

Messages to men, however, were more likely to justify or explain previous or current behaviors:

When I was little, like four or five, I had this stuffed doll named Rocky…. my mom said that it didn't matter. That boys could have those things too. (male, 19 years)

Although a relatively small group, the messages reflected current patterns of research identifying gender double standards. In this small area of life, women are "allowed" to exhibit masculine *and* feminine behaviors while men are constrained by traditional gender expectations (e.g., Hughes and Seta 689; Kane 160; Raag 815).

Self-sufficiency

Self-sufficiency messages ($n = 22$; 20 percent) included those messages related to independence, or career goals. Sample messages included:

Be successful… (male, 22 years)

Be sure to provide for your family. (male, 19 years)

Always stand up for yourself. (female, 18 years)

Don't be a loser. (male, 18 year)

Many of these self-sufficiency messages reflected American society's preoccupation with independence and capitalistic economy, encouraging self-esteem and independence as necessary for securing a financially stable future. For example, messages reminded participants to "look out for yourself," "don't depend on others—do things for yourself," or "be sure you can provide for your family." Often these messages where linked to future career goals: "Don't be lazy, it will hurt you later in life" (male, 18yrs.) Unlike previous verbal messages, these messages were recalled freely by both male and female participants with equal likelihood. One explanation for this equality could be common adult experiences; these messages may reflect mothers' own experiences within a "downsizing" American culture. Because one primary function of these memorable messages is advice/instruction, mothers may be offering advice to children based upon personal struggles in the current economy. In this case, an "unusual" context (a difficult economy) becomes the guide for one's behavior, rather than traditional role constraints.

Discussion

This paper provides a small glimpse of how we carry past communicative encounters with us into the present. Although the author makes *no* claims about the causal relationship between recalled messages and actions, one cannot help but see possible link to our history and future in the content of these messages. Although not equal in intensity or scope, it offers glimpses of McMahon's (1995) exploration of motherhood as a gendered and engendering practice. McMahon shares this study's focus on symbolic nature of language; the ways we (through interactions with others, both significant and the outside culture) come to understand what it means to be male or female. Ting-Toomey (Ch.1) argued a person's sense of self is both conscious and unconscious. One's self cannot exist independently of others; the two are linked. In other words, one's

self-identity is partially constructed through interactions with others, particularly those within the family. These memorable messages from mothers were in the past—the lived experiences of our subjects. Per the definition of these as Knapp et al's 'memorable,' the participants are likely to carry these messages into their future relationships and families. Although the messages are an aged 'snapshot' of the mothers' views on gender expectations, the messages existence (through participant recall) belied the likelihood they would influence a future generation of mothers.

The messages recalled by the participants of this study gave insight into the ways present-day mothers think about gender roles. Further, they give some insight into the ways these mothers are training future generations of mothers and fathers to think about their roles in our world. In answer to the research questions guiding this study, it appears that memorable messages can exist within the familial as well as the organizational realm. Adolescents appeared to have limited difficulty recalling message from mothers. The following section provides a broader perspective on the implications of these answers.

Messages from parents are memorable

Similar to those messages found in the workplace, it appeared that the messages in this alternative context were important and memorable. In many cases participants wrote the recalled message using quotation marks or the phrase "she said…" suggesting they were recalling direct quotes. While the accuracy of the recalled quotes to the original message was not verifiable, participants' sentiments that they were recalling the exact sentences uttered by mothers were interesting. Participants, in many cases, seemed to believe they could recall a single message spoken months or even years earlier. This perceived accuracy by participants might have suggested that adolescents do listen and retain maternal communications. Furthermore, these recalled messages may provide insight into future expectations. Many participants extrapolated messages about future interactions ("[I] learned that taking care of the home is supposed to be a woman's job"). Thus, not only did participants take note of mother-talk but were able to "learn" something about their own role(s).

The prevalence of traditional ideologies

Setting the emerging themes aside, perhaps the most striking connection was the overarching traditional nature of the recalled messages. Over half of the (58 percent; n = 129) messages reflected conventional attitudes, such as "women should never ask a man out on a date" (female, 20 years) or "men should be concerned with providing for their families—they have to have a good job and not be stupid" (male, 20 years). These messages seemed to support the current status of traditionalism in American families; research

reports that women are still more involved in housework and child care then men (Strazdins, Galligan, Scannell 229).

Some messages reflected a gender nonconformity where the participants recalled being encouraged to embrace behaviors and roles assigned to the opposite sex (e.g., "My dad loved to clean the house. He always encouraged me to learn [how to do] laundry and cook."), or messages designed to minimize gender categories and encourage neutrality:

> *My mother said I could do anything I wanted [as an adult].* (female, 19 years)

> *My [family] always emphasized fairness and gave my sister and I the exact same allowance.* (male, 22 years)

This mix of nontraditional messages adds to previous research regarding the "transitional state" of gender (Lease 253; Wood). In his description of family history and change in the United States, Mintz highlights how women's changing roles impacted family structures:

> During the early nineteenth century … a new conception of sex roles, women's task was to shape the character of children, make the home a haven of peace and order, and exert a moral and uplifting influence on men. Especially since World War II, this process of prioritizing the role of women has been the reversed as the number of married women participating in the labor force has dramatically increase. A massive influx of wives and mothers into the work force has, in turn, made wives less financially dependent on their husbands and called into question traditional assumptions about the sexual division of roles in housekeeping and child rearing. (xix)

Although most recalled messages reflected traditional gender stereotypes, some participants recalled messages encouraging them to ignore rules to purposely defy these sex-typed behaviors (e.g., "Girls are told to sit still and look pretty. My mother told me to run around, get dirty, and play baseball in the street"—female, 20 years).

An overall assessment of the gender ideologies present in the maternal messages revealed that nonconformist messages most often referenced "winning" or career success, while relationship messages (such as dating or physical appearance) reinforced traditional stereotypes. Thus, participants recalled receiving counter hegemonic messages from mothers regarding roles in the workforce while encouraging traditionalism within relationships. Perhaps these mixed

messages offer some explanation for current gender roles, such as the prevalent "second shift" performed by women (see Hothschild 1989). Furthermore, the mixed messages regarding sexual equality during adolescence may explain increased cultural acceptance of female sexuality and decision-making in younger years (Davis and Tucker-Brown 116; Fantasia 50) but adherence to traditional roles in relationships.

Conclusion and Limitations

The current study provided a view of historical mothering through the lens of intergenerational messages between mothers and their children. Although it provided an expansion of previous memorable message research, the current study faces several limitations. First, this research is limited in scope. The sample was homogenous in many ways and unrepresentative of our culture. Second, the thematic analysis offers no evidence as to whether the recalled messages were influential in the participants' lives. Although the ability to recall a message from one's mother may attest to the message's importance, it was impossible to determine the extent and/or valance of the possible influence. Yet, these limitations offered avenues for future projects. Future researchers would do well to uncover whether recalled memorable messages were, indeed, the most influential to the participant. Or, if not, what increases the saliency of a message whose content is rejected by the receiver. In any event, maternal messages are likely to remain a continuous source of research for scholars interested in the mother-child relationship.

References

Ahrens, Julia A., and Karen M. O'Brien. "Predicting Gender Role Attitudes in Adolescent Females: Ability, Agency, and Parental Factors." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 20 (1996): 409-417.

Arnett, Jeffrey J. "Broad and Narrow Socialization: The Family in the Context of a Cultural Theory." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 57.3 (1995): 617-28.

Bem Sex Role Inventory. 1 Vol. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc, 2009.

Bulte, Erwin H., and Richard D. Horan. "Intergenerational Transmission of Preferences." *Economics Letters* 112.1 (2011): 85-7.

Carlson, Daniel L., and Chris Knoester. "Family Structure and the Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Ideology." *Journal of Family Issues* 32.6 (2011): 709-34.

Cheney, Paul, and Ron J. Hammond. "Chapter 6: Socialization." Introduction to Sociology 2009. Web. 1 Dec. 2013.

Chodorow, Nancy. *The Reproduction of Mothering*. Berkley: University of

California Press, 1978.
Cui, Ming, et al. "Intergenerational Transmission of Relationship Aggression: A Prospective Longitudinal Study." *Journal of Family Psychology* 24.6 (2010): 688-97.
Davis, Sarita, and Aisha Tucker-Brown. "Effects of Black Sexual Stereotypes on Sexual Decision Making among African American Women." *Journal of Pan African Studies* 5.9 (2013): 111.
De Valk, Helga A., and Aart C. Liefroer. "Timing Preferences for Women's Family-Life Transitions: Intergenerational Transmission Among Migrants and Dutch." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 69.1 (2007): 190-206.
Diekman, Amanda, Mary McDonald, and Wendi Gardner. "Love Means Never Having to be Careful: The Relationship Between Reading Romance Novels and Safe Sex Behavior." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 24 (2000): 179-188.
Eccles, Jacquelynne S., Janis E. Jacobs and Rena D. Harold. "Gender Role Stereotypes, Expectancy Effects, and Parents' Socialization of Gender Differences." *Journal of Social Issues* 46 (1990): 183-202.
Epstein, Marina, and L. Monique Ward. "Exploring Parent-Adolescent Communication about Gender: Results from Adolescent and Emerging Adult Samples." *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 65.1 (2011): 108-18.
Ehrensaft, Miriam K., et al. "Intergenerational Transmission of Partner Violence: A 20-Year Prospective Study." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 71.4 (2003): 741-53.
England, Dawn Elizabeth, Lara Descartes, and Melissa A. Collier-Meek. "Gender Role Portrayal and the Disney Princesses." *Sex Roles* 64.7 (2011): 555-67.
Fantasia, Heidi Collins. "Influences of Social Norms and Context on Sexual Decision Making among Adolescent Women." *Journal of Midwifery & Women's Health* 56.1 (2011): 48.
Farré, Lidia and Francis Vella. "The Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Role Attitudes and its Implications for Female Labour Force Participation." *Economica* 80.318 (2013): 219-47.
Gelman, Susan A., Marianne G. Taylor and Simone P. Nguyen. "Mother-Child Conversations about Gender: Understanding the Acquisition of Essentialist Beliefs." *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development* 69.1 (2004): i-142.
Gross, Stanley G. "Like Parent, Like Child: The Enduring Influence of Family." *Psych Central* N.p., 28 April 2000. Web. 26 March 2014.
Högnäs, Robin S., and Marcia J. Carlson. ""Like Parent, Like Child?": The Intergenerational Transmission of Nonmarital Childbearing." *Social Science Research* 41.6 (2012): 1480-94.
Horan, Sean M., Marian L. Houser, and Renee L. Cowan. "Are Children

Communicated with Equally? an Investigation of Parent-Child Sex Composition and Gender Role Communication Differences." *Communication Research Reports* 24.4 (2007): 361-72.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell. *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1989.

Hughes, Farrah M. and Catherine E. Seta. "Gender Stereotypes: Children's Perceptions of Future Compensatory Behavior Following Violations of Gender Roles." *Sex Roles* 49 (2003): 685-691.

Kane, Emily. "No Way My Boys are Going to be Like That!" Parents' Responses to Children's Gender Nonconformity." *Gender and Society* 20.2 (2006): 149-76.

Kelly-Gadol, Joan. "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History." *Contemporary Sociological Thought: Themes and Theories.* Ed. Sean P. Hier. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2005. 211-233.

Kingsbury, Mila K., and Robert J. Coplan. "Mothers' Gender-Role Attitudes and their Responses to Young Children's Hypothetical Display of Shy and Aggressive Behaviors." *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 66.7-8 (2012): 506-17.

Kitamura, Toshinori, et al. "Intergenerational Transmission of Parenting Style and Personality: Direct Influence Or Mediation?" *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 18.5 (2009): 541-56.

Knapp, Mark L., Cynthia Stohl and Kathleen K. Reardon. "Memorable Messages." *Journal of Communication* 31 (1981): 27-41.

Kulik, Liat. "Intrafamiliar Congruence on Gender-Role Ideology: Husband-Wife Verses Parents-Offspring." *The Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 31 (2000): 91-106.

Kulik, Liat. "The Impact of Social Background on Gender-Role Ideology: Parents' Versus Children's Attitudes." *Journal of Family Issues* 32.1 (2002): 53-73. Print.

Lease, Susanne H. "Testing a Model of Men's Nontraditional Occupational Choices." *Career Development Quarterly* 51 (2003): 244-258.

Lytton, Hugh, and David M. Romney. "Parents' Differential Socialization of Boys and Girls: A Meta-analysis." *Psychological Bulletin* 109 (1991): 267-297.

McMahon, M. *Engendering Motherhood: Identity and Self-Transformation in Women's Lives*. New York: Guilford, 1995.

Mead, George Herbert. "Play, the Game, and the Generalized Other, Section 20." *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist.* Ed. Charles Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 152-164.

Messner, Michael A. *It's all for the Kids: Gender, Families, and Youth Sports*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Mintz, Steven and Susan Kellogg. *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life*. New York: Simon & Shuster Inc, 1988. Print.

Munhall, Patricia L. Ed. *In Women's Experience, volume II*. New York: National League for Nursing Press, 1995. Print.

Peters, John F. "Gender Socialization of Adolescents in the Home: Research and Discussion." *Adolescence* 29.116 (1994): 913+. *General OneFile*. Web. 1 Dec. 2013.

Potok, Chaim. *Davita's Harp*. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1996.

Raag, Tarja. "Influences of Social Expectations of Gender, Gender Stereotypes, and Situational Constraints on Children's Toy Choices." *Sex Roles* 41 (1999): 809-831.

Rodríguez-García, José-Miguel, and Ulrich Wagner. "Learning to be Prejudiced: A Test of Unidirectional and Bidirectional Models of Parent-Offspring Socialization." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33.6 (2009): 516-23.

Starrels, Marjorie E. and Kristen E. Holm. "Adolescents' Plans for Family Formation: Is Parental Socialization Important?" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 62 (2000): 416-429.

Stohl, Cynthia. "The Role of Memorable Messages in the Process of Organizational Socialization." *Communication Quarterly* 34 (1986): 231-249.

Strauss, Anselm, and Juliet Corbin. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory, second edition.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998.

Strazdins, Lyndall M., Roslyn F. Galligan, and Evelyn D. Scannell. "Gender and Depressive Symptoms: Parents' Sharing of Instrumental and Expressive Tasks When Their Children are Young." *Journal of Family Psychology* 11.2 (1997): 222-233.

Thomas, Rachel N., and Judith E. Owen Blakemore. "Adults' Attitudes about Gender Nonconformity in Childhood." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 42.3 (2013): 399-412.

Ting-Toomey, Stella, ed. *The Challenge of Facework: Cross-Cultural and Interpersonal Issues.* Albany, NY: The State University of New York, 1994.

Witt, Susan D. "Parental Influence on Children's Socialization to Gender Roles." *Adolescence* 32.126 (1997): 253-9. Web. 1 Dec. 2013.

Wood, Julia. T. *Gendered Lives: Communication, Gender, and Culture*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 2003.