EASP WILEY

RESEARCH ARTICLE

If you can dream it, you can do it!—The role of sexual orientation in preferences toward boys' and girls' career orientation and gendered behaviour

Éva Magdolna Kántás[1,2] | Laura Faragó[3] | Monika Kovacs[4]

[1] Doctoral School of Psychology, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

[2] Institute of Psychology, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

[3] Department of Social and Organizational Psychology, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, Hungary

[4] Institute of Intercultural Psychology and Education, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

Correspondence
Éva Magdolna Kántás, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Izabella utca 46, Budapest 1064, Hungary.
Email: kantas.eva@ppk.elte.hu

Abstract

We argue that parental attitudes of (prospective) children's gendered behavior are influenced by sexual orientation and the given social climate. In Study 1 ($N = 448$), moderated mediations showed that sexual orientation predicted whether or not high-status occupations are preferred for the (prospective) children through modern sexism. For girls, however, the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy moderated the effect of modern sexism. In an experiment (Study 2, $N = 704$), hierarchical regression analyses showed that in the case of gay people, modern sexism predicted boys' preferred gendered behavior well. While, in the case of bisexual people, modern sexism (along with fear of backlash) predicted preferences for both boys' and girls' gendered behavior depending on the stability of the gender hierarchy. Unlike the other groups, in the case of straight people, modern sexism only predicted preferences regarding girls' gendered behavior. Implications of the studies are discussed.

KEYWORDS
gender hierarchy, gender traditional, modern sexism, parental attitudes, sexual orientation

1 | INTRODUCTION

Dr. Katalin Karikó, the Hungarian researcher who laid the foundation of modern mRNA vaccines (e.g., Pfizer-BioNTech COVID-19 Vaccine), developed her passion for biology and nature early on as a child (Aletras & Galli, 2021). These days, for many, she became the symbol of scientific women who dare to choose a gender nontraditional interest and occupation, giving a role model for girls worldwide. Would her career be different if, from an early age, her immediate environment had discouraged her from pursuing her gender nontraditional interests and only shifted her toward gender-conforming traits, activities, and occupations?

Parents' gender-related attitudes greatly influence their children's attitudes (Kroska & Elman, 2009), and parental messages about gender roles greatly influence children's later gendered behaviors, including their career aspirations (Epstein & Ward, 2011; Fulcher, 2010). While the role of straight parents has long been studied, researchers have also recently begun to examine the gender attitudes of same-sex parents. However, the relevance of the social climate in the given society has so far been overlooked, and most studies have been conducted in Western European countries with greater gender equality (e.g., the Netherlands) rather than in less gender-equal countries such as Hungary (European Commission [EC], 2018), which have more gender traditional attitudes (Scharle, 2015). Our study aimed to investigate the influence of sexual orientation on parental attitudes concerning gender role expectations with respect to (prospective) daughters and sons, taking into consideration the impact of the perceived social climate and gender-related attitudes.

1.1 | Gender stereotypes

Gender stereotypes are general beliefs about what women and men are like, and there is generally a broad consensus about them (Ellemers, 2018). Gender stereotypes promote dualistic beliefs held about women and men in social perception and largely determine how suited men and women are perceived to be to different jobs. Stereotypes implying that women have communal traits (e.g., kind, compassionate) while lacking agentic traits (e.g., competitive, ambitious) lead to the assumption that women are not fit to do male gender-typed jobs that require agentic traits—or at least that they are not as competent in performing them as their male colleagues (e.g., Carli et al., 2016; Diekman et al., 2017 ; Koening & Eagly, 2014; Starr, 2018; van Veelen & Derks, 2020). For example, as a result of these stereotypes, and despite an increasing number of entrants, there are still only a small number of women pursuing careers in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM), due in part to the discouraging discourse according to which men are better able to meet expectations in these domains (Carli et al., 2016; Diekman et al., 2017; El-Hout et al., 2021; Master & Meltzoff, 2020). This type of discouraging communication begins as early as childhood: While young girls are often dissuaded from taking an interest in careers in science and technology by the suggestion that they do not have the innate talent, young boys are typically taught that they are well suited to jobs in STEM areas due to their natural analytical skills (Eccles, 2014; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004).

However, men are not exempt from gender-based judgement if they take jobs that are not dominated by their own gender. In one study (Heilman & Wallen, 2010), male employees were labeled as 'wimpy' and were rated as less deserving of respect when they worked in female-typed jobs, as opposed to men who worked in fields that are considered traditionally male-dominated (Heilman & Wallen, 2010). The reason behind this negative evaluation was that men who worked in female-typed jobs were violating gender stereotypes, just as in the case of women who worked in male-dominated fields (Froehlich et al., 2020; Manzi, 2019).

1.2 | Intergenerational transmission of gender ideology

Most of the factors that hinder women's progress are the consequences of the gender stereotypes (Peus et al., 2015) that are learned through socialization from an early age (Bian et al., 2017; see also Hentschel et al., 2019) and reinforced by various agents, such as family members, teachers, the media, and the wider surroundings (Powell, 2011). Increased attention is thus being given in the literature to the intergenerational transmission of gender ideology—that is, a person's beliefs, values, and attitudes about biological sex and gender—and how that transmission occurs in families (Kroska & Elman, 2009). According to the intergenerational transmission of gender ideology, parents have the strongest role in the early socialization of children (Bos & Sandfort, 2010), and their messages about gendered expectations show important links with children's later gendered behaviors (Epstein & Ward, 2011; Hoferichter & Raufelder, 2019). For example, those children whose parents hold more traditional views on gender roles tend to think in more traditional terms regarding gender roles (Epstein & Ward, 2011; Fulcher, 2010; Sutfin et al., 2008). Further, while fathers with traditional beliefs enforced more traditional behavior in their children (Odenweller et al., 2018), fathers who endorsed egalitarian gender ideologies were significantly more likely to have children with similarly egalitarian beliefs, regardless of the mother's gender ideology (Davis & Wills, 2010).

Children's gender development can vary between families with same-sex parents and other-sex parents. A study that examined the career aspirations of children aged between 7 and 12 years found that when straight (middle-class) mothers preferred more traditional attitudes about their children's gender roles, their children accordingly reported more gender stereotypical career aspirations (Fulcher, 2010). However, when straight or lesbian mothers expressed more egalitarian views about gender roles, their 4- to 6-year-old children held more egalitarian gender beliefs and tended to have less traditional gender role attitudes (Sutfin et al., 2008; see also Bos et al., 2004, 2007 ; Bos & Sandfort, 2010). Moreover, unlike the children of straight couples, same-sex couples' children tended to accept less traditional, more flexible gender-related attitudes (Bos & Sandfort, 2010; Sutfin et al., 2008); displayed less gender stereotyped play behavior (Goldberg et al., 2012; Goldberg & Garcia, 2016); and were more tolerant of non-stereotypical gendered behaviors (Bos & Sandfort, 2010).

The differences may result from gay and lesbian parents' greater acceptance of their children's non-stereotypical gendered behaviors, and such parents may even provide less gender stereotyped environments compared to straight parents (Sutfin et al., 2008). It has not yet been decided, however, whether the observed differences stem primarily from modelling or transmitting messages about nontraditional gender roles. On the one hand, same-sex partners tend to model non-traditional gender roles for their children by sharing household and childcare tasks in a more egalitarian way (Farr & Patterson, 2013; Tornello et al., 2015) and tend to divide paid labor more equally (Jaspers & Verbakel, 2013) than straight couples. On the other hand, gay men and lesbian women are androgynous rather than gender polarized (Lippa, 2005, 2008) and therefore transmit messages belonging to a more flexible gender ideology.

One of the reasons for this difference between gay and straight people lies in the different gender roles that gay people endorse. Lippa (2007, 2008) found that while straight people hold stereotypes that gay men are more feminine than straight men, they also assume that gay men often work in female-dominated occupations. Similarly, lesbian women are assumed to be highly masculine, in contrast to straight women, who are assumed to be highly feminine. Further, lesbian women are claimed to often work in male-dominated occupations. While emphasizing that these stereotypes are overgeneralizations, Lippa (2005, 2008) claimed that they do contain a kernel of truth. Thus, the gender-shift hypothesis appears to be valid, meaning an assumption that gay people's gender role attitudes are closer to the intermediate, so-called androgynous scale range rather than the typical polarization of traditional gender roles (see, e.g., Allen & Robson, 2020; Clarke & Arnold, 2017). In addition, gay and lesbian people tend to hold these same gender stereotypes as held by straight people (Clarke & Arnold, 2017).

1.3 | The importance of social climate and underlying attitudes

Displaying gender counterstereotypical behaviors and attitudes in the patriarchal system can lead to a backlash, especially in a highly gender-traditional country like Hungary (Scharle, 2015). In addition to being among the lowest-ranking countries in Europe in terms of gender equality (World Economic Forum 2020), compared to Western European people, Hungarians tend to be very hostile toward sexual minorities and gender nonconformity (Danish Institute for Human Rights [DIHR], 2009; European Commission [EC], 2019; Heinrich Böll Foundation [HBF], 2015). Thus, homophobia is a critical problem in Hungary and is often tolerated, or even encouraged, by institutionalized practices (Takács & Szalma, 2019). For example, gay marriage is not recognized by the law, and same-sex couples are not allowed to adopt jointly (Takács et al., 2012). Gay and lesbian people in Hungary therefore suffer discrimination on every level, and because of their assumed gender counterstereotypical behavior they might experience a backlash effect (Rudman & Phelan, 2008) as well.

"Backlash effects are defined as social and economic reprisals for behaving counter-stereotypically" (Rudman & Phelan, 2008, p. 62). Women most often encounter backlash effects when they display proscriptive attributes (e.g., when seeking political office, or even expressing anger) that challenge the stability and legitimacy of the patriarchal society (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008; Moss-Racusin, 2014; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan et al., 2012), but not when they fail to comply with prescriptive gender norms (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Glick et al., 2012). Men, on the other hand, may be more exposed to backlash when violating gender stereotypes; both when they act against proscriptive gender norms and when they fail to display prescriptive gender norms (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Glick et al., 2012); for example, by requesting family leave from work (Rudman & Mescher, 2013) or working in early elementary education (Moss-Racusin & Johnson, 2016).

Children are usually—at least in Western cultures—thought to need the protection of adults, therefore it was earlier believed that their actions often go unpenalized even if they do not conform to cultural norms (Lancy, 2015), but recent studies (e.g., Sullivan et al., 2018) have revealed otherwise. Children were thought to be an irrelevant target of gender backlash, even if they violate gender norms (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan et al., 2012), because punishment for violating gender expectations is the most severe for those who threaten the patriarchal social system (e.g., feminists and career women). However, Sullivan and her colleagues (2018) assumed that if adults can experience backlash due to a violation of gender expectations, then this prejudice may even be directed at gender-nonconforming children. This negative evaluation of gender-nonconforming children is apparently even more severe in the case of stereotype-violating boys than it is for girls; effeminate boys are evaluated more negatively than gender-conforming boys, girls, and gender-nonconforming girls. In addition, assumptions arose even regarding their gender and sexual identity, as they were presumed to be gay or transgender. Such assumptions were not as significant in the case of girls who violated gender stereotypes as they were in the case of effeminate boys (Sullivan et al., 2018).

Modern sexism—along with political conservativism—was found to predict a backlash toward gender-nonconforming children: Those with a high score on the modern sexism scale considered stereotype-violating children as less likeable and competent, and showed less willingness to interact with these children. Moreover, endorsing modern sexism led to more negative reactions not only toward children who violated gender stereotypes, but also toward their parents (Sullivan et al., 2018). Modern sexism is a subtle form of sexism, characterized by a belief that discrimination against women no longer exists. Moreover, it expresses opposition to women who make political and economic demands, and resentment over women's treatment. Since individuals who support such views do not consider these notions to be sexist or unjust, they do not regard themselves (Becker & Swim, 2010; Swim et al., 2004) or others (Swim et al., 2005) as sexist. On the one hand, people who accept modern sexism tend to conclude that, because the conditions for competition between men and women are equal, women are not underrepresented in certain roles (e.g., in scientific positions; Régner et al., 2019) due to discrimination, but as a result of their own choice or because they are simply unfit to fulfil them (Martínez et al., 2010). On the other hand, they overestimate the number of women in male-dominated fields (e.g., physicians) and believe that, rather than socialization and discrimination, it is biological differences that are responsible for the gender-segregated workforce (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2015).

Modern sexism, like other kinds of sexism, has a system-justifying function. Although the perceived stability and legitimacy of the gender hierarchy has been examined previously in relation to ambivalent sexism rather than modern sexism (Glick & Whitehead, 2010), these subtle forms of sexism are in many ways alike in terms of their system justification function. Findings from earlier research (Glick & Whitehead, 2010) have shown that ambivalent gender ideologies predict the perceived legitimacy and stability of inequality. Moreover, those who perceived men as being innately aggressive and designed to dominate—and who thus scored high on hostile attitudes toward men (Glick & Fiske, 1999)—perceived the gender hierarchy as being more stable (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). Thus, if the power differences between genders are inevitable, why would anyone take the risk of facing social backlash, or why would they expose their children to the risk of being targeted, by displaying gender-nonconforming behavior and attitudes?

1.4 | Hypotheses

We expected that sexual orientation influences the parental preferences regarding (prospective) children's gendered behavior and interests. We aimed to examine whether modern sexism or the fear of backlash (that the—prospective—child might have to face by their peers because of the gender norms learned at home) can explain the association between sexual orientation and parental preferences, while considering the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy. We

assume that LGB people, compared to straight people, will be more supportive of gender-nonconforming occupational interests, traits, and activities explained by the fact that they are less committed to modern sexist attitudes.

1. Sexual orientation would have an indirect effect via modern sexism on the support of (prospective) children's gender-nonconforming occupational interests, traits, and activities.
2. We expected that the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy moderates this association.
3. We assumed that depending on the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy, the fear of backlash would predict more gender-traditional preferences, regardless of sexual orientation.

In sum, the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy would moderate the effect of sexual orientation on parental preferences regarding (prospective) children's occupational interests, traits, and activities via modern sexism and the fear of backlash.

1.5 | Overview of the studies

To test our hypotheses, we conducted two cross-sectional studies. In Study 1, using a survey study, we examined the mediating effect of modern sexism between sexual orientation and (prospective) children's occupational interests, traits, and activities, considering the moderating effect of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy. In Study 2, we conducted an experiment in which we compared the effect of stable and unstable gender hierarchy on sexual orientation, modern sexism, and fear of backlash by peers that we assumed to predict parental preferences regarding (prospective) children's gendered behavior in different scenarios (boys and girls gendered behavior displayed at home and in school).

2 | STUDY 1

Gender inequality is a serious problem even today, especially in Hungary. One of the main contributing factors is the different economic and occupational participation of women and men (WEF, 2020), which is partly due to the different gender roles displayed by women and men, which they learn from their early socialization (Gansen, 2017; Mesman & Groeneveld, 2018). Early—mainly parental—socialization is thus of paramount importance. However, parental preferences regarding children's gender attitudes are the subject of considerable debate in Hungary today (Campbell, 2020; Haynes, 2020). These debates, along with hostility toward gender mainstreaming (HBF, 2015) and gay people (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA], 2020), make it particularly important to examine how this kind of social atmosphere influences (prospective) parents with different sexual orientations with respect to their children's gendered attitudes. In the present research, we aimed to investigate whether the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy and modern sexism influence (prospective) parents in preferring gender-(non)traditional attitudes for their children, and whether parents' sexual orientation has an impact on these processes.

2.1 | Method

2.1.1 | Participants and procedure

A total of 469 people completed the survey. Those who answered randomly ($n = 2$) were excluded from the sample. After thorough consideration, due to the low number of these participants, transsexual men ($n = 4$), transsexual women ($n = 4$), and non-binary people ($n = 11$) were excluded from the analyses. Therefore, the final sample consisted of 124 LGB[1] (lesbian, gay, and bisexual) and 324 straight people. The sample consisted of 92 men and 356 women. The mean age was 26 ($SD = 9$). The majority of the respondents (56.3%) had a university degree (i.e., short-cycle tertiary education; college-, bachelor's-, master's-, or doctoral-level education or equivalent). The majority of the participants (62.3%) lived in the capital city, 12.7% in another city, and 25% in a town or rural area. Only 11.2% of the participants already had children (5.7% boys and 5% girls), although 68.8% reported that they most definitely want to have children.

A sensitivity analysis was conducted using the G*Power calculator set at a 5% level of significance and 80% power with a sample size of 448.[2] It indicated that the linear multiple regression with one tested and three total number of predictors would be sensitive to effects of $f^2 = 0.02$, which is considered to be a small effect by Cohen (1988). This means the study would be able to reliably detect effects larger than $f^2 = 0.02$.

Participants were recruited via anonymous online sampling, and the minimum age for participation was 18. All respondents participated voluntarily and were free to choose whether they wanted to complete the survey or wished to withdraw before completing it without further explanation or consequences. Data collection was part of an omnibus survey. All statistical analyses were conducted by using PROCESS Macro (Hayes, 2017) extension of IBM SPSS 24.0 and AMOS (Arbuckle, 2011). The research was conducted with Institutional Review Board approval of *ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary* and by applying the APA Code of Conduct.

2.1.2 | Measurements

We applied self-report questionnaires on sexual orientation, modern sexism, the perceived stability of gender hierarchy, and parental preference. In all cases, 5-point Likert scales were used ranging from 1 ("I do not agree at all") to 5 ("I fully agree"). Appendix A shows all items of the lists. Sexual orientation (Sell, 1996) was measured by two items[3],

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[1] Although we applied the sexual orientation scale as a continuous variable in this study, we wanted to explore the rate of LGB and straight participants. Thus, we created one scale from heterosexuality and homosexuality scales (Sell, 1996) and by dummy-coding sorted participants into LGB and straight groups solely for presenting the participants.

[2] Because of the difference in numbers between LGB and straight people, we calculated sensitivity analysis separately for these groups as well. For LGB people ($n = 124$) the study would be sensitive to effects of $f^2 = .06$ and for straight people ($n = 324$) the study would be sensitive to effects of $f^2 = .03$. Both are considered to be small effects by Cohen (1988).

[3] Homosexuality and Heterosexuality were measured as two separate continuous variables (Sell, 1996). In the case of Homosexuality scale, scores ranged from 1 (*not at all homosexual*)

TABLE 1 Factor structure of the boys-and girls related parental preference questionnaire

		Boys				Girls		
		1	2	3		1	2	3
High-Status Occupations	Business owner	0.844			Business owner	0.856		
	Doctor	0.709			Doctor	0.735		
	To play basketball	0.403			Clothes designer	0.460		
Feminine Traits and Activities	To be neat and tidy		0.607		To enjoy literature classes		0.614	
	To cook or bake things		0.585		To be neat and tidy		0.596	
	To show his emotions		0.581		To enjoy math classes		0.592	
	To enjoy literature classes		0.540		To cook or bake things		0.581	
	To enjoy math classes		0.511		To show her emotions		0.483	
Feminine Activities	To make up dances			0.650	To jump rope			0.611
	To jump rope			0.599	To play basketball			0.547
	Clothes designer			0.508	To made up dances			0.535

Note. In both cases, Principal axis factoring with varimax rotation was used.

modern sexism[4] (Swim et al., 1995) by eight items, the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy (Glick & Whitehead, 2010) by six items, and parental preference (Liben & Bigler, 2002) regarding occupations, traits, and activities by 36 items (parental preference for boys by 18 items and parental preference for girls by 18 items).

Parental preference for boys: The reliability of the original six-factor solution was tested first but did not prove reliable. Thus, we conducted exploratory factor analysis using principal axis factoring (due to the lack of normal distribution in skewness and kurtosis values), and we applied varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization. Seven items did not load on the factors or were double-barreled, so we removed them from the analyses. The final factor structure explained 44.57% of the items' variance ($KMO = 0.791$). The pattern matrix of the items is presented in Table 1. The first factor ($\alpha = 0.75$) was named as (high-status) masculine occupations (high-status occupations for boys, HSB); the second factor ($\alpha = 0.73$) as feminine activities and traits (feminine activities and traits for boys, FB); and the third factor ($\alpha = 0.66$) as feminine activities. Due to its low informativeness, the third factor was not further analyzed. We calculated the means of the items of the first and second factors and used them in subsequent analyses.

Parental preference for girls: As the reliability of the original subscales were unacceptable, exploratory factor analysis was conducted again using principal axis factoring and varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization to analyze the factor structure of the items. Seven items did not load on the factors or were double-barreled, so they were excluded from the analyses. The final factor structure explained 45.90% of the variance ($KMO = 0.805$). The factor solution is presented in Table 1. The first factor ($\alpha = 0.76$) was named as high-status occupations, including both masculine and feminine professions (high-status occupations for

girls, HSG); the second factor ($\alpha = 0.74$) as feminine activities and traits (feminine activities and traits for girls, FG); the third factor ($\alpha = 0.69$) as feminine activities. Due to its low informativeness, the third factor was not further analyzed. We calculated the means of the items of the first and second factors and used them in further analyses.

2.2 | Results

2.2.1 | Descriptive statistics

The means, standard deviations, internal consistencies (Cronbach's alpha), and correlation between the measures are presented in Table 2. The table indicates that each scale had reliable internal consistency. Homosexuality correlated negatively with modern sexism and predicted less endorsement for HSB, HSG,[5] and less support for FG. Nevertheless, homosexuality was unrelated to FB[6]. In contrast, the opposite pattern was found for heterosexuality: It positively predicted modern sexism and support for HSB and HSG. Heterosexuality was unrelated to FB[7] and FG[8].

2.2.2 | Hypothesis testing

To test our hypotheses, we used PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017) moderated mediation analyses (Model 14). We investigated how sexual orientation (homosexuality and heterosexuality) is associated with support for high-status masculine, and feminine activity choices for

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to 5 (*completely homosexual*) and in the case of Heterosexuality scale, scores ranged from 1 (*not at all heterosexual*) to 5 (*completely heterosexual*). Accordingly, we did not separate groups by sexual orientation in the analyses, but used the two continuous variables instead, meaning that we did not separate gays, bisexuals, and straights.

[4] Main effect was significant for gender, $F(1,446) = 49.38$ $p < .001$ $\eta^2 = .100$, indicating that men ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 1.04$) accepted modern sexism more than women ($M = 2.10$, $SD = .87$).

[5] Even though there were a weak correlation between the variables, we could not test these associations with moderated mediation analysis, because homosexuality did not predict support for high-status occupations for girls ($t(5,442) = -1.61$ $p = .11$).

[6] We could not test these associations with moderated mediation analysis, because homosexuality did not predict support for feminine activities and traits for boys ($t(5,442) = -.71$ $p = .48$).

[7] We could not test these associations with moderated mediation analysis, because heterosexuality did not predict support for feminine activities and traits for boys ($t(2,445) = 0.45$ $p = .66$).

[8] We could not test these associations with moderated mediation analysis, because heterosexuality did not predict support for feminine activities and traits for girls, $t(2,445) = 1.34$ $p = .18$.

TABLE 2 Correlation matrix between measurements, means, standard deviations, and internal consistencies

	M (SD)	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Homosexuality	1.50 (0.99)	–	–						
2. Heterosexuality	4.36 (1.15)	–	−0.83***	–					
3. High-Status Occupations for Boys (HSB)	3.54 (0.62)	0.75	−0.14**	0.18***	–				
4. Feminine traits and Activities for Boys (FB)	4.03 (0.51)	0.73	−0.03	0.01	0.40***	–			
5. High-Status Occupations for Girls (HSG)	3.49 (0.64)	0.76	−0.10*	0.14**	0.86***	0.38***	–		
6. Feminine activities and Traits for Girls (FG)	4.15 (0.51)	0.74	-0.12*	0.07	0.45***	0.90***	0.44***	–	
7. Modern Sexism	2.24 (0.87)	0.92	−0.22***	0.21***	0.19***	−0.10*	0.11*	−0.01	–
8. Perceived Stability of the Gender Hierarchy	3.02 (0.74)	0.81	−0.02	0.03	−0.02	−0.02	−.005	−0.03	−0.14**

Note. $N = 448$ participants. α = Cronbach's alpha. Statistical significance is indicated at the following level:
*$p < .05$.
**$p < .01$.
***$p < .001$. Measurements were made using a 5-point Likert scale in each case. Homosexuality and Heterosexuality were used as continuous variables: the scores ranged from 1 (not at all homosexual/heterosexual) to 5 (extremely homosexual/heterosexual).

boys and girls via modern sexism, as well as the moderating role of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy. Gender was used as a control variable in all analyses. Table 2 shows the relationships between the variables.

Homosexuality–HSB

We explored whether modern sexism mediates between homosexuality and the support for HSB and whether the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy moderates this association when gender is controlled. The results of the moderated mediation analysis are presented in Table 3. As seen in the table, homosexuality negatively predicted modern sexism and women endorsed modern sexism less than men. Endorsement for HSB was predicted negatively by homosexuality and positively by modern sexism. Nevertheless, neither gender nor the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy was significantly related to HSB, and the interaction term between modern sexism and the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy also proved to be insignificant. The index of moderated mediation was not significant, which means that homosexuality predicted HSB negatively through modern sexism at almost each level of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy when gender was controlled.

Heterosexuality–HSB

We explored whether modern sexism mediates between heterosexuality and the support for HSB and whether the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy moderates this association when gender is controlled. The results of the moderated mediation analysis are presented in Table 3. As seen in the table, heterosexuality positively predicted modern sexism and women endorsed modern sexism less than men. Endorsement for HSB was positively predicted by both heterosexuality and modern sexism. Nevertheless, neither gender nor the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy was significantly related to HSB, and the interaction term between modern sexism and the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy also proved to be insignificant. The index of moderated mediation was not significant, which means that heterosexuality positively predicted HSB through modern sexism at almost each

level of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy when gender was controlled.

Homosexuality–FG

Further, we explored whether modern sexism mediates between homosexuality and the support for FG and whether the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy moderates this association when gender is controlled. The results of the moderated mediation analysis are presented in Table 4. As seen in the table, homosexuality negatively predicted modern sexism and women endorsed modern sexism less than men. Support for FG was negatively predicted by homosexuality but was insignificantly predicted by modern sexism and the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy. Women supported FG more than men. The interaction term between modern sexism and the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy proved to be insignificant. The index of moderated mediation was not significant, which means that homosexuality negatively predicted FG through modern sexism at each level of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy when gender was controlled.

Heterosexuality–HSG

Lastly, we explored whether modern sexism mediates between heterosexuality and the support for HSG and whether the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy moderates this association when gender is controlled. The results of the moderated mediation analysis are presented in Table 5. As seen in Table 5, heterosexuality positively predicted modern sexism and women endorsed modern sexism less than men. Support for HSG was positively predicted by heterosexuality, by modern sexism, and by the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy, but gender was unrelated to HSG. The interaction term between modern sexism and the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy and the index of moderated mediation also proved significant. At lower levels of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy (1 standard deviation below the mean), modern sexism significantly and positively predicted HSG. Nevertheless, at the mean and higher levels of the moderator (1 standard deviation above the mean), modern sexism was unrelated

TABLE 3 Moderated mediation analysis (Study 1): Associations between homosexuality, heterosexuality, modern sexism, the perceived gender hierarchy, and support for high-status occupations for boys (HSB)

	Predictors	B	SE	T	p	LLCI	ULCI
Outcome: Modern sexism							
Constant		3.92	0.19	20.89	<.001	3.55	4.29
	Homosexuality	−0.23	0.04	−6.03	<.001	−0.31	−0.16
	Gender (covariate)	−0.75	0.09	−7.94	<.001	−0.93	−0.56
Constant		2.75	0.22	12.57	<.001	2.32	3.18
	Heterosexuality	0.18	0.03	5.35	<.001	0.11	0.24
	Gender (covariate)	−0.72	0.09	−7.58	<.001	−0.90	−0.53
Outcome: High-Status occupations for Boys (HSB)							
Constant		2.96	0.33	8.90	<.001	2.30	3.61
	Homosexuality	−0.06	0.03	−2.02	.044	−0.12	−0.002
	Modern Sexism	0.30	0.12	2.48	.014	0.06	0.54
	Perceived Stability of the Gender Hierarchy	0.13	0.09	1.40	.163	−0.05	0.30
	Interaction	-0.06	0.04	−1.57	.118	−0.14	0.02
	Gender (covariate)	0.02	0.08	0.27	.790	−0.13	0.17
Constant		2.53	0.32	7.86	<.001	1.90	3.16
	Heterosexuality	0.08	0.03	2.99	.003	.03	0.13
	Modern Sexism	0.31	0.12	2.55	.011	0.07	0.54
	Perceived Stability of the Gender Hierarchy	0.13	0.09	1.47	.142	−0.04	0.31
	Interaction	−0.07	0.04	−1.69	.093	−0.14	0.01
	Gender (covariate)	0.12	0.08	0.25	.802	−0.13	0.17

Conditional indirect effects of sexual orientation on High-Status occupations for Boys through the mediator

Sexual Orientation	Level of Interaction	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Homosexuality	Moderator −1SD	−0.04	0.01	−0.06	−0.02
	Moderator Mean	−0.03	0.01	−0.05	−0.01
	Moderator +1SD	−0.02	0.01	−0.04	0.01
Heterosexuality	Moderator −1SD	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.05
	Moderator Mean	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.04
	Moderator +1SD	0.01	0.01	−0.01	0.03

Index of moderated mediation

Sexual Orientation	Mediator	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Homosexuality	Modern Sexism	0.01	0.01	−0.01	0.03
Heterosexuality	Modern Sexism	−0.01	0.01	−0.03	0.003

Note. N = 448 participants. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower level of CI; UL = upper level of CI. Level of confidence = 95%. Homosexuality and Heterosexuality were used as continuous variables: the scores ranged from 1 (not at all homosexual/heterosexual) to 5 (extremely homosexual/heterosexual). Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Gender was coded as 1 = men, 2 = women. Bootstrap sample size = 5,000.

to high-status occupational choices for girls. This means that modern sexism positively predicted HSG only at the low perceived stability of the gender hierarchy, but when the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable, the two variables were uncorrelated. We created a simple slope to visualize this moderation (see Figure 1). Therefore, our results show that when the gender hierarchy was perceived as unstable, the positive indirect effect of heterosexuality through modern sexism was significant, but at higher levels of the perceived stability, modern sexism did not mediate between heterosexuality and support for HSG.

2.3 | Discussion of Study 1

In line with our predictions and consistent with previous research (e.g., Bos & Sandfort, 2010), homosexuality was associated with less gender stereotypical preferences, while heterosexuality was more predictive of traditional gender role preferences. Moreover, the association between heterosexuality and gender-conforming parental preferences (as in the case of heterosexuality and HSB) was positively mediated by modern sexism, while in the case of homosexuality,

TABLE 4 Moderated mediation analysis (Study 1): Associations between homosexuality, modern sexism, the perceived gender hierarchy, and support for feminine activities and traits for girls (FG)

Predictors	B	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
Outcome: Modern sexism						
Constant	3.92	0.19	20.89	<.001	3.55	4.29
Homosexuality	−0.23	0.04	−6.03	<.001	−0.31	−0.16
Gender (covariate)	−0.75	0.09	−7.94	<.001	−0.93	−0.56
Outcome: Feminine activities and traits for Girls (FG)						
Constant	3.66	0.28	13.17	<.001	3.12	4.21
Homosexuality	−0.05	0.03	−2.04	.042	−0.10	−0.002
Modern Sexism	0.19	0.10	1.85	.065	−0.01	0.39
Perceived Stability of the Gender Hierarchy	0.10	0.08	1.34	.180	−0.05	0.25
Interaction	-0.06	0.03	−1.92	.055	−0.13	0.001
Gender (covariate)	0.14	0.07	2.25	.025	0.02	0.27
Conditional indirect effects of sexual orientation on Feminine activities and traits for Girls through the mediator						
Level of interaction	**Effect**	**Boot SE**		**Boot LLCI**	**Boot ULCI**	
Moderator −1SD	−0.01	0.01		−0.03	.01	
Moderator Mean	0.001	0.01		−0.02	.02	
Moderator +1SD	0.01	0.01		−0.01	.03	
Index of moderated mediation						
Mediator	**Effect**	**Boot SE**		**Boot LLCI**	**Boot ULCI**	
Modern Sexism	.02	.01		<.001	.03	

Note. N = 448 participants. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower level of CI; UL = upper level of CI. Level of confidence = 95%. Homosexuality and Heterosexuality were used as continuous variables: the scores ranged from 1 (not at all homosexual/heterosexual) to 5 (extremely homosexual/heterosexual). Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Gender was coded as 1 = men, 2 = women. Bootstrap sample size = 5,000.

lessened modern sexist attitudes mediated between sexual orientation and non-stereotypical preferences for children's occupations, traits, and activities. These results appear to support our assumptions that because gay people see themselves as less gender stereotypical (Allen & Robson, 2020), rather than endorsing polarized gender roles, they are also more flexible about the gender roles they prefer for their (prospective) children rather than preferring gender stereotypical behaviors, occupations, and traits.

When we examined how participants differentiated between masculine and feminine occupations and activities, the results revealed that, in the case of boys, respondents identified high-prestige occupations with masculine occupations, which were highly distinguished from feminine traits, activities, and low-prestige—mostly feminine— occupations. This can be explained by the fact that high prestige in patriarchal societies is associated with masculine occupations, activities, and traits. Our results are consistent with those of Liben and colleagues (2001), who found that both girls and boys between the ages of 7 and 12 rated masculine jobs as more prestigious than feminine jobs. Moreover, they found that although both boys and girls expressed equal interest in masculine occupations, boys were significantly less interested than girls in feminine occupations. As can be seen from the present study, (prospective) parents had the same preferences in terms of what aspirations girls and boys should have with respect to mascu-

line (high-status) and feminine occupations as those shown by the children in the study by Liben et al. (2001).

Our results suggest that, in the case of boys, the mediating effect of modern sexism on parents' gender preferences was pronounced. Heterosexuality positively predicted respondents' preference for HSB through heightened modern sexism, and this preference was not affected by the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy. Nevertheless, homosexuality negatively predicted HSB through lessened modern sexism, and this association was also independent of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy.

In the case of girls, the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy had a substantial effect on parental preferences regarding HSG by influencing the mediating effect of modern sexism. Although it was unexpected, parental preference for HSG was positively predicted by heterosexuality through modern sexism. However, this positive indirect effect was present only when the gender hierarchy's perceived stability was low. This means that (prospective) parents would prefer high-status occupations—which are considered masculine—for their daughters only if they perceive the current gender hierarchy to be unstable.

A limitation of this study is that we were unable to examine the effect of modern sexism and the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy on the relationship between sexual orientation and feminine

TABLE 5 Moderated mediation analysis (Study 1): Associations between heterosexuality, modern sexism, the perceived gender hierarchy, and support for high-status occupations for girls (HSG)

Predictors	B	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
Outcome: Modern sexism						
Constant	2.75	0.22	12.57	<.001	2.32	3.18
Heterosexuality	0.18	0.03	5.35	<.001	0.11	0.24
Gender (covariate)	−0.72	0.09	−7.58	<.001	−0.90	−0.53
Outcome: High-Status occupations for Girls (HSG)						
Constant	2.62	0.34	7.73	<.001	1.96	3.29
Heterosexuality	0.07	0.03	2.60	.010	0.02	0.12
Modern Sexism	0.32	0.13	2.54	.011	0.07	0.57
Perceived Stability of the Gender Hierarchy	0.14	0.09	1.49	.137	−0.05	0.33
Interaction	−0.09	0.04	−2.15	.032	−0.17	−0.01
Gender (covariate)	0.01	0.08	0.08	.938	−0.15	0.16

Conditional indirect effects of sexual orientation on High-Status occupations for Girls through the mediator				
Level of interaction	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Moderator −1SD	0.02	0.01	0.004	0.04
Moderator Mean	0.01	0.01	−0.004	0.03
Moderator +1SD	−0.002	0.01	−0.02	0.2

Index of moderated mediation				
Mediator	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Modern Sexism	−0.02	0.01	−0.03	−0.001

Note. N = 448 participants. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower level of CI; UL = upper level of CI. Level of confidence = 95%. Homosexuality and Heterosexuality were used as continuous variables: the scores ranged from 1 (not at all homosexual/heterosexual) to 5 (extremely homosexual/heterosexual). Unstandardized regression coefficients are reported. Gender was coded as 1 = men, 2 = women. Bootstrap sample size = 5,000.

activities and traits—with one exception. Another important limitation of the study is that respondents were presented with decontextualized statements, which may have skewed responses, especially in terms of preferred activities and traits. For example, the statements did not provide a reference point in terms of whom the child should be emotional or competitive with. It is possible that, by setting two scenarios—for example, the kinds of behaviors, activities, and traits that parents would prefer for their children at home and at the school—preferences would alter greatly. A further limitation is that, because of the low number of LGB people in the study, we cannot differentiate between gay and bisexual participants.

Still, in line with the study's main question, we can draw the conclusion from our results that the role of sexual orientation is indeed significant in terms of parental preferences related to gender attitudes and that while the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy can have a significant effect on parental preferences for (prospective) daughters, it does not affect parental preferences for (prospective) sons.

3 | STUDY 2

In Study 1, we examined whether the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy influences the association between sexual orientation and (prospective) parental attitudes. We also tested if modern sexism could explain this association. The strength of our study was that we were able to demonstrate the role of sexual orientation and modern sexism in (prospective) parental preferences related to boys' high-status occupation. Further, our results showed that, in the case of girls, the association between sexual orientation and less gender-conforming preferences was observable regarding gendered behavior, while for occupational preferences, the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy was more important.

Nevertheless, we could not examine the association between sexual orientation and (prospective) parental attitudes regarding feminine behavior. Furthermore, we did not directly measure the difference between LGB groups as we assessed sexual orientation as a continuous variable. In Study 2, using an experimental design, we could test the influence of the perceived gender hierarchy. Moreover, in this study, we placed more emphasis on measuring differences between groups with different sexual orientations. Also, in order to avoid possible bias from decontextualized statements, we extended the study by applying two scenarios to measure whether (prospective) parents prefer different gendered behavior for their children at home or in school regardless of the child's gender.

In our study, we manipulated the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy and tested the different parental preferences among LGB
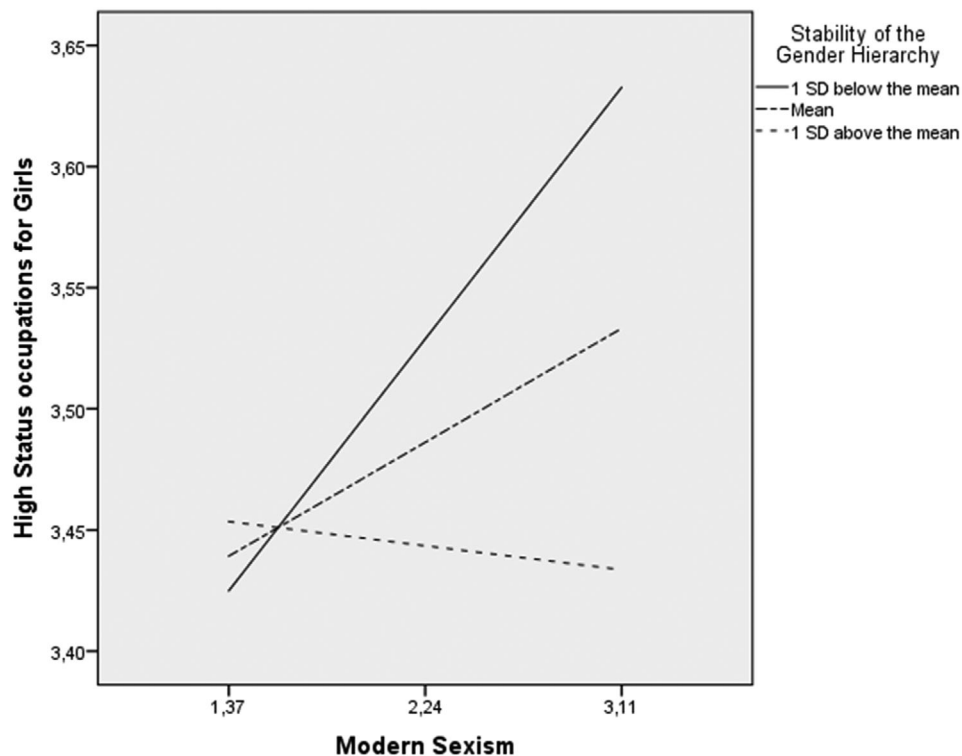
FIGURE 1 The relationship between modern sexism and support for (high-status occupations for girls) HSG, moderated by the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy—simple slope

and straight people. We tested modern sexism and the fear of backlash (that one's—prospective—child might have to face by their peers due to the gender norms learned at home) and gender as predictors in each analysis.

3.1 | Method

3.1.1 | Procedure

In an online experiment, participants were randomly assigned into one of two conditions based on the stability of the gender hierarchy (unstable/stable). We used the items measuring the perceived stability of gender hierarchy (see Study 1) to create the manipulation vignettes of Study 2. In order to create descriptions as credibly as possible, we provided real information on the same areas that concern gender hierarchy. The difference was that in the unstable condition, we focused on the equality indicators that have been improved in the last couple of decades, while in the stable condition, we focused on the still existing gaps in equality in Hungary. The used vignettes can be seen in Appendix B.

3.1.2 | Participants

We conducted an a priori power analysis using G*Power calculator by setting it for a 5% level of significance with 80% power. We applied the

linear multiple regression with three predictors estimation. According to the calculations, we needed a sample size of at least 550 participants in order to detect an effect size of $f^2 = 0.02$, which is based on the effect size observed in Study 1. Therefore, the proposed sample size ($n = 704$) of this study was sufficient.

A total of 757 people completed the survey. Those who answered randomly ($n = 2$) or did not indicate their gender ($n = 17$) were omitted from the sample. After thorough consideration, because of the low number of these participants, transsexual men ($n = 11$), transsexual women ($n = 4$), and non-binary people ($n = 19$) were excluded from analyses. Therefore, the final sample consisted of 263 LGB and 441 straight people. The sample consisted of 167 men and 537 women. The mean age was 28 ($SD = 11$). The majority of the respondents (56.1%) had a university degree (i.e., short-cycle tertiary education; college-, bachelor's-, master's-, or doctoral-level education or equivalent). The majority of the participants (51.3%) lived in the capital city, 17.0% in another city, and 31.7% in a town or rural area. Only 17.9% of the participants already had children (9% boys and 8.9% girls), although 72% reported that they most definitely wanted to have (more) children.

As in Study 1, participants were recruited via anonymous online sampling, and the minimum age for participation was 18. All respondents participated voluntarily and were free to choose whether they wanted to complete the survey or wished to withdraw before completing it without further explanation or consequences. All statistical analyses were conducted by the software IBM SPSS 24.0. The research was conducted with Institutional Review Board approval of *ELTE Eötvös*

Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary and applying the APA Code of Conduct.

3.1.3 | Measures

To test the efficacy of the manipulation, we compared the conditions with the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy scale and tested if participants evaluated the stability of the gender hierarchy differently in the conditions. We also used two attention check questions. First, by asking the participants immediately after reading the manipulative vignettes on whether they are glad about the changes that can be read in the text (unstable condition), or whether they would prefer Hungarians to be more accepting compared to what can be read in the text (stable condition). Second, at the end of the survey, we asked them how realistic they found the description they had read at the beginning of the survey regarding the social situation of genders.

After the manipulation vignettes (gender hierarchy is unstable/stable), sexual orientation, modern sexism,[9] and the perceived stability of gender hierarchy were measured, and each scale was identical to those in Study 1. Nevertheless, in Study 2, we sorted participants into gay, bisexual, and straight groups.[10] The present study was extended by measuring the fear of backlash by peers, and the measurement of parental preferences was tailored differently. In this study, the fear of backlash by peers (Rudman & Fairchild, 2004) was measured by seven items, and the parental preference (Liben & Bigler, 2002) regarding traits and activities was measured by 20 items for girls at home/in school and 20 items for boys at home/in school. From the original scale, we omitted some items (regardless of gender: *complain* and *brag a lot* were omitted from the "at home" scale and *complain* along with *misbehave* were omitted from the "in school" scale) in order to improve internal consistencies. Instead of creating separate scales for masculine and feminine traits and activities, we created one scale by merging the means of items, resulting in a scale ranging from 1 (i.e., completely masculine) to 9 (i.e., completely feminine). We used this scale in further analyses. Appendix A shows all items of the lists. In all cases, 5-point Likert scales were used, ranging from 1 ("I do not agree at all") to 5 ("I fully agree").

3.2 | Results

3.2.1 | Manipulation checks

We found a significant difference in the perception of the stability of the gender hierarchy $F(1,701) = 4.76$ $p = .029$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.007$. Gender hierarchy was perceived as less stable in the unstable condition ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 0.75$) compared to the stable condition ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 0.73$). We also found a difference in the reported level of the fear

of backlash by peers that one's (prospective) child might have to face by their peers due to the gender norms learned at home between conditions, $F(1,701) = 4.75$ $p = .030$, $\eta^2 = 0.007$. In the second (stable gender hierarchy) condition participants reported a slightly higher level of fear of backlash by peers ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 0.64$) than in the first condition (unstable gender hierarchy: $M = 2.17$, $SD = 0.69$). However, we did not find a difference regarding modern sexism, $F(1,701) = .12$ $p = .730$, $\eta^2 < 0.001$, by comparing the first ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 0.79$) and the second ($M = 2.08$, $SD = 0.81$) conditions.

3.2.2 | Descriptive statistics

The means, standard deviations, and internal consistencies (Cronbach's alpha) are presented in Table 6. The table indicates that each scale had reliable internal consistency. Values of Boys at Home, Boys in School, Girls at Home, and Girls in School scales were somewhat above the midpoint, which means that they were closer to the feminine rather than the masculine endpoint of the scale. Gay and straight people showed a slightly more masculine preference when they perceived the gender hierarchy as more stable, while the exact opposite tendency was found among bisexual people. Among the groups, gay men tended to prefer less masculine gendered behavior for their (prospective) son both at home and in school; however, the difference decreased in the stable gender hierarchy condition. In the stable condition, by contrast, straight men preferred more masculine gendered behavior for (prospective) sons. Interestingly, in the unstable condition, bisexual men showed more traditional attitudes in this regard. In the case of girls, straight women tended to prefer more feminine gendered behavior for their (prospective) daughter both at home and in school, while in the stable condition, bisexual men showed more traditional attitudes.

3.2.3 | Hypothesis testing

To test our hypothesis, we conducted hierarchical multiple regression analyses. We investigated whether modern sexism and the fear of backlash by peers can predict the gendered expectations toward (prospective) sons and daughters in two scenarios (at home and in school) for the three sexual orientation groups (gay, bisexual, and straight). Gender was included in the analyses as a covariate variable. We ran the analyses separately by manipulation conditions (stable/less stable gender hierarchy).

Boys at home
First, we examined (prospective) parental preferences regarding boys' gendered behavior—at home—among different sexual orientation groups in both manipulation conditions. The results are presented in Tables 7 and 8. When the gender hierarchy was perceived as less stable, no predictor was found to be significant in the case of gay people. However, when the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable, lessened modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior preferences, $r = -0.35$, $p = .012$. In contrast, in the case of bisexual people, when

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[9] Main effect was significant for gender, $F(1,698) = 79.33$ $p < .001$ $\eta^2 = 102$, indicating that men ($M = 2.45$, $SD = .07$) accepted modern sexism more than women ($M = 1.78$, $SD = .04$).

[10] In Study 2 we created one scale from heterosexuality and homosexuality scales and by dummy-coding, we sorted participants into gay, bisexual, and straight groups.

TABLE 6 Means, standard deviations, and internal consistencies of each scales in different conditions

Manipulation	Scale	α	Gay men M (SD)	Gay women M (SD)	Bisexual Men M (SD)	Bisexual Women M (SD)	Straight men M (SD)	Straight Women M (SD)
1. Unstable gender hierarchy	Boys at Home	0.69	5.70 (0.39)	5.63 (0.39)	5.21 (0.54)	5.53 (0.49)	5.43 (0.50)	5.67 (0.45)
	Boys in School	0.69	5.67 (0.39)	5.66 (0.46)	5.06 (0.48)	5.53 (0.49)	5.41 (0.45)	5.61 (0.45)
	Girls at Home	0.75	5.73 (0.46)	5.67 (0.45)	5.44 (0.48)	5.49 (0.51)	5.66 (0.51)	5.82 (0.47)
	Girls in School	0.75	5.77 (0.45)	5.56 (0.50)	5.17 (0.76)	5.54 (0.55)	5.69 (0.49)	5.82 (0.45)
2. Stable gender hierarchy	Boys at Home	0.71	5.55 (0.47)	5.57 (0.38)	5.51 (0.58)	5.69 (0.46)	5.39 (0.47)	5.58 (0.44)
	Boys in School	0.71	5.56 (0.46)	5.55 (0.42)	5.39 (0.62)	5.61 (0.48)	5.36 (0.48)	5.53 (0.48)
	Girls at Home	0.75	5.66 (0.50)	5.55 (0.35)	5.90 (0.63)	5.70 (0.52)	5.67 (0.55)	5.74 (0.45)
	Girls in School	0.76	5.67 (0.54)	5.52 (0.44)	5.89 (0.65)	5.66 (0.53)	5.64 (0.59)	5.74 (0.47)

Note. α = Cronbach's alpha. Gay men: $N_{first\ condition}$ = 24 and $N_{second\ condition}$ = 22; Lesbian women: $N_{first\ condition}$ = 36 and $N_{second\ condition}$ = 28; Bisexual men: $N_{first\ condition}$ = 11 and $N_{second\ condition}$ = 11; Bisexual women: $N_{first\ condition}$ = 69 and $N_{second\ condition}$ = 62; Straight men: $N_{first\ condition}$ = 41 and $N_{second\ condition}$ = 58; Straight women: $N_{first\ condition}$ = 169 and $N_{second\ condition}$ = 173. All scales ranged between 1 (completely masculine) to 9 (completely feminine), but the actual values ranged from 5.06 to 5.90.

the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable, no predictor was found to be significant, while when the gender hierarchy was perceived as less stable, lessened modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior preferences, $r = -0.24$, $p = .015$. In the case of straight people, modern sexism did not predict (prospective) parental preferences regarding boys' gendered behavior at home, but gender predicted it. Both when they perceived the gender hierarchy as less stable, $r = 0.20$, $p = .002$, and more stable, $r = 0.19$, $p = .002$, women preferred more feminine behavior for boys at home.

Boys in school
Second, we examined (prospective) parental preferences regarding boys' gendered behavior—in school—among different sexual orientation groups in both manipulation conditions. The results are presented in Tables 7 and 8. In the case of gay people, there was no difference between the conditions regarding the predictors. Both when the gender hierarchy was perceived as less stable, $r = -0.28$, $p = .017$, and stable, $r = -0.28$, $p = .023$, lessened modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior preferences. Meanwhile, in the case of bisexual people, lessened modern sexism only predicted more feminine behavior preferences when the gender hierarchy was perceived as less stable, $r = -0.39$, $p < .001$. In addition, the fear of backlash by peers predicted more masculine behavior preferences, $r = -0.24$, $p = .17$. In the case of straight people, however, only gender influenced the (prospective) parental preferences. Both when they perceived the gender hierarchy as less stable, $r = 0.18$, $p = .005$, and more stable, $r = 0.15$, $p = .010$, women preferred more feminine behavior for boys in school.

Girls at home
Then, we examined (prospective) parental preferences regarding girls' gendered behavior—at home—among different sexual orientation groups in both manipulation conditions. The results are presented in Tables 7 and 8. In the case of gay people, no predictor was found to be significant in either condition. In the case of bisexual people, although

no predictor was proved to be significant when the gender hierarchy was perceived as less stable, modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior preferences when the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable, $r = 0.31$, $p = .004$. In the case of straight people, modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior preferences, both when they perceived the gender hierarchy as less stable, $r = 0.17$, $p = .008$, and more stable, $r = 0.23$, $p < .001$. Moreover, even when the gender hierarchy was perceived as less stable, women preferred more feminine behavior for girls at home, $r = 0.13$, $p = .027$. Although gender was a significant predictor of (prospective) parental preferences regarding girls' gendered behavior, when the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable (see Table 8), it did not correlate significantly with the outcome variable, $r = 0.06$, $p = .165$.

Girls in school
Last, we examined (prospective) parental preferences regarding girls' gendered behavior—in school—among different sexual orientation groups in both manipulation conditions. The results are presented in Tables 7 and 8. Similar to the case of *Girls at Home* measurement, no predictor was found to be significant in either condition. Surprisingly, in the case of bisexual people, when they perceived the gender hierarchy as less stable, the fear of backlash by peers predicted more masculine behavior preferences, $r = -0.27$, $p = .008$, and women preferred more feminine behavior for girls in school, $r = 0.22$, $p = .026$. Nonetheless, when the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable, modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior preferences, $r = 0.27$, $p = .010$. In the case of straight people, modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior preferences, both when they perceived the gender hierarchy as less stable, $r = 0.11$, $p = .050$, and more stable, $r = 0.18$, $p = .003$. Nevertheless, although gender was a significant predictor of (prospective) parental preferences regarding girls' gendered behavior in both conditions (see Table 8), gender per se did not correlate significantly with the outcome variable, neither in the unstable, $r = 0.11$, $p = .060$, nor in the stable condition, $r = 0.08$, $p = .115$.

TABLE 7 Results of regression analysis on parental preferences—Manipulation 1 (unstable gender hierarchy condition)

Results of regression analysis on parental preferences – Manipulation 1								
Outcome: Boys at Home								
Sexual Orientation	Predictor	B	SE	B	t	P	LLCI	ULCI
Bisexual[1]	Constant	5.82	0.16		35.98	<.001	5.50	6.15
	Modern Sexism	−0.19	0.09	−0.24	-2.21	.03	−0.36	−0.02
Straight[2]	Constant	5.17	0.22		23.75	<.001	4.74	5.60
	Modern Sexism	0.002	0.04	0.003	0.04	.97	−0.08	0.09
	Fear of Backlash	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.17	.86	−0.08	0.10
	Gender	0.24	0.08	0.20	2.86	.01	0.08	0.41
Boys in School								
Gay[3]	Constant	5.95	0.14		42.21	<.001	5.67	6.23
	Modern Sexism	−0.16	0.08	−0.28	−2.18	.033	−0.31	−0.01
Bisexual[4]	Constant	6.33	0.22		28.52	<.001	5.89	6.77
	Modern Sexism	−0.29	0.08	−0.37	−3.62	.001	−0.45	−0.13
	Fear of Backlash	−0.15	0.08	−0.21	-2.00	.049	−0.31	−0.001
Straight[5]	Constant	5.80	0.10		60.51	<.001	5.61	5.98
	Modern Sexism	−0.10	0.04	−0.17	−2.50	.013	−0.18	−0.02
Outcome: Girls at Home								
Straight[6]	Constant	4.99	0.22		22.70	<.001	4.55	5.42
	Modern Sexism	0.13	0.04	0.21	2.93	.004	0.04	0.21
	Fear of Backlash	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.98	.330	-0.05	0.14
	Gender	0.23	0.09	0.19	2.74	.007	0.07	0.40
Outcome: Girls in School								
Bisexual[7]	Constant	5.03	0.60		8.40	<.001	3.83	6.22
	Modern Sexism	0.09	0.12	0.10	0.74	.463	−0.15	0.33
	Fear of Backlash	−0.23	0.09	−0.27	−2.49	.015	−0.42	−0.05
	Gender	0.45	0.22	0.26	2.01	.049	0.003	0.89
Straight[8]	Constant	5.30	0.21		24.96	<.001	4.88	5.72
	Modern Sexism	0.09	0.04	0.16	2.21	.028	0.01	0.17
	Fear of Backlash	−0.02	0.05	−0.03	-0.37	.711	−0.11	0.07
	Gender	0.17	0.08	0.15	2.12	.035	0.01	0.34

Results of regression analysis on parental preferences—Manipulation 1.

Note. $N = 350$ participants. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower level of CI; UL = upper level of CI. The following covariates were considered: Modern Sexism, Fear of Backlash, and Gender. Gender was coded as 1 = men, 2 = women. (1) The effects of block 1 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.059$; (2) The effects of block 3 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.003$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} < 0.001$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{third\ block} = 0.038$; (3) The effects of block 1 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.076$; (4) The effects of block 2 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.151$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} = 0.042$; (5) The effects of block 1 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.029$; (6) The effects of block 3 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.028$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} = 0.005$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{third\ block} = 0.034$; (7) The effects of block 3 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.006$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} = 0.070$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{third\ block} = 0.046$; (8) The effects of block 3 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.013$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} < 0.001$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{third\ block} = 0.021$.

3.3 | Discussion of Study 2

As expected, sexual orientation significantly affected predictors of (prospective) children's preferred gendered behavior. Similar to the results of Study 1, modern sexism was a better predictor of parental preferences for boys' than for girls' gendered behavior. Nevertheless, results revealed differences in this regard even between gay and bisexual people, not only between LGB and straight people.

In the case of gay people, the only significant predictor was modern sexism, which only prevailed in the case of boys and mostly when the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable. When the gender hierarchy was perceived as less stable, lessened modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior for boys (only in the school scenario). Similarly, even

TABLE 8 Results of regression analysis on parental preferences—Manipulation 2 (stable gender hierarchy condition)

Results of regression analysis on parental preferences—Manipulation 2								
Outcome: Boys at home								
Sexual Orientation	**Predictor**	**B**	**SE**	**B**	**t**	**P**	**LLCI**	**ULCI**
Gay[1]	Constant	6.04	0.19		31.61	<.001	5.65	6.42
	Modern Sexism	−0.28	0.11	−0.35	-20.60	.012	−0.50	−0.06
Straight[2]	Constant	4.95	0.20		24.25	<.001	4.54	5.35
	Modern Sexism	0.05	0.04	0.10	1.37	.172	−0.02	0.13
	Fear of Backlash	0.03	0.04	0.04	0.63	.528	−0.06	0.12
	Gender	0.23	0.07	0.22	3.18	.002	0.09	0.37
Boys in school								
Gay[3]	Constant	5.95	0.20		29.30	<.001	5.54	6.36
	Modern Sexism	−0.23	0.12	−0.28	−2.04	.047	−0.47	−0.004
Straight[4]	Constant	5.16	0.22		23.55	<.001	4.73	5.59
	Modern Sexism	0.002	0.04	0.004	0.06	.953	−0.08	0.09
	Fear of Backlash	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.25	.802	−0.08	0.11
	Gender	0.17	0.08	0.15	2.20	.029	0.02	0.33
Outcome: Girls at home								
Bisexual[5]	Constant	5.35	0.15		34.97	<.001	5.05	5.66
	Modern Sexism	0.22	0.08	0.31	2.72	.008	0.06	0.38
Straight[6]	Constant	4.98	0.21		23.58	<.001	4.57	5.40
	Modern Sexism	0.17	0.04	0.29	4.20	<.001	0.09	0.25
	Fear of Backlash	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.25	.807	−0.08	0.10
	Gender	0.19	0.08	0.17	2.46	.015	0.04	0.33
Outcome: Girls in school								
Bisexual[7]	Constant	5.35	0.16		33.66	<.001	5.03	5.66
	Modern Sexism	0.20	0.08	0.27	2.38	.020	0.03	0.36
Straight[8]	Constant	5.04	0.22		22.60	<.001	4.60	5.48
	Modern Sexism	0.15	0.04	0.24	3.43	.001	0.06	0.23
	Fear of Backlash	0.004	0.05	0.01	0.08	.934	-0.09	0.10
	Gender	0.19	0.08	0.17	2.39	.018	0.03	0.35

Results of regression analysis on parental preferences—Manipulation 2.

Note. $N = 354$ participants. CI = confidence interval; LL = lower level of CI; UL = upper level of CI. The following covariates were considered: Modern Sexism, Fear of Backlash, and Gender. Gender was coded as 1 = men, 2 = women. (1) The effects of block 1 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.123$; (2) The effects of block 3 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} < 0.001$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} = 0.002.$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{third\ block} = 0.042$; (3) The effects of block 1 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.080$; (4) The effects of block 3 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.003$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} < 0.001$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{third\ block} = .0021$; (5) The effects of block 1 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.094$; (6) The effects of block 3 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.052$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} < 0.001$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{third\ block} = 0.025$; (7) The effects of block 1 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.074$; (8) The effects of block 3 of a hierarchical multiple regression analysis are reported, $\Delta R\check{s}_{first\ block} = 0.031$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{second\ block} < 0.001$, $\Delta R\check{s}_{third\ block} = 0.024$.

when the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable, lessened modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior for boys—whether related to home or school gendered behavior. In the case of bisexual people, in addition to modern sexism, lessened fear of backlash predicted preference of more feminine behavior for boys, at school, in the less stable gender hierarchy condition. Meanwhile, in the case of straight participants, modern sexism did not predict the gendered behavior for boys at all in either condition. Nevertheless, for straight people, gender was

proved to be a significant predictor for all conditions and scenarios. Both at home and in school, regardless of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy, women preferred slightly more feminine behavior for their (prospective) sons.

A highly different pattern arose for girls in the case of LGB people. First of all, we found no significant predictor for girls' preferred gendered behavior among gay people. Second, the responses of bisexual participants became more similar to those of straight people's, when

results were about girls' expected gendered behavior in stable gender hierarchy condition than when it was about boys' behavior. Surprisingly, the fear of backlash by peers predicted more masculine behavior for (prospective) daughters in the school scenario when bisexual people perceived the gender hierarchy as less stable. In addition to fear of backlash by peers, gender was another significant predictor according to which women preferred more gender-conforming behavior for girls in this setting. Meanwhile, when the gender hierarchy was perceived as stable, modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior for girls, whether related to home or school behavior. Straight participants showed similar patterns. Even if this association was somewhat stronger in the stable condition, regardless of the stability of the gender hierarchy or the presented scenario (preferred gendered behavior of girls at home or in school), modern sexism predicted more feminine behavior.

A limitation of the study is that although there was a significant difference between the two manipulation conditions in terms of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy and the fear of backlash by peers, it is likely that there were significant individual differences in the awareness of gender issues, which may have influenced the success of the manipulation. It is possible that underprivileged people like LGB people and women were more interested in gender equality issues than members of the dominant group (straight men).

Another limitation is that we did not measure political orientation. In this regard, the significance of political orientation is that the Hungarian government has an utterly different approach to gender issues than the European mainstream. Consequently, the governmental rhetoric about gender roles is highly traditional—even the word *gender* is rejected in order to avoid debate about gender equality (Zalan, 2020). For example, although Hungary is last in rank among other European Union countries (WEF, 2021), partly because of the gender-based violence, the Istanbul Convention was blocked in the spring of 2020, because leading politicians were claiming that it would promote "gender ideology" that presumably undermine "traditional family values" and encourage homosexuality (Margolis, 2020). Thus, those with different political orientations might have different attitudes on the meaning of gender equality and have different information in this regard.

Still, this study supported the results of Study 1 and provided information about the nuances between different sexual orientation groups better. Furthermore, it also provided surprising results on the parental preferences of bisexual people regarding the behavior of their (prospective) children; that is, their preferences for (prospective) sons tended to be more similar to those of gay people, but their preferences for their (prospective) daughters tended to be more similar to those of straight people.

4 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

Although the body of literature examining the role of sexual orientation in parental preferences regarding children's gendered attitudes and behavior is expanding, the influence of the social climate and the ruling attitudes that shape it is still being overlooked. Our research aimed to fill this gap by examining how the perceived stability of gender relations influences this process in a country with a high level of gender inequality and hostility against sexual minorities. As Hungary is currently characterized by resentment toward gender mainstreaming, it is clearly apparent that the possibility of social backlash and the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy are giving rise to different reactions among LGB and straight people regarding their parental preferences for their (prospective) children's gender attitudes.

The present research showed that gay people were more likely to endorse gender-nonconforming occupations and activities for both boys and girls through lessened modern sexism, regardless of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy. Our results were in line with previous findings (Berkowitz & Ryan, 2011) according to which LG parents, compared to straight parents, would encourage their children to develop less gender-stereotyped behavioral repertoires. One explanation for this might be that gay people are indeed closer to the androgynous scale range (Allen & Robson, 2020; Clarke & Arnold, 2017); thus, they show less gender-stereotypical (prospective) parental attitudes compared to straight people.

Also, gay people were less accepting of modern sexism, which may provide another explanation for our results. Maybe gay people endorse modern sexism less because they are more aware of the issues of gender inequality and this has the effect that they try, at least to some extent, not to reinforce the gender stereotypes. Partly, because these stereotypes perpetuate gender imparities (Peus et al., 2015), and because they are upholding the disadvantageous position of LGBT+ people in society through negative stereotyping (Lippa, 2005, 2008).

However, our results are somewhat in contrast to some previous studies (Bruun & Farr, 2020; Carone et al., 2020; Farr et al., 2018) that did not find differences—except for lesbian women—in the gender-typed behavior among children of gay and straight parents. First, it is possible, that the small differences we found in parental attitudes of gay, bisexual, and straight people can be overriden by other actors in the children's environment and, thus, result in no difference regarding their behavior. Second, another explanation might be that parental attitudes become more traditional when it comes to actual parenting. Third, the difference can lie in the social characteristics of the country in which the studies were conducted. Hungary is highly hostile toward sexual minorities (ILGA, 2020) and gender nonconformity (EC, 2019; HBF, 2015; Dunai, 2021). This and the stereotypes about gay people (which they also tend to share about themselves, Clark & Arnold, 2017) that they are less gender conform, while the majority society has a significantly traditional—gender conform—approach in Hungary, may magnify the otherwise small differences.

Interestingly, bisexual people showed similar results to those of gay people regarding (prospective) sons, but similar results to those of straight people regarding (prospective) daughters. Furthermore, bisexual people's preferences were the most affected by the perceived stability of gender hierarchy when (prospective) daughters' preferred gendered behavior was assessed. Although bisexual people perceive their own group as similar to straight people regarding the dimension of masculinity/femininity (Burke & LaFrance, 2016), it seems that when their (prospective) children were in the focus, they were calculating also with

their disadvantaged experiences that are similar to those of gay people. Moreover, maybe because bisexual people are targeted with prejudice from both straight and LG groups (Herbenick et al., 2010; Matsick & Rubin, 2018), they might be even more sensitive to social backlash than gay people. It would explain why the fear of backlash by peers was a significant predictor but only in this group and only in school scenarios (for both boys and girls).

As expected, straight people generally tended to have gender-conforming parental preferences, although it also depended on the child's gender. Our results suggest that, in the case of straight people, modern sexism is an important mediating mechanism between sexual orientation and support for high-status occupations for boys and support for traditional gendered behavior for girls, regardless of the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy. However, the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy became highly important when a (prospective) daughter's occupational preference was in the focus. Heterosexuality was associated with high-status occupational preferences for girls but only when the gender hierarchy was perceived as unstable (i.e., changeable). According to Tajfel (1981; see also Wright & Tropp, 2002), members of subordinated groups take collective action to challenge inequality only when they perceive the status quo to be unstable and changeable. Our results suggest that this phenomenon is true not only directly for members of subordinated groups, but also indirectly—that is, in the case of a female child who belongs to the subordinated group, the (prospective) parents dare to challenge the status quo only if they believe that the gender hierarchy can be changed.

At the same time, straight people generally did not support their (prospective) daughters in non-stereotypical occupations, but they supported traditional gendered behavior, which can be explained by the fact that (prospective) parents might fear that their children will face social repercussions. This is partly because the social environment in Hungary expects gender-traditional attitudes and behavior (Scharle, 2015), and is very hostile toward those perceived as displaying gender-counterstereotypical behavior (EC, 2019; HBF, 2015). It may mean that (prospective) parents might be aware of the social backlash to which their daughters would be exposed should they display non-stereotypical gender behavior in a stable gender hierarchy. Thus, parents may fear that due to their gender-nontraditional preferences, as well as the behavior toward which these preferences may encourage their daughters, their daughters might face social backlash.

Interestingly, although it is usually boys who should not violate either the prescriptive or the proscriptive gender norms (Sullivan et al., 2018), we found that all groups were more flexible about boys' gendered behavior (but not the occupation preferences), while all participants—except for gay people—supported more traditional gendered behavior (but not the occupation preferences) for girls. It might be because many activities (e.g., cleaning) and traits (e.g., expression of emotions) that are considered feminine have a significant—positive—effect on daily life and relationships considered useful for both girls and boys. In our sample, women, but never men, supported slightly more feminine gendered behavior of their (prospective) sons, which can be explained by precarious manhood (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). It means that because being perceived as effeminate can result in identity threat

(e.g., Vandello & Bosson, 2013; Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016) and social backlash (Moss-Racusin, 2014) for men, straight men tended to be less willing to support feminine traits and activities for their sons. Considering that fathers' gender ideologies can have greater impact on children's' gender ideologies than mothers' ideologies (Davis & Wills, 2010), this tendency can perpetuate traditional views.

Overall, it seems that in less gender equal societies, difference in parental preferences regarding (prospective) children's occupation and behavior might be more emphasized between people with different sexual orientation than in societies with greater level of achieved equality. Nevertheless, despite the significant differences in parental preferences between LGB and straight people, it is worth noting that these differences were small.

5 | LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The present research had a cross-sectional design, which limits the interpretation of our results. One reason for why it is limiting the interpretation of our results is that we evaluated attitudes and attitudes that are exposed to a particular social atmosphere, although the social atmosphere is an ever-changing factor. For example, Hungarian LGB people are in a highly disadvantageous position with a deteriorating trend since 2015 (ILGA, 2020); thus, their responses might be significantly different even within a couple of years. Therefore, the cross-sectional design limits our capability to extrapolate the causal relationships between the variables under investigation.

Another limitation of the study is that many of the respondents in our study did not yet have children due to their age. Although the vast majority reported that they wanted to become parents, it cannot be ruled out that their preferences were affected by not yet having children. Because the parent–child relationship is far more of an interactive than a one-way relationship, (prospective) children's personalities might be capable of modifying parents' preferences (Mascaro et al., 2017), even in terms of gender attitudes, regarding what they consider favorable for their daughters and sons. As shown by a recent study (Sharrow et al., 2018), even highly traditional fathers change their views on gender roles and gender equality issues when their first-born child is a daughter.

We propose, in order to map causality more stably, that it would be worthwhile to conduct longitudinal studies on the topic. First, because longitudinal studies could closely monitor the changes in society affecting the perceived stability of the gender hierarchy and—for example, legislation—changes that affect LGB people's social position. Second, because most of our participants reported that they definitely wanted child(ren), longitudinal studies would be able to detect changes in prospective and actual parental attitudes and changes in parental attitudes according to the different ages of the child(ren). Therefore, mediation and moderation processes can be properly assessed by considering the role of time in light of possible changes.

If we want to achieve gender equality sooner than 135.6 years (WEF, 2021), we need to understand the parental attitudes of all people, regardless of their sexual orientation, in order to find out what drives

them to resist society's expectations of gender-conform parental attitudes, so that we can use this knowledge to empower parents who do not yet dare to differ from the traditional expectations of the society.

ETHICAL STATEMENT

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

ORCID

Éva Magdolna Kántás 🄳 https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2185-4657

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APPENDIX A
SCALE ITEMS USED BOTH IN STUDY 1 AND 2
Sexual orientation

> I consider myself homosexual.
>
> I consider myself heterosexual.

Modern sexism

> Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in Hungary.
>
> Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination. (R)
>
> It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.
>
> On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.
>
> Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.
>
> It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in Hungary. (R)

It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about social limitations of women's opportunities. (R)

Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.

The perceived stability of the gender hierarchy

A few decades from now, the number of female (as compared to male) chief executive officers of major corporations is likely to be about equal. (R)

A few decades from now, the average salary for women will continue to be significantly lower than the average salary for men.

A few decades from now, women will be treated as equal to men in all areas (e.g., socially, politically, economically). (R)

A few decades from now, it will still be rare for husbands (as compared to wives) to put their careers on hold to stay at home and raise the kids.

A few decades from now, there is likely to have been at least one female President of Hungary. (R)

Over the next few decades, the current differences in the positions of men and women in society are likely to remain stable.

Parental preferences

How much would you like your boy/girl to be an auto mechanic when (s)he grows up?

How much would you like your boy/girl to be a librarian when (s)he grows up?

How much would you like your boy/girl to be an elementary school teacher when (s)he grows up?

How much would you like your boy/girl to be a doctor when (s)he grows up?

How much would you like your boy/girl to be a business owner when (s)he grows up?

How much would you like your boy/girl to be a clothes designer when (s)he grows up?

How much would you like your boy/girl to be a clothes designer when (s)he grows up?

How much do you like your boy/girl to jump rope?

How much do you like your boy/girl to play basketball?

How much do you like your boy/girl to play video games?

How much do you like your boy/girl to make up dances?

How much do you like your boy/girl to cook or bake things?

How much do you like your boy/girl to play chess?

How much do you like your boy/girl to compete?

How much do you like your boy/girl to be neat and tidy?

How much do you like your boy/girl to show his/her emotions?

How much do you like your boy/girl to enjoy Math class?

How much do you like your boy/girl to be loud?

How much do you like your boy/girl to enjoy English class?

ADDITIONAL SCALE ITEMS USED IN STUDY 2
Parental attitudes

Instruction: How much do you want your (prospective) son/daughter to be characterized by the following statements at home (with her family) or at school (in front of others)? be affectionate (F), misbehave (M), be confident (M), be logical (M), be gentle (F), complain (F), be dominant (M), be charming (F), brag a lot (M), be loud (M), be loving (F), have good manners (F), be neat (F), act as a leader (M), try to look good (F), be helpful (F), be competitive (M), follow directions (F), be smart (M), be determined (M)

Fear of Backlash by Peers

Instruction: Imagine your (prospective) child sharing his/her classmates the views (s)he learned at home about gender roles (what a man and a woman or a boy and a girl should look like and how they should behave).

Would you worry that his/her classmates might think (s)he is odd?

Would you be concerned that his/her classmates might dislike (s)he?

Do you think (s)he would feel proud? (R)

Do you think (s)he would feel embarrassed in front of his/her classmates?

Would you worry that his/her classmates thought (s)he is too confident?

Would you worry that his/her classmates thought (s)he is too assertive?

Would you worry about (s)he being called vain by him/her classmates?

APPENDIX B
VIGNETTES USED IN Study 2

The language of the manipulation and the questionnaire was Hungarian.

LOW-LEVEL STABILITY OF THE GENDER HIERARCHY

Please read the information below carefully!

According to the latest data from the Central Statistical Office (CSO), although economic, political, and social inequalities between men and women still exist, the situation of women in Hungary has improved considerably in recent decades. This means, among other things, that there is a growing acceptance in Hungary of roles for women and men that were previously unthinkable. According to surveys, more and more women are taking an active role in political life, and more and more women are becoming top executives of large corporations. At the same time, compared to the past, men are also more involved in household chores and spend significantly more time raising children. These positive changes have also led, for example, to a narrowing of the gap between the average earnings of men and women in recent decades.

HIGH-LEVEL STABILITY OF THE GENDER HIERARCHY

Please read the information below carefully!

According to the latest data from the Central Statistical Office (CSO), although the situation of women in Hungary has improved considerably in recent decades, economic, political, and social inequalities between men and women still exist. This means, among other things, that, in general, it is still not acceptable for women and men to play gender roles that are different from the traditional. According to surveys, it is still not acceptable for the majority for a woman to take an active role in political life or for women to become top executives of large corporations. On the other hand, most Hungarians do not consider it appropriate for men to spend more and more time at home doing household chores and raising children. The result of adhering to traditional gender roles is, among other things, that there is still a significant gap between the average earnings of men and women.