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Türkiye’de Tek Ebeveynli “Geniş” Ailelerde Yaşayan Çocukların Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rollerine İlişkin Tutumlarının İncelenmesi\*

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Ebeveynler arasındaki ilişkilerin bozulması, boşanma ya da ölüm gibi durumlar ailedeki rollerin yeniden yapılanmasını zorunlu kıldığı için, çocukların toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine ilişkin tutumlarını etkileyebilmektedir. Bu doğrultuda bu çalışmada tek ebeveynli ailelerde yaşayan çocukların toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine ilişkin tutumlarının incelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu amaçla çalışmada nitel araştırma desenlerinden fenomenoloji yaklaşımı kullanılmıştır. Veriler tek ebeveynli ailelerde yaşayan ve yaşları 54-78 ay arasında değişen dokuz çocukla yapılan müdahalesiz etkinlikler aracılığıyla elde edilmiştir. Elde edilen verilerin analizinde içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Müdahalesiz etkinlikler; oyuncaklara, mesleklere ve evdeki sorumluluklara yönelik kalıp yargısal davranışları ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla çeşitli görseller ve bu görsellere ilişkin soruları içermektedir. Araştırma sonuçları, annesi ile yaşayan çocukların evdeki işlere ve mesleklere yönelik tercihlerinde toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplarının dışına çıkabildiklerini ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca, evdeki amcalar ve büyükanneler gibi sosyal rol modellerin, çocukların ev işleri ile ilgili toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargılarını etkileyebileceği görülmüştür. Ancak, bu etkilerin sınırlı olduğu görülmektedir. Buna göre hem anneleri ile birlikte hem de babaları ile birlikte yaşayan tek ebeveynli ailelerdeki çocukların tercihlerinde toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplarının etkili olduğu belirlenmiştir. Çocukların sahip oldukları kalıp yargılar, ilgili alan yazın ve Türkiye’deki aile yapısı bağlamında tartışılmıştır. Gelecek araştırmalar için öneriler ayrıca sunulmuştur.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Tek ebeveynli aileler, Toplumsal cinsiyet, Aile

Investigation of the Gender Stereotypes of Children from “Extended” Single-Parent Families in Turkey

**Article Information**

**ABSTRACT**

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The breakdown of relationships between parents because of divorce, separation or spousal death can affect children's gender roles, as it requires restructuring roles in the family. In Turkey, single-parent families function like extended families unlike the most West societies. Therefore, we aim to examine the gender stereotypes of children living in extended single-parent families in Turkey. We obtained the data through activities held with nine children aged 54-78 months living in “extended” single-parent families, without any intervention in their behavior on the part of the researchers. Findings revealed that living with a mother may affect children’s gender stereotypes regarding the division of household labor and occupations. Besides, social role models such as uncles and grandmothers at home may affect children’s gender stereotypes regarding the division of household labor. However, these effects are limited. Most of the children in single-parent families headed by either a mother or a father have strong gender stereotypes. Children’s gender stereotypes and the related literature are discussed in the context of family structures in Turkey. Suggestions for future research are also discussed.

**Keywords:** Single-parent families, gender, gender stereotypes, family

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Socio-cultural factors, especially one's parents in early childhood, have an important influence on children's development of gender stereotypes (Halim & Ruble, 2010; Halpern & Perry-Jenkins, 2016; Leaper, 2014; McHale, Crouter & Whiteman, 2003; Perry & Pauletti, 2011). Divorce, separation or the death of a parent may affect children's gender roles, as such changes require family members to restructure their roles (Amato & Booth, 1991; Jill Kiecolt & Acock, 1988). Thus, the gender stereotypes of children living in single-parent families have emerged as being important in terms of any interventions to reduce gender stereotypes in early childhood.

As children become aware of their gender, they begin to create a range of beliefs and expectations about what girls and what boys should do, and how they should behave (Martin & Halverson, 1981). According to Bem (1983), children start to prefer activities that are considered by society to be "appropriate" for their gender when they reach the age of four or five. These preferences are first introduced within the family, a gender-based institution (Janning, Collins, Kamm & College, 2011; Wharton, 2005), and it is in the family that children first develop preferences, skills, personality traits, behaviors and self-perception that are appropriate to their gender (Bem, 1983). This situation may have negative outcomes for both childhood and adulthood, because it can limit the occupational and educational aspirations of children, their academic competence and their social-emotional development (Liben, Bigler & Krogh, 2002; Rainey & Rust, 1999).

Bussey and Bandura (1999) posit that modeling is the most important factor in the construction of gender roles. Under this view, a great deal of gender-related information is obtained from models in the children's immediate environment, such as peers and parents, and significant people in social, educational and occupational contexts (Bandura & Bussey, 2004). Since the majority of children spend their time at home with their parents in early childhood (Leaper, 2014), family structure, siblings, roles and relationships within the family have an influence on gender roles (McHale et al. 2003; Witt, 1997).

Over the course of human history, family institutions have changed and differentiated (Erkan, 2013). With industrialization, mothers began to become more involved in working life and fertility rates began to fall (Berk, 2015). In the present time, new family structures, such as LGBT, divorced, single-parent and blended families have emerged and increased worldwide. In addition, in this process of change, children grow up in families with different structures, and their individual family's structure may even change at various times of their lives (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2009; Golombok, 2017).

Single-parent families occur as a result of factors such as death, prolonged or permanent absence of a spouse or divorce (Prime Ministry and Ministry of Family Social Policy, 2014). Although the vast majority of family structures in the world are nuclear ones which consist of two parents and their children (Lippman et al. 2014), changes in legislation over time, the participation of women in the labor force, and women achieving economic independence have opened the way to divorce for unhappy couples. Consequently, the number of single-parent families started to increase rapidly (Pryor & Rodgers, 2011). Divorce has emotional, social, physical and cognitive impacts on children (Anderson, 2014; Clarke-Stewart & Brentano, 2006). The main difficulty for children is the challenge for parents after divorce of establishing new parenting relationships (Lee & Bax, 2000). Children often live with their mothers when their parents separate (Anderson, 2014; Pryor & Rodgers, 2011).

Many theories about the family have emerged in the course of history. Feminist family theory suggests that gender is a changing social process that affects all the individuals in a family (Hare-Mustin, 1988; Osmond & Thorne, 1993). From this perspective, gender is constructed socioculturally and affects all individuals, irrespective of gender (Allen & Jaramillo-Sierra, 2015). Therefore, gender should be examined within a specific sociocultural and historical context, not on an individual basis (Osmond & Thorne, 1993).

Gender-stereotyped behavior to which children are constantly exposed within the family is the basis for gender-related information (Bussey & Bandura, 1984; Witt, 1997). For example, in a study of 3-year-old children, Endendijk et al. (2013) found in particular that girls' whose mothers have strong gender stereotypes demonstrated stronger stereotypes. However, this may change in the case of children whose parents are divorced, or whose parents live in different places for long periods of time, because one of the parents is more dominant in the children's lives.

### 1.1. Family Structure and Single-Parent Families in Turkey

Family structures have changed in Turkey since the beginning of the 19th century because of declined fertility rates and features related to marriage such as fallen kin-marriage rates and risen marriage age (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family and Social Policies, 2014). The typical Turkish family has been modernized from the extended family to the nuclear family, but still has some of the characteristics of the traditional family structure (Kara & Aydemir, 2012). Even if children live in nuclear families, children live in a "culture of relatedness" (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1985) where they often interact with their grandparents, aunts and uncles (Baştuğ, 2002) as a result of collectivistic Turkish culture. That is, family structures have changed, but the influence of traditions and patriarchy on the family continues (Kara & Aydemir, 2012).

In recent years, the numbers of nuclear families and single-parent families have increased, whereas extended families, which made up one third of the population in the 1950s, have fallen in Turkey (Prime Ministry and Ministry of Family Social Policy,

2014). According to data from 2019, %42 of household types are nuclear families which include couples with at least one resident child, %15 are extended families, %9.2 are single-parent families and %33,8 are other type of families such as one-person households, multi-person no-family households and couples without resident children (Turkish Statistical Institute [TURKSTAT], 2019).

Although the numbers of nuclear families and single-parent families have increased significantly, these families function like extended families through support, close ties and communication with close relatives (İmamoğlu, 1987; İmamoğlu & Yasak, 1997; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1984). Children traditionally live with their immediate family until marriage, and are closely bound to their parents, siblings and cousins (Ataca, 2009; Baştuğ, 2002). However, continuing male dominance is similar to the structure that Kandiyoti (1988) characterized as "classical patriarchal". Within this structure, the authoritarian role of the man in the family is central. Although marriage plays an important role for men and women, it is especially important for women's role in society (Dedeoğlu, 2000). As far as children, they are socialized differently by their gender. Parents expect that girls to be more dependence and obedience than boys (Ataca, 2006).

The number of single-parent families has rapidly increased with the advent of divorce or separation, despite the widespread maintaining of traditional Turkish family structures. When the characteristics of these families are examined, it appears that the majority of the children stay with their mothers after divorce. Young mothers especially tend to return to their wider families and live with them because their participation in the workforce is as low as 34.2% (TURKSTAT, 2018). Often, therefore, they do not have financial independence and cannot pay for nursery facilities for their children (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family and Social Policies, 2011). Mothers therefore consider their parents as the most important source of support after divorce (Cakir, 2010). However, after the divorce, society may have negative attitudes towards both these mothers and their children (Atila Demir & Genç Çelebi, 2017; Kavas & Gündüz Hoşgör, 2013). Although especially the mothers who are single due to the loss of their spouse experience some difficulties (Cakir, 2010), they have more social, emotional and financial support in their social life than divorced mothers (Prime Ministry and Ministry of Family Social Policy, 2014b). Therefore, single-parent families function like extended one because of the close relationship with other family members. This is a point that brings together an extended family structure with a single-parent family structure in Turkey.

## 1.2. Background

Children's gender stereotypes have been the focus of a great deal of research. A growing body of this research focuses on assessing gender stereotypes in the context of the nuclear family (Endendijk et al. 2017; Marks, Bun & McHale, 2009; Weintraub et al. 1984). Additionally, there are some studies that relate children's gender stereotypes to attitudes and behaviors of parents (Dawson, Alison Pike & Bird, 2016; Halpern & Perry-Jenkins, 2016; Leaper, 2014), or of family members such as siblings (Slavkin & Dopkins Stright, 2000; Stoneman, Brody & MacKinnon, 1986). Although limited in number, a few studies have looked comparatively at different family structures and the gender stereotypes they present comparatively (Goldberg, Kashy & Smith, 2012; Kiecolt & Acock, 1988; Leve & Fagot, 1997; Mccallum & Golombok, 2004; McHale et al. 2003; Stevens, Golombok & Beveridge, 2002; Sutfin, Fulcher, Bowles & Patterson 2008; Yağan Güder & Gülen Yıldız, 2016). One of these studies, in a study of children aged 2-4 with lesbian, gay or heterosexual parents, Goldberg et al. (2012) revealed that children with lesbian or gay parents are less gender-stereotyped when playing than children with heterosexual parents. In another study which a Turkish study is, Yağan Güder and Gülen Yıldız (2016) worked with eight children from different family groups to determine the role of the family in the children's gender stereotypes. They found that the division of household responsibilities, the employment status of the mothers, and the mothers' being exposed to violence are important determinants in the construction of gender stereotypes in children. Further, they also found that children who are not dominated by their father, who have a sibling from the opposite sex, and who are given less stereotyped toys demonstrate less gender-stereotyping in their games and toy preferences. Findings related different family structures in these studies reveal that the need to deeply examine these family structures individually.

There are also some studies on gender stereotypes of children from single-parent families, but many of these have focused in particular on middle childhood and adulthood (Covell & Turnbull, 1982; Chen et al. 2018; Janning, et al. 2011; Kurdek & Siesky, 1980; Mandara et al. 2005; Richmond-Abbott, 1984; Russell & Ellis, 1991). Studies show that children in single-parent families may demonstrate nontraditional gender roles (Chen, Zhang, Wei & Guo, 2018; McHale, et al. 2003; Russell & Saebel, 1997); others suggest that this situation may vary according to the gender of parent whom the child has the most contact (Russell & Ellis, 1991). For example, boys living in single parent families with their mother tend to be less gender stereotyped than boys living with their fathers (Russell & Ellis, 1991; Stevensen & Black, 1988). Bussey and Bandura (1984) suggest that children in single-parent families may have gender-egalitarian attitudes, as their mother or father may take on the responsibilities of both parents. Especially single mothers or fathers could have egalitarian parental attitudes. Similarly, Sharp and Ispa (2009), found that single mothers have generally egalitarian beliefs about their children's romantic partners in the future. Some of the mothers emphasize that they used to think that men and women should do different things but after they become single, they think, "There is no such thing as this is her job or this is his job". Another study, Berridge and Romich (2011) found that, single mothers have egalitarian parental attitudes and give responsibilities their sons about household work in order to undermine traditional gendered division of labor. On the other hand, studies on early childhood are limited, and were carried out 20-30 years ago in western societies (Biller, 1969; Brenes, Eisenberg & Helmstadter, 1985; Stevensen & Black, 1988). Maybe it is because the changes in the family structures of the western societies have begun earlier than the

eastern societies. The present study will therefore provide a significant contribution to the literature children's gender stereotypes in single parent families on early childhood especially for eastern societies, which have different characteristics from western societies, and that combine a traditional extended family structure and characteristics of single parent families. As the term "single-parent family" is insufficient to present family diversity for single parents live with their close family members (Stolba & Amato, 1993), we used the term "extended single parent families". The purpose of the study was to examine the gender stereotypes of children living in "extended" single-parent families in Turkey.

Research on gender stereotypes in children mostly involves quantitative methods (Amato & Booth, 1991; Khudyakova, Gridyaeva & Klepacha, 2016; Rainey & Rust, 1999; Tocu, 2016), which allow the generalization of results but do not provide in-depth information. In this study, we used a qualitative research methodology and conducted interviews in order to gain more in-depth information about children's gender stereotypes. We complemented the interviews with visual stimuli, which we termed "activities without any intervention", in order to counter the limitations of the children's linguistic competence due to their age.

One approach to measure children's gender stereotypes is to investigate their preference related to toy choices, division of household labor and occupations. While some of researchers examined children attitudes toward to division of household labor and occupations (Fulcer, 2011; Fulcer, Sutfin & Patterson, 2008; Levy, Sadovsky & Troseth, 2000; Liben, Bigler & Krogh, 2001; Schuette & Killen, 2009), the others examined children's toy choices (Celebi Oncu & Unluer, 2012; Jadva, Hines & Golombok, 2010; Idle, Wood & Desmarais, 1993; Skocajic, Radosacljevic, Okicic, Jankovic & Zezelj, 2020; Todd, Barry & Thommessen, 2016). From this point of view, in the current study, we sought to answer the following question: What are the attitudes of children living in extended single-parent families to toys, occupations and the household demonstrate their gender stereotypes?

## 2. METHODOLOGY

A phenomenological approach was used in the context of qualitative research. Phenomenology philosophy is also at the core of qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). Phenomenology research explores the true nature of a phenomenon through the experience of individuals in the study group (Cresswell & Poth, 2016; Manen, 1990). This study was conducted to investigate the true nature of gender stereotypes of Turkish children from extended single-parent families. The main purpose is to gain of combining experiences about gender phenomenon of children in extended single-parent families. Stereotypes of children were examined through activities, without any intervention on the part of the researchers.

### 2.1. Participants

The study was conducted with children aged between 54 and 78 months living in extended single-parent families, in Adana province, southern Turkey. The sample was determined by criterion sampling. Children who living with one of their parents at least a year due to separation, divorce or death were identified as sampling criteria. In a total of nine children participated to the study. Table 1 presents the characteristics of these children and their families:

Table 1.

*Family Characteristics of Participating Children*

Children	Gender	Age	Parental relation	Time of separation	Other individuals in the family
C1	Boy	65 months	Divorce	2 years	Father, grandmother, grandfather, aunt
C2	Boy	63 months	Divorce	1 year	Father, grandmother, grandfather
C3	Girl	78 months	Separation	1,5 years	Mother, grandmother, uncle
C4	Boy	54 months	Divorce	1 year	Mother, grandmother
C5	Girl	58 months	Divorce	4,5 years	Mother, aunt
C6	Girl	75 months	Divorce	1 year	Mother, grandmother, two sisters
C7	Girl	67 months	Divorce	5 years	Mother, grandfather, uncle, aunt
C8	Girl	66 months	Divorce	4 years	Father, grandfather, grandmother
C9	Boy	64 months	Separation	2 years	Father, grandfather, grandmother, sister

The study group comprises four boys and five girls between the ages of 54 and 78 months. Four of the children live only with their mother, while there are not any children live with only their father. As is characteristic of Turkish families, nine children live in an extended family structure that includes the single parents and other family members such as grandmother, grandfather, uncle and aunt. Each child has been living with a single parent for at least 1 year.

### 2.2. Materials

The data for the study were collected through activities, without intervention, prepared by the researchers and based on the activities and measurement tools used by earlier researchers, as found in the relevant literature (Torres-Crespo, 2009; Yağın Güder & Güler Yıldız, 2016).

### 2.2.1. Activities without Intervention

In order to validate the activities, experts were first consulted on the intelligibility of the contents, the order for carrying them out and language used. Activities were organized according to the feedback from the experts. A pilot study was then conducted to determine whether the activities could be understood by pre-school aged children. Two children were included in the pilot study. One of them was girl and the other was a boy. While the girl lived with her mother because her father works out of the city, the boy lived with both of his parents. Modifications were made after the first pilot, before presenting the activities to the experts again for their opinion. Based on their feedback, the activities were revised and rearranged, another preliminary interview was conducted with the children, and the activities were finalized.

The activities are divided into three topics: "Toy Preferences", "Occupations" and "What Happens at Home". In the first, pictures of eleven toys were presented to the children to determine their gender stereotypes regarding toy preferences. These pictures are images of toys labelled by former researchers as being feminine, masculine or neutral (Idle, Wood & Desmarais, 1993; Eisenberg, Wolchik, Hernandez, & Pasternack, 1985; Wood, Desmarais & Gugula, 2002). Children were asked questions like "Which of these would you like to play with? Why?" If they showed that they didn't want to play with a particular toy, they were asked "Why don't you want to play with this toy?" Ten toys (barbie doll, kitchen set, ironing set, animals, blocks, cars, spider man, repair kit, guns, stroller) were presented.

In the second part, twelve clue cards each relating to the occupations and a male and female figure were presented to the children. Clue cards illustrating characteristics about occupations that traditionally are attributed by society to men, to women, or to both. The children were shown an occupation clue card (for example, handcuffs for the police officer) and were asked to identify the occupation instead of showing occupations cards in order to not to affect their thinking. After the children had answered, they were asked, "Do you think ..... is a woman (showing the children female figure) a man or (showing the children male figure), or could it be either? Why?" Ten occupations (police officer, post officer, doctor, dentist, teacher, cook, artist, astronaut, mechanic, pilot, and firefighter) were presented.

In the third and final series of activities, nine pictures about household tasks were presented to the children to determine their gender stereotypes in the domestic sphere. For each picture, questions were asked about who should carry out the task. For example, a picture of a dirty house is shown, and then the children are asked questions like "The places in the house are very dirty. Who should clean the house? Why?" All the pictures used in the study were prepared in color and paper which is 21 x 29,7 cm so that they would appeal to the children. They were selected from images available on the internet. Nine tasks (cleaning the house, changing the car tire, changing diapers, hanging curtains, washing the car, repairing the television, hanging the laundry, carrying heavy goods, washing the dishes) were presented.

As shown in picture 1, images of woman and man are gender-neutral to ensure that children are not biased according to clothes or physical characteristics.



Figure 1. Images of woman and man in the materials

### 2.3. Procedure

For the data collection, first, permissions were obtained from the Provincial Directorate of National Education. The purpose of the research was discussed with the administrators of preschools, whom we asked for help. Those who agreed to collaborate with us identified children living with extended single parent families. Next, we met and informed to the children's parents to explain the purpose of our research and ask whether they were happy for their children to be involved in the study or not. In addition, we informed the children and asked them whether they participate or not.

In this study; interview, one of the most frequently used data collection methods in phenomenological approaches (Cresswell & Poth, 2016), was used for data collection. In order to learn about the gender stereotypes of children, face to face interviews

were conducted with the children. An empty room was set up in the preschools after talking with the school administrations; activities were held in this room, conducted by one of the researchers. The exchanges were recorded on a voice recorder. Before starting the interview, the approvals of the children were taken verbally and they were reminded that they could withdraw from the meeting at any time. No children wanted to withdraw from the interview. The data of the study were obtained through activities, without intervention with the children. The child and the researcher sat at a desk and first had a short informal chat. After the child relaxed, the researcher told the child, "I'm going to show you some pictures and ask some questions. Can you help me?". After the researcher had got the child's approval, he started the activities. The questions and activities took place in the same order with each child. All data were collected in one session. The interviews with the children each lasted approximately 30 minutes. All children agreed voluntarily to participate to study.

## 2.4. Analysis

The interviews were converted into written documents. Content analysis was then carried out and codes were generated. The data obtained from the study were analyzed by qualitative data analysis method. In this process firstly, the audio recordings obtained from the interview were primarily transcribed. Secondly the transcribed data were analyzed separately by two of the investigators. After that, a common language was formed by comparing the analyzes. Then, the analysis conducted by the researchers was compared and a common theme was formed. Recently created themes were checked by other researchers who are experts in the field. Thus, the following findings have been reached.

## 3. FINDINGS

The themes and codes that emerge from the data are presented under separate headings.

### 3.1. Children's toy preferences related to gender stereotypes

Findings revealed that all the girls who live with either their mother or their father prefer to play with the kitchen set, ironing set and barbie doll, whereas all or almost all of the boys prefer toy guns, cars, Spiderman and the repair kit. The children identified toys as "girl-specific" and "boy-specific" said that they didn't find them attractive, giving these as reasons for their preferences. For example, one of the boys said that he didn't like / didn't want to play with the animals, kitchen set, ironing set, pony, barbie or stroller "Because these toys are for girls" (C7). Another girl said that she did not want to play with the cars, animals, blocks, repair kit, spiderman or guns because "These are for boys. I don't want to play with them because I like girl things most" (C6). While none of the girls preferred the cars, weapons, repair kit or Spiderman, boys did prefer some toys, which are mostly preferred by girls according to their statements.

### 3.2. Children's Occupational Gender Stereotypes

Second findings of the study show that most of the children saw some occupations, such as those of firefighter, pilot and mechanics being done predominantly by men. The idea that these three occupations could be done by both genders is quite limited. Only two children stated that both sexes could be mechanics, one child that firefighters could be men or women. None of the children stated that pilot could be both sexes. All of the children who saw the possibility of these jobs being carried out by both men and women were boys.

Post carrier was occupation attributed to men by the majority of children. On the other hand, children attributed two occupations with high status in the community, those of doctors and dentists, either to men, or women or both sexes. For example, one of the boys explained: "A doctor is a male whereas a nurse is a female. Because when a woman works in the hospital you call her nurse"(C1). Pointing to the female in the picture about doctors, one of the girls said, "She is a nurse". When she was shown the male figure the same girl said, "He is a doctor. Because my mother taught me. She said girls would become nurses. I will be a teacher and a nurse when I grow up" (C5). Another girl stated, "Both women and men could be doctor and they perform surgery when people get sick" (C6).

The most attributed occupations to both sexes are artist and astronaut. For example, one child said the reason behind that "They both can use the spacecraft" (C7). On the other hand, nearly half of the children also attributed police officers to both sexes and when they do that, they emphasize their experiences. For example, one of the children said, "Men can drive a car so they could be traffic police". Then he added, "On the other hand, they both can because I see some women police officers too"(C7). Another child said: "They both can. When thieves run away, they catch them" (C6). According to most children, the occupation that only women can do are cook. One of the boys explained: "Women can be cook because they like to cook. On the other hand, the man goes out to buy a cake for his children" (C2). One girl said that cooks should be women "Because she (the woman) cooks. How can a man know how to cook?" (C5). Another girl justified her opinion with the words "Because girls love cooking. Men cannot cook "(C3). Only two children stated that cook could be both sexes. Also noteworthy is that all the children living with their mothers stated that teaching could be done only by women or by both genders – none of them saw teaching as a male-only profession. In general, children living in single-parent families mostly attributed the jobs of pilot, mechanic, firefighter, post officer to men. On the other hand, small groups of children stated that some of these occupations

police officer, artist and astronaut could be done by both sexes. Teaching and cooking were the occupations attributed most often to women. The reasons for children's occupational stereotypes were examined. The results are given in Table 2.

Table 2.  
*The reasons for children's Occupational Stereotypes*

Theme	Code	First code
One's Competence	Capability/Ability	Flying an airplane/spacecraft
		Driving a motorcycle
One's Competence	Personality traits	Cook
		Catching criminals
Children's Experiences	Occupational clothing	Capable of Painting
		Being strong, being weak, being lacking in courage
		To hear someone doing that work
		To see someone doing that work

As shown in Table 2, one of the criteria that children use a basis for attributing an occupation to a woman or a man or both is one's competence to do the job. When children do that, they use phrases about capability/ability or personality traits. Children said that only men could do some jobs, due to the personality traits of men "strong, fast or fearless"; women cannot do these same professions because they are "weak or lacking in courage". For example, one of the boys said of the job of a firefighter, "Men can be. Because women cannot get into the fire" (C9). Of the post officers, one of the girls said, "Men do this job. Because they do it, better. They can carry things better. The woman cannot carry" (C3).

The other criterion that children use as a basis for attributing an occupation to a woman or a man is "capability/ ability to do the work". Some of the children stress that men are capable in some occupations, whereas others emphasize women's capability. For example, one of the girls said about the pilot: "A man fly in a plane, the woman just help because she doesn't know how to fly it" (C8). One of the girls said about the firefighter: "The men could be a firefighter. Because the woman cannot put out fires. She just doesn't know how to do it" (C4). One child said about mechanic: "The man can go under the cars, but the woman cannot" (C7). Another child said about mechanic: "Men could be because they know very well. They never hit their hands while nailing. Women might hit" (C8).

Findings show that occupational gender stereotypes are influential in the construction of children's thoughts about what a woman or a man can do. One of the criteria that influences children's gender stereotypes in this area is occupational clothing. For example, one of the children explained why men could be firefighter: ""Men could be. Because women can't drive a car and can't wear men's boots"(C7). Experiences of children are also influential here. Most of the children drew on their own experience when indicating that individuals of both sexes can do some occupations. For example, one of the girls shared her experience about the post officer "Men do [this job] because I only saw men are doing that" (C7). One of the boys said about dentistry: "They could be both because i saw before" (C9). Some children emphasized their experiences with their family members. For example, one of the children said: "They can be both. Because my grandfather is cook" (C1). Another child who lives with her mother said: "Women could be cook. Once, me and my mother cooked cake" (C8). What children hear from other people also has an impact. For example, one of the children said about firefighter: "Men could be. My mother taught me and I heard it from someone else. They said that there was a fire, and men firefighters was there" (C5).

Also noteworthy is that when some of the children stated that some of the occupations could be done by men, they consider women in supporting or weak positions. For example, one of the children said about doctor: "Men could be doctor, women could be a nurse. Women should be a nurse because there is a name it nurse! It is a women's job" (C8). Another child about dentist said: "The man could be because the woman gets him coffee" (C2). One child about astronaut said: "The man could be astronaut because the woman should wait him at home" (C2).

### 3.3. Children's gender stereotypes related to household tasks

Children's gender stereotypes related to household tasks within the family were examined. All the children attributed "washing dishes" to only women. For example, one of the children stated, "Only women wash the dishes because men do not wash them. Because men are not women" (C2). Another child about that said, "Women should do it because they cook and dish better"(C3). Findings revealed that most of the children considered, changing diapers, cleaning the house, hanging curtains and hanging the laundry to be only women's work. For example, about cleaning the house one child said: "Mothers could do it because I learned it that way. I see that women do it, men don't" (C5). Another child about the hanging curtains said: "Women can do it, men can't" (C8). Changing the car tire was considered men's work by all the children and the repairing the television was considered men's work by most of the children. For example, about the changing the car tire, one of the children said: "Men could do it because they should pick the tire up and put it down. Women cannot change because it is



difficult for them" (C4). Most of the children also considered washing the car could be done by men too. Only two children who live with their mother stated that both men and women could do washing the car, while all the children living with their father considered it a man's job. One of them said, "Mother or father could do this as long as they have a driver license" (C8).

When children explaining the reasons behind that most of the children emphasized their experiences with their family members. For example, one child about hanging curtains said, "Mothers do it because my mother do it. I always see her and I help her" (C5). About hanging the curtains, another child who live with her mother said, "Men do it. My uncle do it in our home" (C3). Another child also, who live with her mother said: "Mother or children do that. My mother made me do that" (C6). One child who live with their father attributed repairing television to only women said: "Women do it because the grandfather went to out to drink tea" (C2).

Most of the children thought that carrying heavy goods should be done only by men because it requires strength, whether something to be done in the home or outside. For example, one child said about that: "Men do it. You can't (to the researcher) do that, but men can" (C4). On the other hand, two of children who live with their mothers stated that carrying heavy goods could be done by both men and women. For example, one of the boys said, "Because mothers cannot carry. Because they are so weak. In contrast, men are so strong" (C7). One of the girls living with her mother said, "'All grownups could do it. Men, women, fathers, grandfathers" (C5). While almost all the children considered that it is women's work to wash the dishes, clean the house and hang curtains, they considered that it is men's work to change the car tire, wash the car and repairing the television. In addition, children also identified as men's tasks that require strength, such as carrying heavy goods. On the other hand; limited number of children who stated that cleaning the house, hanging the laundry and washing the car could be done by both men and women are children who live with their mothers.

#### 4. RESULTS, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of the study was to examine gender stereotypes of children in extended single-parent families in Turkey. We identified that single-parent families function like extended in Turkey. From this point of view, the findings of the study are highly interesting, showing that gender stereotypes are common among children in extended single-parent families, in their preferences of toys, and in their perceptions of occupations and the appropriate division of household tasks. On the other hand, there are small differences on children's attitudes to occupations and division of household tasks. Besides, social role models such as uncles and grandmothers at home may affect children's gender stereotypes regarding the division of household labor. These findings provide important contributions to the study of gender stereotypes in children.

Generally, in the present study, gender stereotypes of children living in extended single-parent families were assessed regarding toy preferences, occupations and household tasks. First, it was determined that both girls and boys showed more interest to some toys. For example, ironing kit, kitchen set, stroller and Barbie dolls were preferred by girls, and guns, cars, repair kits and Spiderman by boys. When the reasons of this interest were examined, children use gender specific expressions about toys, which they did not prefer "These are for boys or girls". This finding is in line with other studies that show that children tend to prefer toys that are often associated with their gender by society (Banse, Gawronski, Rebetez, Gutt & Bruce Morton 2010; Çelebi Oncu & Unluer, 2012; Golombok et al. 2008; Weisgram et al. 2014). Some studies indicate that the stereotypes in boys' toy preferences are stronger than those for girls. For example, Cherney and Ryalls (1999) suggest that girls prefer to play with toys that are usually considered feminine or neutral, while boys prefer to play with toys that are considered masculine. Wood et al. (2012) also reported that if a series of toys are presented to children, boys especially prefer ones that are identified with their gender in society. Further, some studies have indicated that this pattern may occur even where a baby's preferences for toys are concerned (Alexander, Wilcox & Woods, 2009; Jadva et al. 2010; Todd et al., 2016; Weinraub, et al. 1984). One explanation to this finding, the environment in which a child lives is also influential in the construction of stereotypes. For example, Pomerleau et al. (1990) observed the rooms of children aged between one and three and found that boys had cars and sports-related toys in their rooms, whereas girls had baby dolls, toys of fictional characters and child sized furnitures. Another study, in which 126 toys were evaluated by undergraduate students, found that boys' toys were considered by the students violent, competitive, exciting and a little dangerous, while girls' toys related to physical attractiveness, domestic skills and nurturing (Blakemore & Centers, 2005).

Second finding revealed children's occupational stereotypes. All of the girls attributed the occupation of cook to women. The majority of both boys and girls stated that only men could do certain occupations, such as those of mechanic, firefighter and pilot. This is consistent with studies that show that occupations that are stereotypically seen as male preserves are more sharply defined than those are attributed to both genders (Levy et al. 2000; Liben et al. 2001). Explanation to this, Eagly's social role theory states that segregation of occupations may be the reason, not the result of gender stereotypes. That is, these stereotypes reflect current occupational and common trends (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). Due to increase in the number of women entering the work, women pursue both traditionally masculine and feminine caries. Following, the attitudes and perceptions of the female role has changed. On the other hand, this trend is not for valid for boys and male gender role Diekman & Goodfriend 2006). For example, Wilbourn and Kee (2010) presented children aged between eight and nine with stereotypical male and female names paired with stereotypically masculine and feminine occupations. The researchers wanted the children to make sentences using the name-occupation pairs. The children found it particularly great difficulty to construct sentences combining male names with feminine occupations. For example, one of the children used



"Nurse" and the name "Henry", adding, "Nurse Henry is also a doctor". Similarly, as almost half of children in the study attributed police officer to both sexes, they attributed cook to mostly women, not both sexes and men. On the other hand, interestingly, occupations perceived as high-status in society, such as doctors and dentists, seen both sexes' occupations by nearly half of the children. As single mothers head the family as breadwinner and take on different roles as opposed to conventional gender roles, it is possible that children develop less-gender stereotyped in relevant to occupations (Dowd, 1997). For example, Fulcher (2011) found that when mothers' attitudes to occupations are nontraditional, children have nontraditional occupational aspirations. In another study Halpern & Perry-Jenkins (2016), found that especially early gendered behavior of mothers has effect on children's aspirations on traditionally gendered occupations. Besides, Fulcher, Sutfin & Patterson (2008) found that children occupational choices are associated with parental division of labor. In the current study, we found small groups of children were flexible in parental division of labor such as heavy goods carrying and car washing. From this point of view, children's attitudes to parental division of labor could be associated with their occupational choices.

According to the children's explanations, the reason behind their attributions to occupations is someone's competence and their experiences. That is, children emphasized some competence features and their experiences attributing the occupations to sexes. All children in our sample live in extended families and are in close contact with many social models. Therefore, one reason behind their attributions could be behaviors and attitudes of these models. Another reason could be indirect experiences from society or through mass media. Similarly, social role theory suggests that people perceive that certain roles are more or less suitable for their gender. In particular, observing the same gender role models triggers learning processes. In this, so observers internalize the gender-stereotypical knowledge of roles (Eagly & Wood, 2011). Gettys and Cann (1981) found that children's gender-stereotyping of occupations begins at about two and a half years of age. Moreover, occupations identified as requiring masculine traits such as repairmen and administrators, are starting already at this age, when these stereotypes are being constructed, to be perceived as having a higher status than occupations such as nurse, model and teacher, which are identified with as requiring feminine traits (Benson & Haith, 2009). Similarly, some of the children in the current study describe teachers as women and administrators as men, or the pilot as a man and flight officer and a woman as a person traveling on the plane. Such difficulty may be due to the age-development characteristics of the participating children, cultural differences between studies, or the fact that in Turkey the teaching profession attracts massively more men than women.

Third, we examined children's gender stereotypes relating to household tasks. Children attributed external activities, such as washing the car, washing or changing tires to men, whereas domestic roles such as washing the dishes or changing diapers were attributed to women. This is in line with studies that show that children have stereotypes with regard to household tasks (Schuette & Killen, 2009; Sinno & Killen, 2009). From the perspective of feminist family theory, gender is a part of social structure. Thus, it draws attention to the social aspect of being a man or a woman. According to this perspective, "woman's work" and "man's work" are social divisions in society (Osmond & Thorne, 1993), and children's stereotypes regarding occupations and household tasks reflect social divisions. For instance, in 2016, female employment in Turkey was less than half the rate of male employment. Moreover, according to research into family structure in Turkey, 91.2% of cooking at home is done by women (TURKSTAT, 2016). On the other hand, small group of children who living with their mother were more flexible in relating to household tasks such as cleaning the house, hanging the laundry and washing the car. Maybe it because single mothers take more responsibilities outside at the home in the absence of their husbands. Some studies show that single mothers have egalitarian parental attitudes regarding to division of labors (Berridge & Romich, 2011; Sharp & Ispa, 2009). This finding is very important because it shows that when women take care more responsibility outside the home children could be more flexible in their preferences, even in patriarchal societies.

In addition, expressing their gender stereotypes in relation to toy preferences, occupations and household tasks, children pinpointed certain personality traits for men and women. For example, especially in relation to occupations, they described men as strong, fast and fearless, while they referred to women as weak and lacking in courage. Children also used their experience in talking about occupations. For example, one child's statement that "I have not seen a girl firefighter" comes from not having encountered a woman firefighter in real life, or from stereotypes presented through TV series, movies, cartoons or books. Miller and Budd (1996) stated that an important factor in the construction of occupational gender stereotypes is that children experience some occupations as being carried out by individuals of only one sex. Additionally, when we examine children's picture books, we see that women are usually depicted at home in traditional roles, while men are depicted outside the home and have careers (Anderson & Hamilton, 2005; Diekman & Murnen, 2004; McDonald, 1989). Further, Martin and Halverson (1981) suggest that children tend to fit occupations into gender stereotypes. Therefore, whenever children see a woman doctor, they think that she must be a nurse. Our study was consistent with these findings in that some of the children identified men as doctors and women as nurses.

Children gave "men are stronger" as an explanation for why men should do certain household tasks. This finding is similar to those of previous studies which have shown that children may use power-related terms, such as "stronger" and "faster" to characterize men (Benson & Haith, 2000). Interestingly, almost all the children living with their mothers attributed changing tires and repairing the television to men, whereas almost all the children living with their fathers attributed washing dishes and changing diapers to women. This suggests that children may be modeling the attitudes of various members of their families (sister, brother, uncle, grandmother, grandfather, etc.) with whom they live in a typical Turkish (extended) family

structure. This hypothesis is supported by the children's use of expressions such as "My uncle hangs the curtains", "My grandmother hangs out the laundry". Similarly, Rust et al. (2000) found that boys with older brothers showed more masculine features and girls with older sisters showed more feminine features. Children whose mothers modeled nontraditional household work have less gender-stereotyped in their ideas about gender roles (Serbin, Powlishta & Gulko, 1993).

Another important point that may affect the results of our study is that both parents of the children were still alive – none of the children had lost a parent due to death. The children may have had the opportunity, therefore, to observe the parents with whom they did not live, which may have affected their gender stereotypes. On the other hand, it is also unclear whether the children's parents themselves displayed gender stereotypes. For example, some studies found that children with less gender-traditional fathers also have fewer stereotypes (Croft et al. 2014; Dawson et al. 2016; Turner & Gervai, 1995). Croft et al. (2014) found that girls whose fathers are less traditional and whose mothers are less focused on household tasks and more on their work life were able to see themselves outside the home in the future.

Overall, our findings show that most of the children living in extended single-parent families have gender stereotypes. On the other hand, small groups of children more egalitarian in their preference related to occupations and household tasks. There are several possible reasons for this. First, although the children were living in single-parent families, they were connected by tradition bonds to their wider families, in which grandmothers, grandfathers, uncles, aunts and so on help to support single-parent families in Turkey. This situation increases the number of social role models in close relationships and children have the opportunity to examine adults more closely. Second, the patriarchal structure of Turkish society has an important influence on the family. Third, although the children were living with just one of their parents, their other parents were alive, and the children occasionally saw them. Fourth, the majority of the children participating in this study had been separated from one of their parents for at least a year. In addition, the time that children spend with both parents before a separation or divorce is also an important influence on the construction of gender stereotypes. A number of studies show that as the duration of parental separation increases, there might be less typical children's gender stereotypes (Billler, 1969; D'andrade, 1973).

Although the results of the current study show that children have strong stereotypes, small groups of children who reference social role models relating household tasks and occupations have more egalitarian preferences. According to these findings, in practice, we should increase children's exposure to men and women participating in more nontraditional roles at household tasks and occupations. So, this may change children's evaluations about social roles of men and women.

The results of the current study are limited to data obtained from children. Future studies could therefore also assess the role of other family members who have a close relationship with the children. Additionally, in the current study, the type of parental relation and duration of the child's separation from one of their parents were not evaluated as variables. These variables could also be investigated.

### **Research and Publication Ethics Statement**

The authors declared that research and publication ethics were followed in the study.

### **Contribution Rates of Authors to the Article**

The authors equally contributed for the article.

### **Statement of Interest**

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

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## 6. EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Çocuklar cinsiyetlerinin farkına vardıkları dönemde “oğlan” ya da “kız” olarak ne yapmaları ya da nasıl davranmaları gerektiği konusunda çeşitli inanç ve beklentiler geliştirmeye başlarlar. Tercihler, beceriler, kişilik özellikleri, davranışlar ve çocukların kendilerini nasıl algıladıkları öncelikle toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı kurum olan aile içinde şekillenmektedir. Ailenin yapısı ise bunların nasıl şekilleneceği üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahiptir.

İki yaş civarında çocuğun kültürel göstergeleri olmadığında kız-erkek olarak ayrılması güçtür. Ancak bu dönemde çocuk fallik döneme girerek kendi cinsiyeti ve karşı cins ile ilgili sorgulamalara başlamaktadır. Üç yaşından itibaren çocuğun istek, tercih, davranış ve duygularında farklılaşma başlarken, beş yaşından sonra ise bu yaşa kadar edinilen karşı cins ile ilgili yargılar sabitlenir. Çocuklar bu dönemde cinsiyetleri için toplum tarafından “uygun” olarak kabul edilen etkinlikleri tercih etmeye başlarlar. Çocukların evde sürekli olarak maruz kaldıkları cinsiyetçi davranışlar cinsiyet rolleri ile ilgili bilgilerine temel oluşturmaktadır. Böylece çocuklar kendi cinsiyetlerine uygun davranmayı öğrenirler Bu nedenle okul öncesi dönem toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplarının edinildiği kritik bir dönem olması açısından oldukça önemlidir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet kalıpları sosyal olarak öğrenilmektedir. Aile bu sosyal öğrenme araçlarından biridir. Tek ebeveynli ailelerde yaşayan çocuklarda kalıpların edinilmesi değişkenlik gösterebilmektedir. Bazı çalışmalar annesi veya babasıyla yaşayan tek ebeveynli ailelerdeki çocukların geleneksel olmayan cinsiyet rolleri sergileyebildiklerini ortaya koyarken; bazıları da birlikte yaşanan ebeveynin cinsiyetine göre bu durumun değişkenlik gösterebileceğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bekâr ebeveynler ile yapılan çalışmalar özellikle annelerin çocuk yetiştirme tutumlarında daha eşitlikçi bir tutum beslediğini göstermektedir. Öte yandan Türkiye’de tek ebeveynli ailelerin geniş aile üyeleri ile etkileşim halinde olduğu görülmektedir ve tek ebeveynli aile yapısının adeta geniş aile yapısı gibi işlev gördüğü görülmektedir. Bu durum, toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında tek ebeveynli aileleri ele alan batıdaki çalışmalardan farklılık göstermektedir. Bu noktada Türkiye’de tek ebeveynli ailelerde çocukların toplumsal cinsiyete ilişkin kalıp yargılarının incelenmesi gerekliliği doğmaktadır. Yapılan araştırmalar incelediğinde ebeveynlerin tutum ve davranışları ile çocukların toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin gelişimini ilişkilendiren çalışmalara rastlanırken, ancak son dönemde artmakta olan tek ebeveynli ailelerdeki çocukların toplumsal cinsiyet algılarının incelendiği çalışmaların yurt dışı kaynaklı çalışmalar olduğu görülmektedir. Bu çalışmalarında çoğunluğunun geçmişte yapıldığı ve orta çocukluk ve ergenliğe odaklandığı görülmektedir. Bu noktada alan yazında bir boşluk olduğu belirlendiğinden bu çalışmada; Türkiye’de tek ebeveynli-geniş ailelerde yaşayan çocukların toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargılarının incelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Araştırmanın çalışma grubu tek ebeveynli ailelerde yaşayan 54-78 aylık dört oğlan ve beş kız olmak üzere dokuz çocuktan oluşmaktadır. Çalışma grubunda yer alan dokuz çocuk bekâr ebeveynleri ve büyükbaba, büyükanne, amca ve teyze gibi diğer aile üyelerini içeren genişletilmiş aile yapısında yaşamaktadır. Çalışma grubunun belirlenmesinde ölçüt örnekleme yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Seçilen çocukların en az bir yıldır tek ebeveynleriyle birlikte yaşıyor olması ölçütü kullanılmıştır. Veriler bu çocuklarla yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ve müdahalesiz etkinlikler aracılığıyla toplanmıştır. Çocukların toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargılarını ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla oyuncaklar, meslekler ve ev işleri ile ilgili görseller kullanılarak görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Görseller yönlendirici olmaması açısından cinsiyetlere ilişkin öğeler barındırmamaktadır ve uygunluklarına ilişkin uzman görüşü alınmıştır. Her görüşme yaklaşık 20 dakika sürmüştür. Çalışmada nitel araştırma desenlerinden fenomenoloji yaklaşımı kullanılmıştır. Tek ebeveynli-geniş ailelerde yaşayan çocukların toplumsal cinsiyete ilişkin anlamları analiz edilmiştir. Verilerin analizi ise içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılarak yapılmıştır.

Araştırmanın bulguları incelendiğinde ülkemizde tek ebeveynli ailelerin genişletilmiş aile gibi işlev gördüğü belirlenmiştir. Araştırma bulguları bu yapının çocukların cinsiyet kalıp yargıları, oyuncak tercihleri ve ev işlerine ilişkin sorumlulukların dağılımına ilişkin görüşlerinde etkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Öte yandan çocukların mesleğe karşı tutumları ve ev işlerinin bölümünde anne ya da baba ile birlikte yaşamalarına göre farklılıklar olduğu görülmüştür.

Çalışma grubunda yer alan çocuklardan yalnızca anneleriyle beraber yaşayanların meslekler ve ev işleriyle ilgili daha eşitlikçi bakış açısı geliştirdikleri görülmüştür. Bu durumun annelerin diğer kadınlarla karşılaştırıldığında hane içerisinde daha farklı sorumluluklar üstlenmeleri ve çocukların bunları gözlemlemesinden kaynaklanabileceği düşünülmektedir. Bu noktada çocukların bazı mesleklerle ilgili özellikle kadınlara yönelik olarak eşitlikçi ifadeler kullandıkları görülmüştür. Bununla birlikte ev işlerinde de benzer bir şekilde cinsiyete bağlı yönlendirmeler yapmadıkları görülmüştür. Ancak genele bakıldığında çocukların meslek ve ev işleri ile ilgili olarak güçlü toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargılarına sahip oldukları söylenebilir. Örneğin çocukların çoğu pilot ve tamirci gibi meslekleri erkeklerle uygun bulmuşlardır. Araba yıkamak gibi evin dışında gerçekleştirilen etkinlikler ile ağır eşya taşımak gibi güç gerektiren işler erkekler ile ev içi sorumluluklar ise kadınlar ile bağdaştırılmıştır. Buna ek olarak çocuklar toplumda yüksek statülü olarak kabul edilen meslekleri erkeklerle, düşük statülü meslekleri ise çoğunlukla kadınlarla ilişkilendirmişlerdir. Çocuklar özellikle mesleklerle ilgili değerlendirmeleri sırasında kadın ve erkeklerle farklı özellikler yükledikleri de belirlenmiştir. Örneğin erkekleri güçlü, hızlı ve korkusuz; kadınları ise cesaretsiz ve zayıf olarak nitelendirmişlerdir. Öte yandan evde dayı ve büyükanne gibi sosyal rol modellerin, çocukların ev işlerine yönelik toplumsal cinsiyet kalıp yargılarını etkileyebileceği belirlenmiştir. Çocukların özellikle eşitlikçi ifadelerinde bu sosyal modeller üzerinden vurguladıkları deneyimleri, cinsiyet kalıp yargılarının incelenmesi ile ilgili yeni bir boyut kazandırması açısından alan yazına önemli katkı sağlamaktadır. Bu noktada çocuklarının eşitlikçi tutumlara ilişkin deneyimlerinin arttırılması gerektiği görülmektedir.

Öte yandan bu çalışma çocuklardan elde edilen veriler ile sınırlıdır. İleride yapılacak çalışmalarda çocuklarla yakın ilişkisi olan diğer aile üyelerinin de rolü değerlendirilebilir. Ayrıca bu çalışma kapsamında ebeveynin çocukla nasıl bir ilişki kurduğu ve çocukların ebeveynlerinden biri ile ayrı olma süresi değişken olarak değerlendirilmemiştir. Bu değişkenlerin araştırılması alan yazına önemli katkılar sağlayabilir.