The Relationship between Gender Socialization and Adolescent Educational Expectations*

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ABSTRACT

Much empirical research has been devoted to examining how early life socialization and experiences shape adolescent aspirations. This paper adds to this body of research by examining adolescent educational expectations at a crucial developmental stage with a focus on ideational processes. We test hypotheses derived from the Eccles et al. model of achievement-related choices regarding links between gender socialization and expected educational attainment. Using recent survey data from children of a nationally representative sample of women in the United States, we demonstrate a positive relationship between gender egalitarianism and expected educational attainment for ninth- and tenth-grade girls. Gender egalitarianism is correlated only with ninth- and tenth-grade boys' expectations of attending graduate or professional school. Our findings suggest the pivotal role of gender socialization in shaping girls' educational trajectories, and more generally highlight the importance of ideology and worldview in the construction of status attainment goals.

The Relationship between Gender Socialization and Adolescent Educational Expectations

Given the economic, social, and health benefits derived from higher education (Jencks et al. 1979; Kaplan et al. 1987; Ross and Wu 1995), and the demonstrated power of early educational aspirations and expectations in shaping eventual achievement (Campbell 1983; Eccles, Vida, and Barber 2004; Sewell, Haller and Portes 1969), much effort has been focused on understanding how aspirations and expectations develop. Main areas of focus have included socioeconomic resources (Blau and Duncan 1967; Farrell and Pollard 1987; Smith 1991), parental modeling and socialization (Cohen 1987), and early success and reinforcement in school (Braddock and Dawkins 1993; Hossler and Stage 1992; Marjoribanks 1985). In addition to these individual-level characteristics and experiences, research has begun to acknowledge the role of cultural ideology in framing the educational opportunities that individuals view as viable (Eccles 1994).

Viewing cultural ideology as a force in the development of educational expectations has been especially informative for understanding gender gaps in educational and occupational achievement (Alexander and Eckland 1974; Eccles 1987; Jozefowicz, Barber, and Eccles 1993). Lower rates of female education and career achievement in certain fields are thought largely to stem from structural constraints, namely society's gender norms that have historically kept women from certain educational and career paths, partly by emphasizing their value as wives and mothers and de-emphasizing their own intellectual abilities (Correll 2001; Mahaffy and Ward 2002; Nash 1979). In fact, girls who believe that boys are better than girls at math achieve lower math scores than those who believe girls are equally capable, and boys are more likely than girls

to select math-related careers, not because boys are better than girls at math, but because boys *think* they are better at math than girls think of themselves (Correll 2001; Greene et al. 1999). This self-perception difference is arguably an internalization of gendered norms regarding ability and achievement, leading girls to be more likely to question themselves and their abilities than would boys.

Central to studies of how achievement gaps may be related to gender socialization is the assumption that, at the individual-level, ideologies about gender shape educational or career aspirations and expectations. This link has yet to be tested empirically, but studies do show that many young girls view themselves as worse at math than boys and less prepared to make education or career sacrifices for family life (Eccles [Parsons] et al. 1983; Nash 1979). In this paper, we explicitly theorize and test the relationship between gender ideology and educational expectations for adolescents, hoping to better understand the role of ideology and worldview in setting a course for future achievement. We consider how this relationship between gender ideology and educational aspirations may be different for girls and boys. We test the hypotheses we derive using data from the Children of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) 1979 project. This allows us to investigate how ninth- and tenth-grade boys' and girls' gender ideologies relate to their educational expectations, controlling for self-esteem, grade point average, and demographic and family background factors.

Gender Socialization and Educational Expectations

Ideologies, or beliefs about how the world should operate, are key social psychological factors that frame the strategies of action an individual sees as possible (Swidler 1986). Individuals' views of social reality have been measured as values and attitudes that can affect

educational aspirations and subsequent attainment (Kohn 1969; Looker and Pineo 1983). Early on, status attainment models focused on the role of educational values and attitudes (e.g., as self-concept and academic achievement) in shaping aspirations; however, increasingly scholars have begun to incorporate other values and attitudes into frameworks for the construction of educational and occupational choices. An example of this type of innovation is found in the work of Eccles (1994). Eccles (1994) theorizes that gender differences in adolescent and young adult educational and occupational choices are the result of gender socialization over the early life course. Eccles' model describes potential mechanisms through which socialization leads to difference and contributes to adult inequality.

Specifically, Eccles (1994) argues that part of what shapes adolescents' "achievement-related choices" are their own perceptions of gendered roles from a young age. She argues that gendered expectations come from the cultural milieu as well as from socializers such as parents, teachers, and peers. These gendered expectations usually manifest themselves in the form of hegemonic gender beliefs, as these beliefs are institutionalized in the norms of public settings and within family relations (Ridgeway and Correll 2004). These beliefs are so pervasive that most people are aware of them and use them as the expectations for gendered behavior in interactions (Eagly, Wood, and Diekman 2000; Fiske et al. 2002, as cited in Ridgeway and Correll 2004).

One specific dimension of gender socialization that has been shown to affect aspirations and achievement are gender stereotypes that contain specific expectations for competence. Studies suggest that girls (especially juniors and seniors in high school) have less confidence in their abilities for mathematics, athletics, and English and that translates into less ambition for

careers involving these abilities (Jozefowicz, Barber and Eccles 1993; Lupart, Cannon, and Telfer 2004). It has been hypothesized that this is because society sends girls messages that they are less capable in these areas and that there are fewer reasons for them to invest time and energy in these skills and activities. It has been shown at the individual-level that acceptance of gender stereotypes regarding achievement undermines girls' confidence in their own math abilities and interest in math-related activities (Eccles 1993; Eccles and Harold 1992; Parsons, Adler, and Kaczala 1982).

Although gender stereotypes circumscribing the intellectual abilities of men vs. women have been the primary focus of research linking gender socialization to aspirations and expectations, other dimensions of internalized socialization may also be influential. Given that educational achievement relates to career achievement, and career choices are often negotiated with family aspirations in mind, especially for women, another potentially influential domain of gender socialization for educational expectations is attitudes towards gendered roles within family life. Eccles (1987; 1994) argues that young women's gender ideologies suggest educational and occupation paths that fit most closely with their beliefs about the appropriate work/family role balance women should have. Other research has argued that gender ideology is a lens through which individuals view family-related decisions in particular (Mahaffy and Ward 2002; Zvonkovic et al. 1996). Young women who believe women and men are equal partners in relationships, and should have equal opportunities outside of the home, are likely to invest more years in education than those who believe women are uniquely able to handle childrearing and domestic work and should have as their primary responsibility performing those tasks in their own homes. For example, there is evidence that women are more willing to choose to limit their

careers because of their beliefs in a non-egalitarian style of marriage and parenting (Sears 1979; Kerr 1985; Jozefowicz, Barber, and Eccles 1993).

So far, we have primarily focused on ways in which gender ideologies shape female educational expectations. We do expect that gender ideologies regarding the abilities and roles in which women are expected to focus and excel will be most salient to girls' education plans; however, there may be ways in which boys' gender ideologies also shape their educational expectations. For example, boys who have more gender egalitarian views may plan to share more equally in housework and childcare tasks, thus increasing the importance of achieving a relatively flexible and autonomous career. Also, these boys who plan to have working wives/partners may sense the need to be able to help provide financial resources to afford to hire assistance with housework or childcare tasks.

Other Social Factors Raising Educational Expectations

A wide variety of other social and demographic factors have been linked to higher educational aspirations. To the extent that these may also be correlates of egalitarian gender ideologies, we must take them into account when theorizing these processes. Below we describe a set of factors related to both educational expectations and gender ideology.

Racial/Ethnic Minority Status

Racial/ethnic minorities have greater net aspirations than do whites (Karraker 1992; Mau and Bikos 2000; Qian and Blair 1999; Wilson and Wilson 1992), although differences in human, financial and social capital can account for some of these differences (Qian and Blair 1999). Increased aspirations among racial/ethnic minorities is suggested to result from parents in minority families having a greater influence than do white parents on adolescent high school

academic decisions (Wilson and Wilson 1992).

Family Socioeconomic Status

Early status attainment research found strong links between father's educational and occupational attainment and son's educational and occupational attainment (Featherman and Houser 1978; Kelley 1973; Sewell and Houser 1975). Subsequent research found a positive association between father's educational attainment and adolescent educational aspirations (Cohen 1987), although the relationship between mother's educational attainment and adolescent educational aspirations is less straightforward. Cohen (1987) and Karraker (1992) note a positive association between mothers' educational attainment and their daughter's educational aspirations while Rhea and Otto (2001) found no relationship. This increased focus on mother's educational attainment and employment on adolescent educational expectations is a recognition of the roles that mothers continue to play in child socialization through significant influence on child cognitive development (Menaghan and Parcel 1991; Parcel and Menaghan 1994). In general, parental socioeconomic status is positively related to adolescent educational aspirations (Mau and Bikos 2000; Smith 1991; but see also Majoribanks 1998; Rhea and Otto 2001), as greater parental resources allow for the providing of educational opportunities while fewer resources serve to truncate opportunities.

Family Structure

Deficit theories argue that alternative family forms, such as divorced or single parent homes, are detrimental to children, as they lack adequate academic support mechanisms (Karraker 1992; McLanahan and Sandefur 1994; Seltzer 1994). Living with fewer than two parents or in a stepparent household limits access to educational opportunities through lack of

resources, and may affect educational expectations in a similar manner (Astone and McLanahan 1991; Downey 1995). Loss of a father figure in the home negatively affects boys' educational outcomes in particular (Krein and Beller 1988).

Parental Expectations

Parental expectations are a crucial social psychological component of the status attainment process, as adolescents are theorized to internalize parental norms and preferences and act accordingly, resulting in intergenerational status transmission (Biddle et al 1980; Otto and Haller 1979; Wilson and Portes 1975). In general, parental aspirations are positively correlated with adolescent educational aspirations (Mau and Bikos 2000; Rhea and Otto 2001; Smith 1991; Wilson and Wilson 1992). Although some research shows parents do not differ in the use of defining or modeling educational expectations by gender of the adolescent (Carter and Wojtkiewicz 2000), the most effective kind of socialization may differ by gender of adolescent (Cohen 1987; Saltiel 1985). Research has shown that both defining aspirations and modeling having high aspirations influences both girls and boys, although the gendered nature of these mechanisms is not consistently apparent (Cohen 1987; Saltiel 1985).

School Achievement

There is a positive association between academic experiences and achievement and educational aspirations, as previous experiences provide concrete evidence in the cost/benefit analysis to decide whether additional education is feasible (Cohen 1987; Haller and Portes 1973; Jencks et al. 1983; Mau and Bikos 2000). Further, having a low grade point average is associated with weak attachment to school, leading adolescents to be less likely to aspire for more education (Astone and McLanahan 1991).

Self-Esteem

Higher self-esteem, better self-concept, and better self-image are generally related to greater educational aspirations (Lay and Wakstein 1985; Sarigiani et al. 1990; Wigfield and Eccles 1994). Youth who think more highly of their abilities expect to obtain more years of education.

Religious Affiliation and Practice

Religious beliefs and involvement continue to be important factors in the decisions adolescents make about their future. Lenski (1963) noted that adolescents' religious affiliation (or the religion in which they were raised) shapes how they view education and career success. For example, conservative Protestant adolescents have lower educational aspirations than do other adolescents, and this relationship is stronger for young women than it is for young men (Darnell and Sherkat 1997; Sherkat and Darnell 1999). To some extent, this association may be explained by the less egalitarian gender ideologies of conservative Protestants, although this relationship is much more nuanced and complex in practice (Denton 2004; Fan and Marini 2000). On the other hand, regardless of affiliation, adolescents who attend religious services frequently have higher educational aspirations than do less frequent attenders (Muller and Ellison 2001). There may be something about the pro-social conformity-emphasizing nature of religious practice that encourages academic and career achievement for young adults.

Hypotheses

Based on the ideas presented above, we hypothesize that the more gender egalitarian ninth- and tenth-graders are, the more education they will expect to achieve. More specifically, we hypothesize that more gender egalitarian adolescents will be more likely to expect to attend

both college and graduate or professional/school. However, we believe the relationship between gender ideology and education expectations will be stronger for girls than boys.

METHODS

Data

The data for this project come from the Children of the NLSY79, a survey of the biological children of the women in the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1979 (NLSY79). The NLSY79, sponsored by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the U.S. Department of Labor, was designed to gather information over time on the labor market experience of men and women. The Children of the NLSY79 study began in 1986. The complete child sample statistically represents the children of women who were born during the years 1957 to 1964 and who resided in the United States in 1978. Beginning in 1994, these women's children completed a questionnaire similar to that of their mothers biennially. Our sample includes adolescents in the ninth or tenth grade in 1994, 1996, 1998 or 2002 (N = 1419). No observations from 2000 were included, because a key concept, gender ideology, was not measured in that year. All data are from the year in which the respondent was in the ninth or tenth grade, except for mother's expectations as noted below.

Measures

The dependent variable in these analyses, expected educational attainment, was measured using the following question: "As things stand now, what is the highest grade or year [of school] you think you will actually complete?" Using the responses to this question, we constructed two dichotomous measures of expected educational attainment: expectation of attending college (1 = yes) and expectation of attending graduate or professional school (1 = yes). Anyone who

expressed a desire for more than 12 years of education was coded "yes" for expectation of attending college, and anyone who expressed a desire for more than 16 years of education was coded "yes" for expectation of attending graduate or professional school.

Gender ideology is measured by responses to seven statements about attitudes toward women working, combined together into one index. The statements included "A wife who carries out her full family responsibilities doesn't have time for outside employment;" "Employment of both parents is necessary to keep up with the high cost of living;" and "Women are much happier if they stay at home and take care of their children." The resulting index had high internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha ranged from .71 to .73 depending on the year) and was constructed so that a low score reflects less egalitarian attitudes.

Race/ethnicity of the adolescent was included as a set of categorical variables, with non-Hispanic white as the reference category. There were too few adolescents in each of the racial/ethnic groups other than white or black for more specific other comparisons.

Socioeconomic status and family background were measured by both biological parents' educational attainment, whether the mother was employed at the time the young woman was interviewed, family income, and household structure. Mother's and father's educational attainment are measured by a set of three categorical variables: less than high school education, graduated from high school, and having some college education, where graduating from high school is the reference category. There were many cases where father's educational attainment was missing; this is captured by a dummy variable. The natural logarithm of total family income, converted to 2002 dollars, was included. Using data from both the mother and young adult interviews, we determined household structure and included this as a set of dummy variables:

two biological parent family, two-parent step-family, living with mother and living in some other kind of household (this includes father-only, grandparents, foster parents, etc.), where living in a two biological parent household was the reference category in the analyses.

Mother's expectations for their child's education were measured when the girls were in the sixth grade. The mothers were asked how far they thought their child would go in school. The options were: 1 = leaving high school before graduation; 2 = graduating high school; 3 = some college or other training; 4 = graduating from college; and, 5 = getting more than four years of college. This measure is included as a continuous variable in the analyses.

The young adults were asked their averages grades for the previous year in school, ranging from A+ to F. The average grades were included as a continuous variable in the analyses where A+ is considered a high score and F is considered low. Many respondents did not report their average grades for the previous year; for those adolescents, grade point average (GPA) was imputed.[1] Those whose GPA was imputed are noted via a dummy variable.

Self-esteem is measured by responses to ten statements with likert-type response categories, combined together into one index. The statements included "I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others;" "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself;" and "All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure." The resulting index had high internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha ranged from .81 to .85 depending on the year) and was constructed so that a high score reflects high self-esteem.

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[1]GPA was imputed by performing regression analyses on the full sample of ninth/tenth graders. The predictors in the imputation equation yielding the greatest adjusted R^2 value included previously documented achievement scores, characteristics of the school and their current curriculum, and maternal education level.

Religious affiliation was categorized into six groups based on the schema presented by Steensland and colleagues (2000) using the level of detail available in the NLSY: Conservative Protestant, Mainline Protestant, Indeterminate Protestant, Catholic, other religion, and no religion, with Conservative Protestant as the reference category in the analyses. Religious service attendance was measured as frequency of attendance and was included as a continuous variable in the analyses.

Analytic Technique

We used logistic regression for these analyses. Person-level weights were incorporated to allow the findings to represent estimates of the population. The reported significance tests are based on standard errors that are clustered by family and adjusted using the Huber-White method to account for the correlation between observations from the same family, as there are several sets of siblings in the sample. We initially included a measure for year in which the data were collected. However, as this measure had no effect across the models and removing improved model fit, we include here the more parsimonious models without the measure of cohort.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for this sample by gender. Girls had significantly higher educational expectations than did boys with 68% of girls expecting to attend college and 62% of boys. In addition, 21% of girls expect to attend graduate or professional school, but only 11% of boys do. Almost one-third of mothers had at least some college education, although most mothers believed their children would get at least some college education. Over 70% of the mothers were employed when their child was in the ninth or tenth

grade. Almost half of the respondents' families were comprised of both of their biological parents; almost 20% lived in step-families, 30% lived only with their mothers, and about 7% lived in some other kind of family arrangement.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Multivariate Analyses

Table 2 presents the results of the logistic regression analyses predicting ninth- and tenth-grade adolescent expectation of attending college. Not only are girls' and boys' educational plans regarding college attendance different, the process that contributes to these differences is also different according to the likelihood ratio test ($\chi^2 = 44.79$ with 23 df). As hypothesized, girls' gender ideology, but not boys', is statistically significantly related to their expectation of attending college. Girls with more egalitarian gender beliefs have an increased likelihood of expecting to attend college.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Other factors that varied by gender in how they were related to the expectation of attending college include mothers' educational expectations for their children, self-esteem, race/ethnicity, and religious affiliation. Mother's educational expectations had twice the effect on boys' expectations of attending college as on girls' expectations, in that boys whose mothers expected them to attend college (as compared to graduating from high school and not attend college) had an 82% greater chance of expecting to attend college, as compared to girls' increased likelihood of 39%. Self-esteem had a positive and statistically significant relationship with the expectation of attending college for girls but not for boys. Non-white, non-black girls are 65% less likely than white girls to expect to attend college, while race/ethnicity had no effect

on boys' college attendance expectations. Catholic boys were twice as likely to expect to attend college than were Conservative Protestant boys, while religious affiliation had no effect on girls' college attendance expectations.

The effects of other predictors generally follow expected patterns. Adolescents whose mothers did not graduate from high school are less likely than those whose mothers are high school graduates to expect to attend college. Boys whose mothers have some college education are twice as likely as those with high school educated mothers to expect to attend college. Higher achievement in school as measured by GPA also increases the likelihood of expecting to attend college. Father's education was not correlated with expectations of attending college, nor were mother's employment status, household structure and family income.

While expecting to attend college may be considered normative for contemporary American adolescents, expecting to attend graduate or professional school is less common. As shown in Table 3, girls in this sample were more likely than boys to expect to attend graduate or professional school. We modeled expectations of attending graduate or professional school using the same predictors as the previous analysis, using only the subsample of adolescents who said they expected to attend college.[2] The process that determined the likelihood of expecting to attend graduate or professional school was significantly different for girls and boys (likelihood ratio test: $\chi 2 = 37.598$ with 23 df). As hypothesized, having a more egalitarian gender ideology significantly increased the likelihood of girls expecting to attend graduate or professional school. Further, boys with more egalitarian gender ideologies also had an increased likelihood of

[2]As attending college is a necessary condition for attending graduate or professional school, we felt it appropriate to limit the sample in this set of analyses to only those adolescents who expected to attend college.

expecting to attend graduate or professional school.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Non-white, non-black boys are significantly less likely to expect to attend graduate or professional school than are white boys. There is no difference in expectations by race/ethnicity for girls. The significantly lower likelihood of expecting to attend graduate or professional school for Catholic boys (as compared to Conservative Protestant boys) and girls whose religious affiliation is not listed (as compared to Conservative Protestant girls) were effects found only in the within-gender analyses. Higher achieving adolescents, as measured by GPA, had an increased likelihood of expecting to attend graduate or professional school regardless of gender.

DISCUSSION

Educational aspirations and expectations research has long focused on the effects of family socioeconomic status with only a recent inclusion of other social psychological mechanisms. This historically narrow focus has ignored other contexts within which educational expectations are formed, namely through gender socialization. This study examined the relationship between gender ideology and educational expectations in a sample of ninth- and tenth-grade adolescents, taking into consideration other factors known to shape educational expectations.

After considering the association of social class, parental expectations, self-esteem, academic achievement, and religious practice with expectations, a few discoveries stand out. First, girls with egalitarian beliefs about gender have higher educational expectations. Believing, while in high school, that women are should have the same kinds of opportunities as men inspires girls to expect to attain more education, conceivably putting them on more equal footing

with men in the future.

Second, boys with egalitarian beliefs are more likely to expect to attend graduate or professional school. This may be due to the level of autonomy and relative flexibility that comes with a professional career - the ability to set working hours and portability of skills to other locations [e.g., doctors, lawyers, academics). It is possible that more egalitarian boys desire a job that will allow them the opportunity to be more of a companion husband and involved father than the current stereotype describes. While tentative, this could be seen as evidence of a changing cultural milieu encompassing gender, work and family. Additional investigation into this correlation is warranted.

Another discovery we made was that the positive influence of self-esteem on educational expectations exists only for girls, and only for the expectation of attending college. The dominant form of gender socialization would lead boys to feel confident even when they should not be and girls to question their abilities even when they should not. In the case of expected education, it is the girls who feel good about themselves who expect to attend college. For boys, how they feel about themselves is irrelevant as they expect to do what is necessary to be an appropriate man in the future based on their internalized definition. As noted above, for some of them, that means attaining a professional degree so they can both provide for and enjoy their families.

This research provides evidence that the influence of gender socialization is more diffuse than previously thought. Further research should examine whether the differences in expected education by gender ideology and self-esteem translate into differences in educational attainment, occupational attainment, and family formation for girls.

Adolescents coming of age in the 1990s and later have never known a time when the majority of mothers were not in the labor force. Girls in particular expect to negotiate decisions about work and family, and may make decisions about educational attainment and career development as a result of their beliefs regarding women, work, and family. Boys, while less egalitarian in beliefs, are more likely than those in earlier cohorts to expect an intellectually and occupationally equal wife and a companion marriage instead of one based solely on specialization. Adolescents in the ninth and tenth grade are thinking about the future. They are trying to decide the kind of adult they want to become and determine the route through which they can achieve their dreams. Educational attainment is certainly part of their decision. As predicted by the status attainment perspective, girls whose parents have high expectations of them expect to attain high levels of education as well. Perceived ability and agency in ninth and tenth grade are substantial predictors of educational expectations. Caution is warranted, however, in interpreting these relationships as indicative of the relative importance of the factors over time. It is likely that girls whose parents had high expectations for them in the sixth grade worked harder in middle and early high school and feel better about themselves as agentic actors. Nonetheless, parental characteristics and ability alone do not explain educational expectations. Any emphasis on encouraging girls to excel in high school or methods of boosting their self-esteem in order to facilitate equality in educational outcomes that does not also include an understanding of the role of gender ideologies may be ignoring an important and early mechanism through which educational trajectories are constructed. This concern can be echoed in the case of boys, whose internalization of egalitarian gender beliefs has the potential to create a cohort of egalitarian men for the future.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics by Gender

	Girls (n = 719)		Boys (n = 700)	
Variable	Mean [a]	Standard Deviation	Mean [a]	Standard Deviation
Expecting to Attend College (1 = yes)	.68	n/a	.62*	n/a
Expecting to Attend Graduate or Professional School (1 = yes)	.21	n/a	.11**	n/a
Gender Ideology (12 = non-egalitarian, 28 = egalitarian)	22.29	2.94	20.34**	2.79
White	.41	n/a	.35	n/a
Black	.44	n/a	.47	n/a
Other Race/Ethnicity	.15	n/a	.18	n/a
Mother Less than High School	.22	n/a	.19	n/a
Mother a High School Graduate	.49	n/a	.56	n/a
Mother Attended Some College	.30	n/a	.25*	n/a
Father Less than High School	.21	n/a	.19	n/a
Father a High School Graduate	.37	n/a	.34	n/a
Father Attended Some College	.15	n/a	.15	n/a
Father Education missing (1 = yes)	.26	n/a	.32*	n/a
Income (in thousands)	39.78	38.65	39.47*	32.99
Employed Mother (1= yes)	.71	n/a	.70	n/a
Two Biological Parents	.43	n/a	.48	n/a
Step Family	.18	n/a	.16	n/a
Living with Mother Only	.30	n/a	.27	n/a
Other Family Type	.08	n/a	.08	n/a
Mother's Expectations (4 = graduating college, 5 = getting more than 4 years of college)	3.45	1.06	3.27**	1.08
GPA	8.37	2.01	7.76**	2.08
GPA missing (1 = yes)	.28	n/a	.23	n/a
Self-Esteem (19 = low, 40 = high)	31.47	4.01	32.60**	4.08

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics by Gender (cont.)

	Girls (n = 719)		Boys (n = 700)	
Variable	Mean [a]	Standard Deviation	Mean [a]	Standard Deviation
Conservative Protestant	.29	n/a	.26	n/a
Mainline Protestant	.14	n/a	.13	n/a
Other Protestant	.12	n/a	.12	n/a
Catholic	.21	n/a	.22	n/a
Other religion	.09	n/a	.08	n/a
No religion	.14	n/a	.18*	n/a
Religious Service Attendance (3 = two or three times a month, 4 = about once a week, 5 = more than once a week)	2.31	1.71	1.96**	1.75

[a] Values are weighted means for continuous variables, weighted percentages for categorical variables.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$, two-tailed test.

Table 2. Logistic Regression of Expectation of Attending College by Gender

	Girls			Boys		
	B	*SE B*	e^B	*B*	*SE B*	e^B
Gender ideology	.09*	.04	1.09	.06	.04	1.06
Race/Ethnicity [c]						
Black	-.45[†]	.24	.64	-.28	.26	.76
Other race/ethnicity	-1.06**	.36	.35[a]	-.43	.34	.65[a]
Mother's education [d]						
Less than high school	-.72*	.33	.49	-.62*	.28	.54
Some college	.38	.29	1.46	.75*	.33	2.12
Father's education [d]						
Less than high school	-.15	.32	.86	-.41	.31	.66
Some college	.26	.36	1.30	.31	.39	1.36
Missing	-.55[†]	.31	.62	.08	.30	1.08
Family income (logged)	.03	.02	1.03	-.01	.02	.99
Mother currently employed	-.03	.28	.97	-.02	.28	.98
Household structure [e]						
Two-parent step-family	-.46	.33	.63	.40	.36	1.49
Mother-only	-.43	.28	.65	-.34	.29	.71
Other family type	-.46	.53	.63	.03	.38	1.03
Mother's expectations	.33*	.13	1.39[a]	.60*	.14	1.82[a]
GPA	.21**	.06	1.23	.26**	.06	1.30
GPA missing	.07	.25	1.07	-.48[†]	.26	.62
Self-esteem	.08*	.03	1.08[b]	.01	.03	1.01[b]

Table 2. Logistic Regression of Expectation of Attending College by Gender (cont.)

	Girls			Boys		
	B	*SE B*	e^B	*B*	*SE B*	e^B
Religious affiliation [f]						
Mainline Protestant	.72[†]	.42	2.05	.42	.42	1.52
Other Protestant	.14	.39	1.15	-.31	.41	.73
Catholic	.23	.34	1.26[a]	.82*	.33	2.27[a]
Other religion	.76	.41	1.93	.32	.43	1.38
No religion	.50	.40	1.65	-.42	.33	.66
Religious service attendance	.09	.07	1.09	.03	.07	1.03
Constant		-6.48**			-4.69**	
Pseudo-R^2		.2204			.2392	
n		719			700	

[†] p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, two-tailed test.
Note. Standard errors are robust estimates clustered by family.
[a] Coefficients are significantly different at p < .10.
[b] Coefficients are significantly different at p < .05.
[c] Reference category is white.
[d] Reference category is high school graduate.
[e] Reference category is two biological parent household.
[f] Reference category is Conservative Protestant.

Table 3. Logistic Regression of Expectation of Attending Graduate/Professional School by Gender

	Girls			Boys		
	B	*SE B*	e^B	*B*	*SE B*	e^B
Gender ideology	.19**	.05	1.21	.14*	.07	1.15
Race/Ethnicity [c]						
Black	.02	.29	1.07	-.20	.37	.82
Other race/ethnicity	.07	.39	1.07 [a]	-1.01[†]	.54	.36 [a]
Mother's education [d]						
Less than high school	.37	.46	1.45	.10	.67	1.11
Some college	.43	.29	1.54	.45	.40	1.57
Father's education [d]						
Less than high school	.38	.46	1.46	.20	.56	1.22
Some college	.54	.37	1.72	.04	.57	1.04
Missing	.59	.36	1.80	-.37	.48	.69
Family income (logged)	.01	.03	1.01	.05	.03	1.05
Mother currently employed	.14	.34	1.15	-.23	.44	.79
Household structure [e]						
Two-parent step-family	.44	.39	1.55	-.77	.52	.46
Mother-only	.43	.35	1.54	-.72	.49	.49
Other family type	-.76	1.08	.47	-1.22	.75	.30
Mother's expectations	.23	.15	1.26	-.02	.22	.98
GPA	.18*	.08	1.20	.23*	.09	1.26
GPA missing	-.01	.32	.99	-.12	.49	.89
Self-esteem	.04	.04	1.04	.01	.05	1.01

Table 3. Logistic Regression of Expectation of Attending Graduate/Professional School by Gender (cont.)

	Girls			Boys		
	B	*SE B*	e^B	*B*	*SE B*	e^B
Religious affiliation [f]						
Mainline Protestant	.29	.36	1.34	-.97[†]	.58	.38
Other Protestant	-.95*	.47	.39	-.70	.59	.50
Catholic	-.04	.36	.96 [b]	-1.82**	.59	.16 [b]
Other religion	-.95[†]	.49	.39 [b]	.11	.54	1.12 [b]
No religion	-.31	.51	.73	-.71	.75	.49
Religious service attendance	.05	.08	1.05	-.01	.10	.99
Constant	-9.76**			-5.86**		
Pseudo-R^2	.1439			.1423		
n	448			423		

[†] p < .10, * p < .05, ** p < .01, two-tailed test.
Note. Standard errors are robust estimates clustered by family.
[a] Coefficients are significantly different at p < .10.
[b] Coefficients are significantly different at p < .05.
[c] Reference category is white.
[d] Reference category is high school graduate.
[e] Reference category is two biological parent household.
[f] Reference category is Conservative Protestant.

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