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Which Parenting Style is More Sexist? Evidence from Türkiye

Abstract

The research explores the association between parenting styles and sexist attitudes among university students in Türkiye. It focuses on four parenting styles — authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful — and examines their association with benevolent and hostile sexism. The sample comprised 371 university students aged 18 to 25. The participants completed questionnaires that assessed their perceptions of parenting styles as well as the levels of benevolent and hostile sexism they exhibited. The results indicated that authoritarian parenting was associated with higher benevolent and hostile sexism, while indulgent parenting was linked to lower sexism. Curiously, authoritative parenting, typically associated with positive development outcomes, also showed higher sexism, suggesting that its control dimension may reinforce traditional gender roles. The study highlights the importance of considering gendered socialization processes in understanding the development of sexist attitudes. It suggests parenting interventions should promote nurturing and supportive styles while minimizing controlling behaviors.

Keywords: Sexism, Authoritative, Indulgent, Authoritarian, Neglectful Parenting.

Hangi Yetiştirme Stili Daha Cinsiyetçi? Türkiye'den Kanıtlar

Öz

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki üniversite öğrencileri arasında yetiştirme stilleri ve cinsiyetçi tutumlar arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Araştırma, dört yetiştirme stiline — açıklayıcı otoriter, hoşgörülü, otoriter ve ihmalkâr — odaklanmakta ve bunların korumacı ve düşmanca cinsiyetçilikle ilişkisini incelemektedir. Örneklem, yaşları 18 ile 25 arasında değişen 371 üniversite öğrencisinden oluşmaktadır. Katılımcılar, ebeveynlerinin yetiştirme stillerine dair algılarını ve kendi korumacı ve düşmanca cinsiyetçilik düzeylerini değerlendiren ölçekleri doldurmuştur. Sonuçlar, otoriter yetiştirme stiliyle diğer stillere göre daha yüksek korumacı ve düşmanca cinsiyetçilik barındırdığını; hoşgörülü yetiştirme stiliyle ise daha düşük cinsiyetçilik ilişkili olduğunu göstermiştir. İlginç bir şekilde, genellikle olumlu gelişim sonuçlarıyla ilişkilendirilen açıklayıcı yetiştirme stili de otoriter yetiştirme stili gibi yüksek cinsiyetçilik göstermiştir. Bu durum, açıklayıcı otoriter yetiştirme stiliindeki yüksek talep ve kontrol düzeyinin geleneksel cinsiyet rollerini pekiştirebileceğini düşündürmektedir. Çalışma, cinsiyetçi tutumların gelişimini anlamada cinsiyetlendirilmiş sosyalleşme süreçlerinin önemini vurgulamakta ve ebeveynlik müdahalelerinin destekleyici ve besleyici yönünü teşvik ederken kontrol edici davranışları en aza indirmesi gerektiğini önermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cinsiyetçilik, Açıklayıcı Otoriter, Hoşgörülü, Otoriter, İhmalkâr Yetiştirme Stili

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1. Introduction

The sex is more intricate than the traditional male-female binary. It delineates groups of women or men based on biological or physiological characteristics or differences. Gender, conversely, is a construct that is influenced by cultural and social perceptions, as well as by the expectations that are prevalent in a particular society or social group. These perceptions and expectations shape the criteria that define the characteristics and behaviors associated with masculinity and femininity. In this way, gender can be understood as a social construct whereby the roles, responsibilities, and expectations associated with each gender are defined and reinforced within a given social context (Butler-Wall et al., 2016; Oakley, 1985; Smith & Hamon, 2012). The expectations regarding gender and the responsibilities that genders must fulfill are defined as gender roles. During socialization, individuals internalize the identity characteristics they deem appropriate for themselves, select careers and occupations, participate in specific activities, and engage in recreational activities. These behaviors are learned following the expectations regarding gender roles. (Dökmen, 2010).

The process of gender socialization entails internalizing social behaviors, attitudes, and expectations associated with one's gender identity. This process is complex and dynamic, commencing before birth and continuing throughout an individual's lifespan. It is shaped by the evolution of gender-related norms over time (Liss et al., 2019). The acquisition of gender-related information occurs during childhood. The child attempts to ascertain their gender identity through interactions with their environment. They subsequently internalize the characteristics and values associated with their gender group through these same interactions (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Additionally, during their formative years, children are subjected to many external stimuli, which they internalize by emulating the actions and attitudes exhibited by their immediate surroundings, and they tend to gravitate towards activities that have been reinforced somehow (Gallahan, 2002). Consequently, the roles, values, and norms that constitute gender are formed during childhood and continue to evolve throughout the lifespan, shaped by social interactions.

A significant portion of children's initial exposure to gender roles occurs within the familial setting, primarily through observation of parental behaviors and attitudes about gender norms (Epstein & Ward, 2011). The family unit represents the primary source of socialization, transmitting gender-specific values and behaviors (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2018). Therefore, in the socialization process of children, parents become role models in adopting egalitarian or traditional gender roles (Turner & Gervai, 1995) and significantly influence their offspring's gender development by shaping the environments in which they are raised (Sutfin et al., 2008).

The present research focuses on parental rearing attitudes that direct gender socialization and sexist attitudes that lead to gender inequality and discrimination (Brandt, 2011; Glick et al., 2004) in both males and females as a result of socialization. In gender socialization, parents' choices, decisions, and guidance are directly affected by their children's sex (Pomerleau et al., 1990). Parents' messages and instructions regarding their children's behavior alter depending on the child's sex, and this phenomenon is defined as gendered parenting (Mesman & Groeneveld, 2018). In this respect, the parenting styles that reveal the role of parents in gender socialization are indicators of gendered parenting and differ according to parents' attitudes and behaviors were considered variables of this research. It concentrated on four parenting styles:

authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful/uninvolved. At the same time, the sexism that develops as a product of gender socialization was considered in two ways: benevolent and hostile. Consequently, the focus was on the relationships between the forms of sexism and parenting styles.

2. Parenting Styles

Parenting styles emerge through parent-child interactions that assume parents exhibit certain attitudes, patterns, and stereotypes when raising their children. In the first studies on parenting style, Baumrind (1966, 1967, 1971) mentioned three parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive, which reflect parental control. Subsequently, Maccoby and Martin (1983) introduced the concept of responsiveness as an additional dimension alongside parental control. Hence, permissive parenting is expressed as permissive indulgent and permissive neglectful. The four parenting styles are based on two basic dimensions. The four parenting styles are based on two basic dimensions. One of these dimensions reveals the extent to which the child is cared for, warmed, involved, and accepted. The other determines how much the child is controlled, restricted, supervised, and ordered (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

The coexistence of three primary attributes distinguishes authoritarian parenting: diminished emotional warmth, punitive discipline, and a lack of adherence to a discernible set of rules (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). An authoritarian parent attempts to shape, control, and judge their child's manners and outlooks according to an established behavioral norm that is typically rigid, originating from religious principles, and established by a higher authority. The emphasis on obedience and conformity as virtues is a hallmark of the approach. Punitive and forceful measures deter self-will when the child's actions or beliefs diverge from the parent's perception of appropriate conduct (Baumrind, 1966). The parent tends to discourage independent behavior in authoritarian rearing and instead emphasizes limiting the child's autonomy (Collins & Steinberg, 2006).

Authoritative parents are warm and accepting toward their children while establishing clear expectations and limitations regarding their behavior. In such an environment and emotional climate, open communication among parents and children becomes a natural outcome, facilitating effective interaction and mutual understanding (O'Keeffe, 2002). The authoritative parent attempts to facilitate the child's pursuits in a rational, problem-focused fashion. The parent cultivates dialogue and engages in transparent discourse with the child, articulating the rationale behind her actions. An authoritative parent is characterized by the ability to solicit a child's objections when the child exhibits reluctance to comply with the parent's requests. This parenting style is predicated on balancing independent self-will and disciplined accordance. Therefore, while the parent exercises firm authority in situations of parent-child conflict, the child is not unduly restricted. The authoritative parent asserts their perspective as an adult but acknowledges the child's concerns and unique attributes (Baumrind, 1966). According to a substantial body of empirical evidence, it is regarded as the optimal approach to child-rearing (Carlo et al., 2018; Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1994).

Parents inclined to indulge their children tend to exhibit increased levels of responsiveness while displaying decreased levels of demandingness, particularly compared to parents who adopt more authoritarian approaches. These parents have been observed to exhibit a

propensity to tolerate and accept their children's impulsivity, eschewing excessive disciplinary measures and refraining from maintaining their authority. They also refrain from imposing rules or restrictions (Simons & Conger, 2007). Indulgent parents typically avoid establishing clear rules or norms for their children to adhere to (Khaleque, 2021). Parents with a parenting style represented by heightened involvement and autonomy-supportive behaviors allow their children significant freedom to choose and pursue their activities (Moscatelli & Rubini, 2009).

The neglectful parenting style, which has lower indicators of psychosocial development and adjustment than other parenting styles, is related to reduced involvement and indifference (Lamborn et al., 1991). In addition, neglectful parenting can be expressed as parents' emotional and physical disengagement from their children, characterized by an evident lack of monitoring, supervision, and asset of their children's behaviors (Teti & Candelaria, 2002). A lack of responsiveness and limited time spent in interaction and dialogue with their children is a hallmark of neglectful parenting. Furthermore, such parents can be more flexible in setting clear behavioral standards and rules for their children (Moscatelli & Rubini, 2009).

Consequently, these parenting styles are shaped according to the levels of two fundamental dimensions: demandingness and responsiveness. The combination of dimensions indicates that the parent has a parenting style that may be characterized as (1) authoritative if there is high demandingness and responsiveness; (2) authoritarian if there is high demandingness and low responsiveness; (3) indulgent if there is low demandingness and high responsiveness; and (4) neglectful if there is low demandingness and responsiveness (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

3. Sexism

Sexism is comprehended to encompass attitudes and behaviors that include bias and discrimination, with a particular direction on the female sex, and which are sustained by the operation of gender norms (Dökmen, 2010; Glick & Fiske, 1996). The manners, behaviors, and practices that include prejudice and discrimination based on gender are typically rooted in the conviction that males are innately superior to females (Liss et al., 2019; Savigny, 2020). Sexism is affected not solely by gender norms but also by gender stereotypes and impacts both male and female children in a diversity of settings during childhood (Brown & Stone, 2016). Additionally, gender stereotypes have a powerful influence on the perpetuation of gender inequalities, as they serve to justify existing norms (Ellemers, 2018).

Historically, traditional sexism, which was prevalent until the mid-twentieth century, manifested in negative stereotypes about women, a rigid belief system regarding unequal gender rights and roles, and explicit prejudice. This form of sexism included discriminatory attitudes, behaviors, and practices (Else-Quest ve Hyde, 2018).

In contrast, contemporary forms of sexism have emerged over the past 20 to 30 years alongside second-wave feminism (Haslett & Lipman, 1997), are characterized by implicit and covert biases against women (Swim et al., 1995). This newer form of sexism is often referred to as "new sexism." It includes unsympathetic or even nonemphatic responses to the current issues facing women. For example, this may manifest in the rejection of claims about gender discrimination, viewing demands for equality as excessive or unnecessary, considering affirmative action as an unfair practice, and opposing progressive social policies aimed at promoting gender equity (Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997).

Today, traditional forms of gender bias have primarily been replaced by contemporary manifestations of sexism, also known as neosexism. This encompasses subtle and insidious prejudiced attitudes and beliefs about women (Swim et al., 1995).

Ambivalent sexism theory expands on neosexism by discussing benevolent and hostile forms of sexism. The term "benevolent sexism" is used to describe a belief system that espouses kindness, compassion, helpfulness, and protection towards women. This belief system portrays women as pure beings who require protection and love. Hostile sexism is a hostile belief of gender relations where females are seen as attempting to contain males, provided through sexual or feminist ideologies (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Hostile sexism can also be expressed as the conviction that men are entitled to dominate women and that women are inherently unfit to occupy positions of high status (Bosson et al., 2015). Both forms of sexism rely on the use of stereotypes about women. Men who adhere to such stereotypes tend to view women as inferior and less capable than men. They often perceive women as being unequal to men and less worthy of respect (Hand, 2018). However, while hostile sexism is more overt and, therefore, more readily identifiable, benevolent sexism is much more subtle and is frequently regarded as an integral aspect of social manners (La Bella, 2018).

4. The Present Study

The process of socialization for the individual commences within the family unit (Skinner & McHale, 2022). Parents facilitate the transfer of social roles, expectations, and responsibilities within the familial environment (Sinno et al., 2014). Culture is integrated into this process. In a patriarchal society, cultural characteristics are transmitted to individuals during socialization. In this regard, parenting attitudes assume significance in the process of gender socialization (Halpern & Perry-Jenkins, 2016). Parents recreate an instrumental role in socialization, modeling, scaffolding, and reinforcing their children's gendered attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Bornstein, 2013). In gender socialization, in particular, certain elements, including care, acceptance, control, discipline, responsiveness, demandingness, love, and communication, play a dominant role in the parent-child relationship. Along with the socialization process, these elements contribute to forming parenting styles by facilitating the classification of parental attitudes, behaviors, and practices that indicate specific patterns and molds. In this research, four parenting styles—descriptive authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful—were considered independent variables.

In patriarchal societies, gender socialization serves to reinforce gender inequality (Leaper, 2000) and give rise to a hierarchical structure between the sexes (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). This hierarchical relationship, which posits the superiority of the male gender, catalyzes the formation of sexist attitudes. Furthermore, sexist attitudes contribute to the perpetuation of gender-based women in a patriarchal system (Rodríguez-Menés & Safranoff, 2012). In this context, the ambivalent sexism theory was employed to consider two different forms of sexism, benevolent and hostile (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001), as dependent variables in the research. Consequently, I sought to establish an association between gender and socialization processes at the familial level by focusing on the connections between the parenting styles shaped by socialization and sexist attitudes transformed into behavior at the social level. In doing so, I aimed to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of gender socialization and to expand our current knowledge by providing evidence for the relationships between sexism and parental attitudes.

The study intended to ascertain whether benevolent and hostile sexism among youths alter according to their perceived parenting styles. In light of theoretical approaches that highlight the influence of parents on the socialization process (Bandura, 1977; Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Eagly, 1987), it was hypothesized that benevolent and hostile sexism would exhibit differential patterns according to parenting styles. It was hypothesized that sexism would be significantly lower in authoritative parenting styles, which have been demonstrated to yield superior outcomes compared to other parenting styles (Aunola et al., 2000; Baumrind, 1971; Carlo et al., 2018; Lamborn et al., 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg et al., 1994) or indulgent (Alcaide et al., 2023; Garcia & Serra, 2019; Garcia et al., 2020) particularly concerning psychosocial development indicators, as evidenced by numerous studies. Furthermore, it was expected that the authoritarian parenting style would exhibit higher sexism than the other parenting styles. Given that parenting styles may differ by gender, the interactions between gender and perceived parenting style were considered.

The extant literature on the relationship between sexism and parenting styles is limited. Garaigordobil and Aliri (2012) tested whether sexism (hostile, benevolent, ambivalent sexism, and neosexism) among adolescents, mostly Spaniards, differed according to the socialization styles (authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful) of their mothers and fathers. In their research conducted with couples of parents, Lipowska et al. (2016) explored the relationship between sexism (benevolent and hostile) and parental attitudes (“acceptance-rejection, autonomy, overprotective, demanding, and inconsequent”) using gender as a moderator variable. The study by Barni et al. (2022) analyzed the moderator effect of the child’s sex on the association between hostile and benevolent sexism of parents towards females and their socialization values (“conservation and self-transcendence”) in an Italian sample. Alcaide et al. (2023) investigated the linking hostile sexism and parenting styles in a Spanish sample. Overall et al. (2023) revealed the relationships between sexism (benevolent and hostile) and parental attitudes (authoritative and authoritarian). This current research expands our existing knowledge on the issue and is the first evidence of the Turkish sample.

5. Materials and Methods

5.1. Participants

The sample comprised 371 university students from 18 to 25 years old ($M_{age} = 22.19$, $SD_{age} = 2.02$) residing in Karabuk. The study sample included 62.8% female ($n = 233$) and 37.2% male ($n = 138$) participants. The *a priori* power analysis (for MANOVA: Special effects and interaction in G*Power 3.1.9.7) conducted to determine the sample size determined that a minimum of 152 samples were required for a medium effect size ($f^2 = .0625$) with a statistical power of .95 ($\alpha = .05$, $1-\beta = .95$).

5.2. Measures

5.2.1. Parenting Styles Questionnaire

This scale reveals the parenting style children, adolescents, or young people perceive regarding their mothers and fathers (Sümer and Güngör, 1999; Peker & Aydın, 2017). In this study, two forms containing the exact expressions for mother and father were used, as in the original scale. For the participants to evaluate the mother and father differently, first, the mother form, then the ambivalent sexism scale, and finally, the father form was applied. This scale was constructed by Sümer and Güngör (1999), investigates the parenting styles perceived by

adolescents. The scale contains two sub-factors, acceptance/involvement and strictness/control, and 22 items. While the acceptance/involvement represents being loved, approved, treated with care, and understood by parents, the strictness/control demonstrates being controlled, disciplined, and limited. Four parenting styles are obtained by crossing the two fundamental dimensions/factors: authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian, and neglectful. Those who score above the median in the two essential dimensions are authoritative; above the median on the acceptance/involvement and below the strictness/control are grouped as indulgent; below the median on the acceptance/involvement and above the strictness/control are grouped as authoritarian, and below the median in the two essential dimensions are neglectful. In this study sample, for the mother form, the Cronbach alpha for the perceived acceptance/involvement is .91, and for the strictness/control is .86. In the father form, the acceptance/involvement is .91, and the strictness/control is .88.

5.2.2. Ambivalent Sexism

The scale was devised by Glick and Fiske (1996) and comprises 22 items. The scale is formed of two distinct dimensions. The distinction between benevolent and hostile sexism is a key concept in the study of gender dynamics. Scores are obtained by summing the values assigned to each item and splitting by the number of items on the scale.

The scale is marked on a six-point Likert scale (values from one to six, respectively representing the categories "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree"). The Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the entire scale in the scale adaptation study by Sakallı-Uğurlu (2002) was .85, while coefficients of .87 and .78 were obtained for hostile and benevolent sexism, separately. It has been demonstrated that as the scores increase, so too does the expression of both benevolent and hostile sexism (Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2002). The Cronbach alpha for benevolent and hostile sexism dimensions was obtained in the current study as .93.

5.3. Procedures

The research survey was administered on the university campus. Each participant was informed about the research subject, scope, and purpose; the time allotted for the survey (15 minutes) was stated, and their voluntary participation was supported. The data for the research was collected in April and May 2022. Before administering the survey, ethical approval was acquired from the Karabuk University Social and Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee by majority vote (approval no. 2022/03) on April 1, 2022.

5.4. Plan of Analysis

Two-way factorial (2×4) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed for each of the two dependent variables (benevolent and hostile sexism), with parenting style (authoritative, indulgent, authoritarian vs. neglectful) and sex (males vs. females), as independent variables.

Indeed, three different manova were applied while the dependent variables stayed the same. First, the perceived maternal parenting style and sex were used as factors (maternal parenting style \times sex); then, the perceived paternal parenting styles and sex were used (paternal parenting style \times sex). Finally, the participants with the same perceived parenting styles for both mothers and fathers were determined, and the perceived parenting styles and sex of the participants were tested as factors (same parenting style \times sex).

The post hoc Bonferroni test was operated to determine the significant differences from the analysis. The IBM SPSS 26.0 statistical program was used to perform the analyses.

6. Results

6.1. Parenting Styles and Sex (Descriptive Statistics)

The parenting style perceived by the participants for their mothers and fathers was analyzed in terms of sex. Likewise, the participants who perceived the same parenting styles of mothers and fathers were examined. According to descriptive statistics, the perceived mother parenting style is authoritarian among females (34.3%) and males (36.2%). Among the participants, those who perceive their mothers as authoritarian are more prevalent (35%). Females who perceive their fathers as authoritarian are more (41.6%), and males as indulgent are more (44.9%). 46.1% of women and 45% of men perceive both of their parents as authoritarian. Those who perceive their parents as authoritarian and indulgent are common in the sample (Table 1).

Table 1: Cross-tabulations of sex and parenting styles

			Mother			
Sex	<i>f/p</i>	Authoritative	Indulgent	Authoritarian	Neglectful	Total
Mother						
Female	Frequency	45	64	80	44	233
	Percentage	19.3%	27.5%	34.3%	18.9%	100%
Male	Frequency	12	37	50	39	138
	Percentage	8.7%	26.8%	36.2%	28.3%	100%
Total	Frequency	57	101	130	83	371
	Percentage	15.4%	27.2%	35.0%	22.4%	100%
Father						
Female	Frequency	27	84	97	25	233
	Percentage	11.6%	36.1%	41.6%	10.7%	100%
Male	Frequency	9	62	46	21	138
	Percentage	6.5%	44.9%	33.3%	15.2%	100%
Total	Frequency	36	146	143	46	371
	Percentage	9.7%	39.4%	38.5%	12.4%	100%
Mother and Father						
Female	Frequency	17	46	65	13	141
	Percentage	12.1%	32.6%	46.1%	9.2%	100%
Male	Frequency	3	30	36	11	80
	Percentage	3.8%	37.5%	45.0%	13.8%	100%
Total	Frequency	20	76	101	24	221
	Percentage	9.0%	34.4%	45.7%	10.9%	100%

6.2. Multivariate Analyses

The results of the MANOVA displayed significant differences in the main effects of the parenting styles of mother ($\lambda = .829$, $F(6, 724) = 11.865$, $p < .001$) and father ($\lambda = .823$, $F(6, 724) = 12.341$, $p < .001$) and having the same parenting styles for mother and father ($\lambda = .770$, $F(6, 424) = 9.858$, $p < .001$).

Meanwhile, the interaction effect of parenting style by sex was significant only for parents who are perceived with the same style ($\lambda = .939$, $F(6, 424) = 2.279$, $p < .05$); no significant difference was found according to the parenting style of the mother ($\lambda = .974$, $F(6, 724) = 1.613$, $p > .05$) or father ($\lambda = .978$, $F(6, 724) = 1.343$, $p > .05$) (Table 2).

Table 2: Two-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) factorial (2 × 4) (2 × 4) (2 × 4) for the two sets of outcomes measures: benevolent and hostile sexism

Sources of variation	λ	F	df_{between}	df_{error}
Mother				
Sex	.985	2.829	2	362
Parenting Styles of Mother	.829	11.865***	6	724
Sex × Parenting Styles of Mother	.974	1.613	6	724
Father				
Sex	.990	1.857	2	362
Parenting Styles of Father	.823	12.341***	6	724
Sex × Parenting Styles of Father	.978	1.343	6	724
Mother and Father				
Sex	.982	1.900	2	212
Same Parenting Styles for Mother and Father	.770	9.858***	6	424
Sex × Same Parenting Styles for Mother and Father	.939	2.279*	6	424

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

6.3. Main and Interaction Effects (by Sex) of Parenting Styles on Benevolent and Hostile Sexism

According to the main effects, individuals who perceive their mothers as authoritative ($M = 2.73$) and authoritarian ($M = 2.98$) exhibit significantly higher benevolent sexism compared to those who are indulgent ($M = 2.02$) and neglectful ($M = 1.90$) ($F(3, 363) = 21.930, p < .001$). It is necessary to separate the neglectful parenting here. It has been demonstrated that individuals who perceive their mothers as neglectful exhibit significantly less benevolent sexism than authoritative and authoritarian.

Hostile sexism of those who see their mothers as authoritarian ($M = 2.64$) is significantly higher than those who see their mothers as indulgent ($M = 1.72$) and neglectful ($M = 1.81$). Those who are authoritative ($M = 2.34$) have higher hostile sexism than those who are solely indulgent ($M = 1.72$). Indulgent maternal parenting exhibits lower hostile sexism when compared to authoritative and authoritarian, with a statistically significant difference ($F(3, 363) = 19.967, p < .001$) (Table 3).

The indulgent paternal parenting style ($M = 1.88$) has significantly lower benevolent sexism than other parenting styles. In hostile sexism, the indulgent paternal parenting style ($M = 1.69$) has lower scores than authoritarian ($M = 2.52$) and neglectful ($M = 2.44$).

Among those who see both of their parents as having the same parenting style, the benevolent and hostile sexism scores of those with authoritarian parents ($M = 2.99$; $M = 2.65$) are significantly different from those with indulgent ($M = 1.82$; $M = 1.58$) and neglectful parents ($M = 2.22$; $M = 2.06$) ($F(3, 213) = 17.178$; $F(3, 213) = 18.852, p < .001$) (Table 3).

Table 3: Means and standard deviations for sex × parenting style, main effects of parenting style, and interaction effects for the outcome measures (benevolent and hostile sexism)

Sex		Authoritative		Indulgent		Authoritarian		Neglectful		$F_{(3, 363)}$
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Mother										
BS	Female	2.79	1.18	1.91	1.19	2.82	1.21	1.91	0.84	1.337
	Male	2.51	1.51	2.22	0.97	3.24	1.34	1.87	0.56	
	Total	2.73 ¹	1.25	2.02 ²	1.12	2.98 ¹	1.27	1.90 ²	0.72	
HS	Female	2.36	1.09	1.49	0.75	2.51	1.10	1.77	0.84	1.901
	Male	2.24	1.22	2.13	0.98	2.84	1.03	1.87	0.66	
	Total	2.34 ¹	1.11	1.72 ^{2,b}	0.89	2.64 ^a	1.08	1.81 ^b	0.76	
Father										
BS	Female	3.01	1.36	1.84	0.98	2.69	1.23	2.45	1.06	1.569
	Male	2.56	1.34	1.95	0.74	3.20	1.43	2.68	1.04	
	Total	2.90 ¹	1.35	1.88 ²	0.89	2.85 ¹	1.31	2.56 ¹	1.04	
HS	Female	2.36	1.03	1.54	0.70	2.39	1.15	2.21	1.08	1.308
	Male	2.00	0.99	1.89	0.72	2.80	1.09	2.70	1.09	
	Total	2.27	1.02	1.69 ²	0.73	2.52 ¹	1.14	2.44 ¹	1.10	
Father and Mother										
BS	Female	3.02 ¹	1.30	1.72 ²	1.07	2.81 ¹	1.19	2.33	0.85	$F_{(3, 213)}$
	Male	1.49 ²	0.05	1.98 ²	0.69	3.32 ¹	1.39	2.08 ²	0.38	
	Total	2.79	1.32	1.82 ²	0.94	2.99 ¹	1.28	2.22 ²	0.67	
HS	Female	2.47	1.11	1.33	0.50	2.53	1.08	2.00	0.81	2.205
	Male	1.61	0.19	1.96	0.80	2.88	1.03	2.11	0.82	
	Total	2.34	1.07	1.58 ²	0.70	2.65 ¹	1.07	2.06 ²	0.80	

¹ $p < .05$, ² $p < .01$, ³ $p < .001$, BS: Benevolent Sexism, HS: Hostile Sexism, Bonferroni $\alpha = .05$; ¹ > ²; ^a > ^b

In the interaction between parenting style and sex, merely those with parents who have the same parenting style show a significant difference in terms of benevolent sexism ($F(3, 213) = 3.035$, $p < .05$). The benevolent sexism of females who perceive their parents as authoritative ($M = 3.02$) and authoritarian ($M = 2.81$) is significantly different from that of those who perceive their parents as indulgent ($M = 1.72$). The benevolent sexism of males who perceive their parents as authoritarian ($M = 3.32$) is significantly higher than those who perceive their parents as authoritative ($M = 1.49$), indulgent ($M = 1.98$) and neglectful ($M = 2.08$).

Although hostile sexism was insignificant in the interaction between the same perceived parenting style for mother/father and sex ($F(3, 213) = 2.205$, $p = .08$), post-hoc analyses showed that women who portrayed their parents as indulgent ($M = 1.33$) had significantly lower hostile sexism than others. Besides, in comparison to other parenting styles, men who perceived their parents as authoritarian ($M = 2.88$) had more hostile sexism. The relevant findings are given in Table 3. In addition, interaction graphs illustrating the estimated marginal means are presented better to understand the statistical effects (Figure 1).

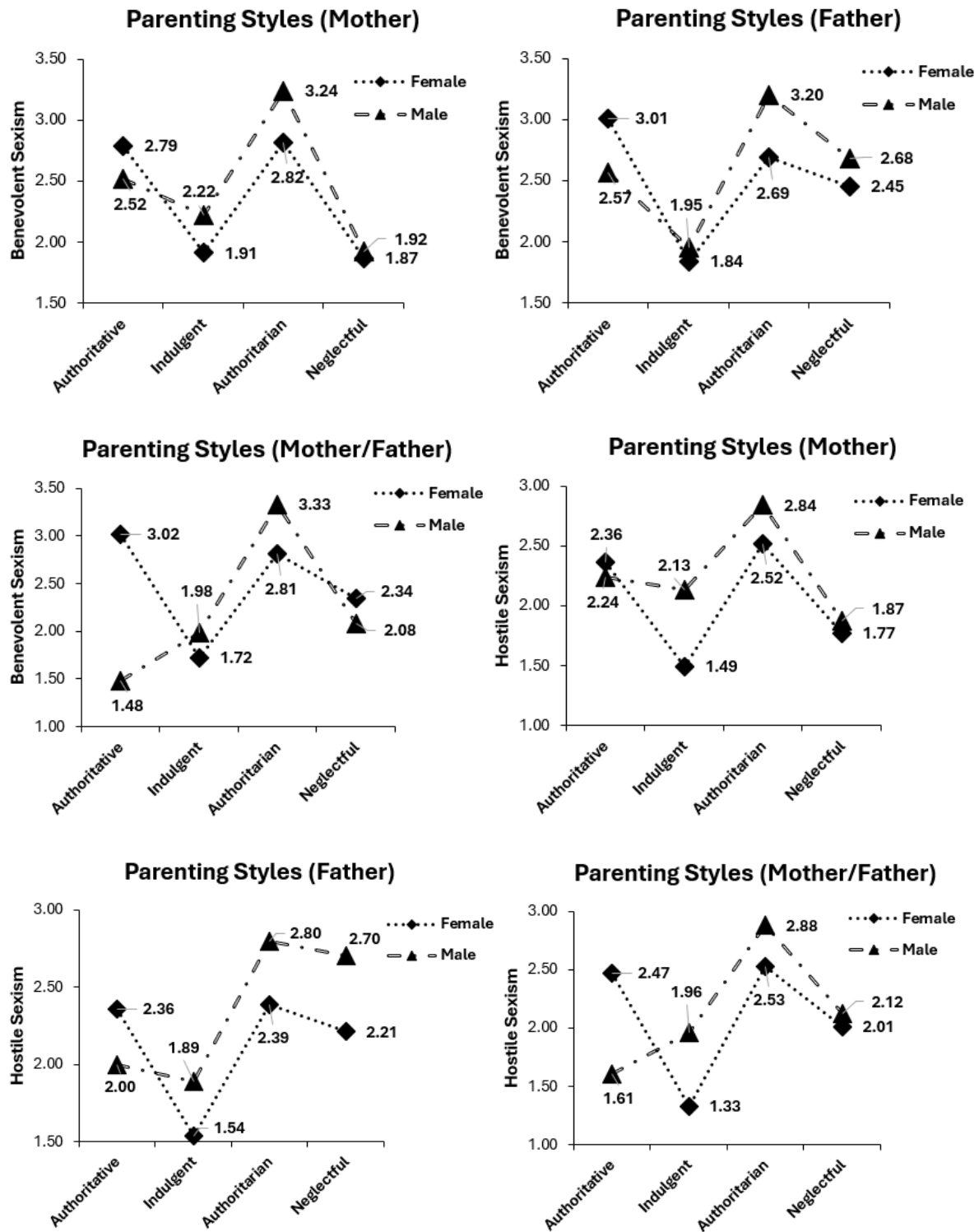


Figure 1: Estimated marginal means for interaction effects between sex and parenting style on benevolent and hostile sexism

7. Discussion and Conclusion

In the study, it was expected that authoritative and indulgent parenting styles would have lower sexism compared to others. Similarly, it was hypothesized that those with an authoritarian parenting style would have higher sexism. In addition, it was assumed that men and women would differ in terms of sexism, and the interaction between sex and parenting styles was focused.

Among the perceived parenting styles for the mother, authoritative and authoritarian had higher benevolent sexism than indulgent and neglectful. Those who perceived the mother as neglectful had lower benevolent sexism than authoritative and authoritarian. Those who perceived the mother as authoritarian had higher hostile sexism than those who viewed the mother as indulgent and neglectful. In comparison, those who viewed the mother as authoritative had higher hostile sexism than those who viewed the mother as indulgent. Mothers perceived as indulgent had lower hostile sexism than those perceived as authoritarian and authoritative. Consistent with some of these results, Montañés et al. (2012) emphasize that mothers' benevolent sexism leads daughters to adopt traditional gender roles.

Participants who regarded their fathers as indulgent exhibited reduced benevolent sexism when compared to the other groups. Furthermore, this subject group demonstrated comparatively lower hostile sexism in contrast to subjects who were authoritarian or authoritative. Subjects who perceived their parents to employ a uniform parenting style exhibited elevated levels of both benevolent and hostile sexism, particularly among those who characterized their maternal and paternal figures as authoritarian. In contrast, those who perceived indulgent and neglectful on the part of their parents exhibited less benevolent and hostile sexism. Overall et al. (2023) noted that fathers exhibited less sensitive parenting when they exhibited hostile sexism. The research findings of Overall et al. (2023), parallel to this research, link hostile sexism to an authoritarian parenting style.

As regards benevolent sexism, there was a significant difference in the interaction effect between sex and parenting style perceived as similar for both mothers and fathers. Among females, those who perceived their parents to be indulgent exhibited lower benevolent sexism compared with those who perceived their parents to be authoritative or authoritarian. In males, those who perceived their parents as authoritarian demonstrated more elevated benevolent sexism compared with those whose parents exhibited other styles.

The interaction effect for hostile sexism was insignificant. However, post hoc tests showed differences between some groups. Nevertheless, focusing on the results without ruling out the non-significance of the model, among females, those who saw their parents as indulgent had less hostile sexism than those with other styles. Within males, those who perceived their parents as authoritarian demonstrated increased hostile sexism compared to other styles.

These findings are compatible with prior studies suggesting that authoritarian parenting styles are frequently associated with strict gender roles and elevated sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Smetana, 2017; Alcaide et al., 2023), while indulgent styles have been shown to promote more egalitarian perspectives (Martínez & García, 2007; Calafat, 2014; Garcia et al., 2019; Alcaide et al., 2023). Notably, the surprising discovery that authoritative parenting styles exhibit higher sexism warrants further examination. The control aspect of authoritative parenting may reinforce traditional gender roles despite its generally positive associations in other domains (Baumrind, 1991; Lipowska et al., 2016).

The results also highlight the role of gender in moderating the relationship between parenting styles and sexism. While indulgent parenting seemed to buffer against sexism more effectively among females, authoritarian parenting appeared to amplify sexist attitudes among males (Leaper & Friedman, 2007; Lipowska et al., 2016). These patterns suggest that parenting styles

interact differently with gendered socialization processes, which could be further explored in future research.

From a practical perspective, these findings emphasize the significance of parenting interventions that promote nurturing and supportive parenting styles while minimizing overly controlling behaviors (Kuppens & Ceulemans, 2019). Parenting programs could benefit from incorporating gender-sensitive approaches to address how parenting styles uniquely affect boys and girls.

As a result of the research, it was generally discovered that the authoritarian style was more sexist than other parenting styles, as hypothesized. It was comprehended that the indulgent style also indicated lower sexism than other parenting styles. Within the scope of the research hypothesis, it was thought that the authoritative style was associated with low sexism, like the indulgent parenting style. However, the authoritative style may have exhibited higher sexism with its control dimension, like the authoritarian style. Likewise, it was determined that those who were mostly neglectful also exhibited lower sexism, as the indulgent. Consequently, it was understood that individuals with the authoritarian parenting style had higher sexism in this research. By addressing these findings in parenting education and policy initiatives, more equitable gender attitudes could potentially be fostered in society.

8. Limitations and Future Research

The present study was completed with a sample that could be considered youthful. However, the impact of parenting on youth may be constrained compared to other environmental influences at subsequent stages of development. Therefore, implementing studies with children of high school age is important. These studies may encompass multiple generations. Longitudinal research designs predicated on parent-child interaction may be particularly beneficial. Culture is a prevailing aspect in the context of parenting practices (Bornstein, 2012). Regional variations may give rise to cultural diversities within the Turkish sample. Even though the study was completed in the Karabük region of the Black Sea, a coastal area, it was assumed that the participants originated from various regions, given that the study involved university students. As such, regional differences within the country were not evaluated as a parameter. Samples from more western, eastern, or southern regions may create differences. The execution of independent studies on these samples would provide more substantial scientific evidence.

Self-reported measures of discriminatory attitudes, such as sexism, may not reveal true intent. Hence, experimental designs also provide methodological diversity and strengthen scientific evidence. Although our sample size was sufficient, the numbers in the parenting style groups were low. This aspect may have weakened generalizability. However, it is difficult to determine the numbers in the parenting style groups; a larger sample size would naturally increase the numbers in these groups. Moreover, the research presented and interpreted the main effects; consequently, following a path according to the main effects when determining the sample size will strengthen generalizability. In addition, the interaction between sex and perceived parenting style (Mother/Father) on hostile sexism was insignificant. However, in post-hoc tests, interactions were significant in some groups. The relevant graph also supports this situation. Nevertheless, further studies are essential to establish the reliability of these results.

In gender socialization, in addition to parental attitudes within the family, having a sibling can differentiate sexist attitudes. Interactions regarding women with and without male siblings, men with and without female siblings, and parental attitudes will broaden our horizons regarding gender socialization. In conclusion, the outcomes of this research exhibit that both parenting styles and their interaction with gender have significant effects on sexism. However, in future studies, more in-depth investigations of the associations between parenting attitudes and sexism are recommended, together with other social factors (such as schoolmates, teachers, siblings, and partners).

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