The Pretty Project: Exploring the Mechanisms Through Which Girls Learn About
Prettiness From Their Mothers

by

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Certificate of Approval

This is to certify that the accompanying thesis by Zoey B. Watts and Marianne A. Kellogg has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation with Honors in Psychology.

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Abstract

In our society girls often learn that one's appearance is valued and that they should strive for unrealistic body standards. The current study examined the ways in which mothers' self-views and socialization strategies are related to their young daughters' views of prettiness. Data was collected from 25 mother-daughter dyads; daughters were between three and six years old. Utilizing gender schema theory and Bandura's social learning theory, we proposed three mechanisms through which mothers may teach their daughters about prettiness: direct instruction, observational learning, and the provision of opportunities. Results indicate that mothers' self-views are not related to the importance daughters place on appearance. Mothers in this study talked little about their own appearance in front of their daughters, attempted to highlight the importance of valuing one's body for more than appearance, and preferred providing gender atypical opportunities. However, daughters still demonstrated a preference for prettiness. These results indicate that while daughters may not be learning to value prettiness from their mothers, the message that one's appearance matters is pervasive, and may be reaching daughters from different sources.

Keywords: prettiness, mothers, daughters, gender socialization, mechanisms

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The gender roles that exist in our society cause many children to be stuck in rigid

boxes that define who they should be, often with devastating consequences. For

example, these gender roles dictate that boys should focus on physical fitness, the

functionality of their body, and suppressing their emotions (Tatangelo & Ricciardelli,

2013; Way, 2011). Meanwhile, gender roles dictate that girls need to be pretty. Girls are

expected to put thought, time, and effort into how they look (Tatangelo & Ricciardelli,

2013). And, by the time girls are in their preteen and teenage years, the focus on

appearance is readily apparent through the importance of wearing makeup and going

shopping at the mall (Baker & Haytko, 2000). Research has documented that these strict

gender roles have negative impacts on individuals' psychological development

(American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2010),

so it is important for psychologists to investigate the mechanisms through which children

learn about these gender role expectations.

Gender socialization theories suggest that children learn what it means to be male

and female from parents, peers, and the media (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). Specifically,

in recent years, researchers have demonstrated the ways in which mothers, in particular,

teach their daughters about the importance of focusing on their bodies (Pine, 2001).

However, research has largely neglected the question of how mothers impact their

daughters' views of prettiness in general. The current study is designed to address this

gap by exploring the various mechanisms through which girls learn from their mothers

what it means to be pretty. We do this by examining the relationship between mothers'

self-views (i.e., appearance-based contingent self-esteem, self-acceptance, and body

surveillance) and the value daughters place on appearance, as well as the mechanism (i.e.,

socialization strategy) that mediates that relationship.

In order to best understand how mothers impact their daughters' views of

prettiness, we first need to understand how mothers view their own bodies. In general,

women have been socialized to place a greater importance on their appearance than men

(Murnen, Smolak, Mills, & Good, 2003). Women's dissatisfaction with their bodies is

often centered on concerns toward body size and body weight. These concerns are

typically augmented by socio-cultural contexts, such as media portrayals of the female

body (Bailey & Ricciardelli, 2009). Individuals' views of their bodies are also influenced

by social comparisons and how others view their body (Rudd & Lennon, 2000). Women

can internalize beliefs of how bodies should look, which influences the value that they

place on their appearance. Furthermore, many women participate in body objectification,

viewing their bodies as objects from a third-person perspective. Body objectification has

been linked to higher levels of depression and disordered eating (Tiggemann & Kuring,

2004). Additionally, women often participate in high levels of body surveillance, which

involves constantly monitoring their bodies in order to adhere to certain ideals (McKinley

& Hyde, 1996). When women do not obtain these body ideals, there can be detrimental

effects, as some women base their self-worth on their appearance (Crocker, Luhtanen,

Cooper, Bouvrette, 2003). How mothers view themselves is important because mothers'

self-views likely influence their parenting decisions in regards to gender socialization.

Research has consistently shown that mothers' views are strongly related to their

children's attitudes and behaviors. For example, the political and religious beliefs of

parents and their children are often similar (Acock & Bengston, 1978), and it has also been shown that parents can influence their children's drug and alcohol use, and sexual behavior (Newcomb, Huba, & Bentler, 1983). More specifically, mothers can influence their children's attitudes and behaviors related to gender. For example, when girls have mothers who are self-employed, they are more likely to become self-employed as well (Greene, Han, & Marlow, 2013). Because the area of entrepreneurship is dominated by masculine characteristics, one of the reasons for girls' interest in self-employment is because of their mothers' gender-atypical attitudes and behaviors in this domain (Greene, Han, & Marlow, 2013).

One prominent example of the strong relationship between mothers' and daughters' attitudes and behavior is the topic of dieting. There is an abundance of research that demonstrates that mothers' attitudes about dieting are related to how their daughters think about their bodies. Though a desire to diet may not appear until age 12, girls as young as five can be aware of the emphasis for women to have thin bodies (Pine, 2001). This awareness of the thin ideal leads to an internalization of the desire to diet as a way to achieve this ideal; this desire to diet is often strengthened by the daughters' awareness of their mothers' dieting behaviors. After examining 10-year-old girls' and their mothers' motivation to diet, Hill, Weaver, and Blundell (1990) found a strong positive correlation between the two. Furthermore, these researchers also found that the extent to which mothers engage in behaviors of dietary restriction will likely influence their daughters' desire to diet in similar ways. While this research study effectively indicated that there is a link between mothers' and daughters' relationship with weight and dieting patterns, it did not attempt to describe the mechanisms behind that link.

Mothers' messages to their daughters about size and appearance influence not only their food choices and dieting habits, but also their feelings about themselves as a person. When parents had concerns about their five-year-old daughters' weight, this led the daughters to have more negative self-evaluations than girls with unconcerned parents (Davison & Birch, 2001). If this trend of body dissatisfaction continues into adulthood, these girls are at risk for depression, social anxiety, and participation in dangerous weight loss strategies (Bailey & Ricciardelli, 2009). While there is plenty of research that has examined the dangers of focusing on dieting and weight, we have not found extant research that has moved beyond those constructs to other aspects of appearance, such as prettiness. Research on prettiness and the value placed on appearance is important in how it relates to instances of body monitoring, value judgments (caring more about looks than character traits), conforming to expected gender norms, and combatting any negative (intentional or unintentional) messages that mothers are sending their daughters about how to value their appearance. Although there is a large body of literature that provides important and novel information about how mothers influence what their daughters think about weight and how they look, little research has been done that compares various mechanisms of learning in order to determine which forms of communication (dieting, talking about weight) provide the most salient messages about appearance.

Gender socialization encompasses how children learn the behaviors and actions that society expects them to enact based on their gender, as well as how children become aware of the attitudes that society has about them because of their gender (Leaper & Friedman, 2007). One of the effects of gender socialization is demonstrated by the finding that young children often experience a period of gender rigidity where they refuse

to wear anything except gender-typical outfits in order to express their masculinity or femininity (Halim et al., 2014). While the home is a major source of gender socialization, peers, teachers, and media, among other influences, can also have an effect. For instance, one study found that how teachers talk about gender has an impact on children. When teachers stopped talking about gender in preschool classrooms, the children became less likely to endorse gender stereotypes, less likely to see other-sex peers negatively, and more likely to want to play with other-sex peers (Hilliard & Liben, 2010). This process of gender socialization can be explained through the integration of two theoretical frameworks: social learning theory and gender schema theory. Social learning theory explains a variety of mechanisms through which people can learn new behavior and attitudes, primarily from direct experience and modeling. Social learning theory can inform gender schema theory, which focuses on how children's concepts of gender are formed.

Social learning theory (Bandura, 1971) postulates that learning can occur through direct experience and modeling, regardless of whether or not there are reinforcements for the learned behavior. Direct experience allows for the active participation in learning about a specific behavior. Another way that learning can occur is through modeling. Bandura (1971) cites the importance of the influence of example, and posits that one can learn from others modeling, regardless of whether or not the observer is intending to learn and whether or not the model is intending to teach. Modeling is a valuable form of learning because it allows one to develop new behaviors and change old behaviors in an efficient way; this is because when the observer is able to view someone else's mistakes, they are then able to avoid making those same mistakes. One of the types of modeling

that Bandura discusses is symbolic modeling, examples of which include television, films, and other visual media. These forms of media easily capture viewers' attention, making it hard for them not to learn the behavior they are seeing.

Gender schema theory posits that children gather information about their gender group to inform their behavior and thinking (Martin & Ruble, 2004). This process of obtaining information about their gender group happens through the mechanisms described by social learning theory, specifically direct experience and modeling. Learning information about one's gender group motivates the child to act like the members of that group. Through these opportunities children can learn about certain gender stereotypes (e.g., girls should play with dolls, boys should play with trucks) as well as create schemas about what it means to be a girl or a boy (e.g., girls are kind and nurturing, boys are rough and loud). Using tenets of social learning theory and gender schema theory, we discuss three ways in which this link between mothers and daughters may be established and how mothers could communicate the value of appearance to their daughters: direct instruction, observational learning, and provision of opportunities.

Direct instruction takes the form of parents explicitly talking to their children about a topic. Multiple studies have examined how parents talk to their kids about gender, and how those conversations impact the child's understanding of gender and gender norms. Some researchers have found that parents' direct instruction does not influence children's understanding of gender. Friedman, Leaper, and Bigler (2007) measured the frequency with which mothers used language that either endorsed or challenged gender stereotypes. While there was a correlation between mother's gender attitudes and their children's endorsement of gender stereotypes, this relationship was not

predicted by mother's speech. However, another study conducted by Epstein and Ward (2011) examining the gendered attitudes of high school and college students found that receiving messages from parents promoting traditional gender roles was associated with higher traditional gender beliefs. More research is necessary in order to further understand whether or not children are significantly influenced by messages they receive from their parents through direct instruction.

Based on Bandura's (1971) description of modeling, we consider observational learning in the context of a family to consist of the parent's actions that the child witnesses, and also the information the child overhears and learns from hearing their parents talk to others. There is a large body of research about observational learning influencing daughters' likelihood to diet. A study done by Lewis, Katsikitis, and Mulgrew (2015) found that mothers' eating disorder symptoms were correlated with their daughters' body monitoring and attention to body shape and weight. While there may be multiple explanations for this relationship, one strong possibility is that the daughters observed their mothers' behavior and learned from their modeling. Mothers' feelings towards body weight and food exemplify an indirect route of altering their daughters' opinions, as the mothers are not explicitly talking about their child's appearance.

Gender socialization can also occur through the opportunities parents provide to their children through toys, clothes, media, and activities. Parents expose their children to gendered ideas through the media they allow their children to consume, such as books and television shows. A study conducted by Hamilton, Anderson, Broaddus, and Young (2006) examined sex role socialization in prize-winning picture books. Within the books, men were represented as active leaders who set out to rescue other characters and

problem solve, while female characters were typically shown in roles of following and serving others. Another study conducted by Aubrey and Harrison (2004) found similar results regarding popular children's television shows. Female characters were generally shown less often than male characters, and when they were shown they were more likely to be portrayed as attractive, emotional, and in need of support. Male characters were seen in a variety of roles, rather than only in roles conforming to gender stereotypes. Both of these studies show that many options of children's media are saturated with stereotypical gender roles.

Children's access to toys is another example of opportunities as a form of gender socialization. Toy companies have increasingly created gendered toys, with marketing emphasizing toys as solely for boys or girls (Auster & Mansbach, 2012). However, although there has been an increase in the prevalence of the gendered marketing of toys, recent studies demonstrate that parents are less interested in giving their children gender-typical toys (Wood, Desmarais, and Gugula, 2002). These researchers found that parents were more likely to play with stereotypically masculine toys when playing with boys. However, when parents were playing with girls there was more gender flexibility in the toys that were played with. These findings may demonstrate that parents are becoming more aware of the dangers of gender rigidity and are working towards solving the issue. More research is needed in order to determine whether gender socialization is most influential when it is learned through opportunities provided as compared to direct instruction and observational learning.

Neumark-Sztainer et al. (2010) conducted a study that provided a framework that closely relates to the current study. Neumark-Sztainer et al. (2010) demonstrated that

parents use forms of direct instruction and observational learning to influence their adolescent daughters' views regarding weight and weight loss. Half of the participants reported that their mothers encouraged them to diet, while 60% responded that their family teased them about their weight. These behaviors are examples of direct instruction and communication about parents' values. This study also reported that two-thirds of the participants had a mother who dieted or talked about her own weight. Parents dieting and talking about their own weight are examples of observational learning, in which the daughter learns about the importance of dieting through watching her parent. Similar to the Neumark-Sztainer et al. (2010) study, we would also like to directly compare the effects of indirect and direct forms of instruction to discover more about which socialization strategies generate the most salient responses from children. Another finding of Neumark-Sztainer et al. (2010) was that weight-related teasing, maternal encouragement to diet, and maternal dieting behavior were all shown to have adverse effects on the adolescents, one of which was disordered eating behavior.

The current study aims to fill the gap in the literature regarding the mechanisms through which mothers' self-views and socialization strategies are related to their young daughters' views of attractiveness and gender. We studied these issues among young girls ages three to six because, although there is a relatively large amount of research regarding adolescent girls' and young women's attitudes and behaviors about appearance, relatively little is known about the early development of these attitudes and behaviors.

We hypothesized that there would be a relationship between mothers' self-views and daughters' views of prettiness. Specifically, appearance-based contingent self-esteem and body surveillance would be positively correlated with daughters' views of

prettiness, and self-acceptance would be negatively correlated with daughters' views of prettiness. Further, we hypothesized that there would be a relationship between mothers' self-views and their socialization strategies; in other words, we predicted that mothers would use different socialization strategies depending on their self-views. We hypothesized that there would also be a relationship between mothers' socialization strategies and daughters' views of prettiness. Specifically, we expected that direct instruction about prettiness would have a greater impact on how much the daughter values prettiness than would observational learning or opportunities provided.

Method

Participants

Participants were pairs of mothers and daughters; 25 women between the ages of 29 and 47 ($M = 37.72$, $SD = 4.27$) and 25 girls between the ages of three and six ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 1.16$) participated. Mothers reported their own and their daughters' ethnic identification; 4% of the mothers identified as Hispanic or Latina and 4% of the daughters were identified as Hispanic or Latina. Mothers also reported their own and their daughters' racial identification; mothers were able to select multiple racial categories. Racial identification of the participants was as follows (mothers, daughters): Asian: 12%, 4%; White: 92%, 88%; did not identify with a listed race: 0%, 4%; did not specify race: 4%, 8%. The breakdown of the highest level of education completed by the mothers was as follows: 4% have an Associate's degree, 28% have a Bachelor's degree, and 68% have an advanced degree. In terms of employment, 52% of the mothers work full time, 28% work part time, and 20% are not employed.

Convenience sampling was used to recruit participants; emails were sent to the Whitman College community and parent listservs, as well as to various preschools in the area and mothers who we knew.

Procedure

Mothers signed up to participate by emailing one of the researchers, who then scheduled a time for them to come into the lab. At the time of their appointment, they met one of the researchers in the lab. While the mother read the statement of informed consent, the researcher explained the study to the daughter, highlighting that she could end participation at any time, that she did not have to answer a question if she did not want to, and that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions the researcher was asking. Both the mother and daughter were given the opportunity to ask questions about the study and to opt out of the study. If the mother agreed to participate, she signed the consent form and was then directed to a room adjacent to the one in which the daughter was being interviewed by one of the researchers. The daughter and researcher sat in the lab and the researcher asked the daughter a series of questions. Both the mother's and daughter's surveys took approximately 20 minutes to complete. After the mother and daughter were done with their respective surveys, the mother came back into the main lab and was debriefed. At this point, the participants were given compensation for participating in the study; mothers received $10 and the daughters were able to choose a prize from the prize box in the lab (e.g., stickers, decorated pencils and erasers, and bracelets).

Measures

Mothers' self-views. We used a variety of scales in order to measure mothers' self-views from multiple perspectives.

Appearance-based contingent self-esteem. This subscale of the contingent self-esteem scale (Crocker et al., 2003) examined the extent to which participants' self-esteem is contingent upon their appearance (e.g., My self-esteem is influenced by how attractive I think my face or facial features are). There are five items in this measure and responses were recorded on a six-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. After reverse scoring certain items, scores on the five items were averaged, with higher scores indicating greater appearance-based contingent self-esteem ($\alpha = .78$).

Body surveillance. The body surveillance subscale of the body consciousness scale (McKinley & Hyde, 1996) measures the extent to which participants exhibit body surveillance behaviors (e.g., I rarely think about how I look). There are seven items in the scale, and responses were recorded on a six-point scale with response options ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. After reverse scoring certain items, scores on the seven items were averaged, with higher scores indicating that the participant watches her body frequently and thinks of her body in terms of how it looks instead of how it feels ($\alpha = .87$).

Self-acceptance. The self-acceptance subscale of Ryff's (1989) measure of psychological well-being examines participants' overall self-acceptance, independent of appearance (e.g., I like most aspects of my personality). There are five items in this measure and responses were recorded on a six-point scale with response options ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. After reverse scoring certain items, scores on

the five items were averaged, with higher scores indicating greater self-acceptance (α = .59).

Mothers' socialization strategies. We examined three types of socialization strategies used by mothers in our study.

Direct statements about appearance. We created two measures to examine participants' self-reports of how they talk about their daughters' appearance. One of the measures examines how the participants talk about their daughters' appearance (e.g., I like to tell my daughter that she is pretty or cute) and one of the measures examines how the participants make positive comments about traits other than appearance (i.e., I try to teach my daughter that her appearance is not her most important feature). All responses were recorded on a six-point scale with options ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. There is one item in the appearance measure, with a higher score indicating a higher frequency of the participant making statements about her daughter's appearance. There are three items in the non-appearance measure, and scores were averaged, with higher scores indicating a higher frequency of the participant making statements that are about traits other than her daughter's appearance (α = .65).

Indirect statements about appearance (observational learning). We created two measures to examine participants' self-reports of how they talk about appearance in front of their daughters. One measure examined positive statements (e.g., I often say in front of my daughter that I like the way I look) and the other examined negative statements (e.g., I often say in front of my daughter that I don't like the way I look). There are two items in each measure, and all responses were recorded on a six-point scale with options

ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Scores on the two positive items were averaged, with higher scores indicating a higher frequency of the participant making positive statements about appearance ($r = .67, p < .001$). Scores on the two negative items were averaged, with higher scores indicating a higher frequency of the participant making negative statements about appearance ($r = .81, p < .001$).

Opportunities provided. We used a variety of measures to examine the types of opportunities that mothers provide for their daughters.

Activities permitted. We used a modified version of the Child Gender Socialization Scale (Blakemore & Hill, 2008) that measures mothers' evaluations of their daughter doing various activities (e.g., baking, playing with toy cars, reading). There are 25 items in this measure (10 feminine, 10 masculine, and five gender-neutral) and responses were recorded on a six-point scale with options ranging from *very negative* to *very positive*. Scores for each group of items were averaged, with higher scores indicating a more positive evaluation of the participant's daughter doing each type of activity (feminine, $\alpha = .71$; masculine, $\alpha = .69$; gender-neutral, $\alpha = .67$). We created a composite measure by subtracting the average score for masculine activities from feminine activities, with positive scores indicating a preference for feminine activities and negative scores indicating a preference for masculine activities.

Clothing. We created a measure for this study that examined mothers' clothing preferences for their daughters. This measure examines participants' likelihood to dress their daughters on a typical weekday in outfits that are either functional or pretty. This measure was created by running a pilot study in the spring of 2016 where participants

were asked to rate the prettiness or functionality of a variety of outfits. The outfits that

were most consistently rated as pretty or functional were used in this study. There are 10

items in this measure and responses were recorded on a six-point scale with response

options ranging from *extremely unlikely* to *extremely likely*. Scores were averaged for the

four pretty clothing items ($\alpha = .61$) and the six functional clothing items ($\alpha = .82$), with

higher scores indicating a greater likelihood of the participant dressing their daughter in

that type of outfit. We created a composite measure by subtracting the average score of

functional clothing from pretty clothing, with positive scores indicating a preference for

pretty clothing and negative scores indicating a preference for functional clothing.

     Toys. We created a similar measure for toy preferences. This measure examines

participants' comfort with their daughters having various feminine, masculine, and

gender-neutral toys (e.g., American Girl doll, Avengers action figure, bicycle). There are

eight feminine toys, eight masculine toys, and four gender-neutral toys. Responses were

recorded on six-point scale with response options ranging from *extremely uncomfortable*

to *extremely comfortable*. Scores were averaged for feminine toys ($\alpha = .85$), masculine

toys ($\alpha = .84$), and gender-neutral toys ($\alpha = .95$) with higher scores for each category

indicating higher comfort levels with the participant's daughter having each toy type. We

created a composite measure by subtracting the average score of masculine toys from

feminine toys, with positive scores indicating a preference for feminine toys and negative

scores indicating a preference for masculine toys.

     Movies and television shows. We also created a measure that examines mothers'

movie and television show preferences for their daughters. This measure examines

participants' comfort with their daughters watching various TV shows or movies where

main characters, all female, were classified as either pretty or strong (e.g., Doc

McStuffins, Frozen). An image and brief description of each show were provided in case

the participant had not heard of or seen the TV show or movie (e.g., Doc McStuffins:

This show features a young girl who aspires to follow in her mother's footsteps by

becoming a doctor. She practices treatment and diagnosis without anyone's help and

encourages her viewers to make healthy choices). There are 14 items in this measure and

responses were recorded on a six-point scale with response options ranging from

extremely uncomfortable to *extremely comfortable*. There are seven items with female

main characters that have stereotypically feminine and passive traits ($\alpha = .89$); the

characters in these shows and movies were objectified and often relied on others to solve

problems. The other seven items are female main characters that are more independent

and actively involved in their own story ($\alpha = .88$). We created a composite measure by

subtracting the average score of movies with strong female characters from movies with

pretty female characters, with positive scores indicating a preference for movies with

pretty female characters and negative scores indicating a preference for movies with

strong female characters.

Daughters' views of prettiness. We used a variety of scales in order to measure

daughters' views of prettiness from multiple perspectives.

Peer traits. Trait preferences were measured by showing participants different

images of young girls accompanied with a one-sentence description about that girl (e.g.,

Maggie likes to play outside). Images and sentence descriptions were created for the

purpose of this study. The participant rated how much she liked each girl, demonstrating

preferences for certain traits using a seven-point scale range from *don't like at all* to *like*

a lot with corresponding graphic depictions of emotions (i.e., emoticons). There are ten items in this measure, broken down into five pairs of statements. For one of the statements, the girl was drawn to be stereotypically feminine; for the other statement in the pair, she was drawn to be unfeminine. Scores on the five feminine and five unfeminine items were averaged, with higher scores indicating a greater participant liking of each group of girls (feminine, $\alpha = .64$; unfeminine, $\alpha = .42$). We created a composite measure by subtracting the average score for unfeminine girls from feminine girls, with positive scores indicating a preference for feminine girls and negative scores indicating a preference for unfeminine girls.

Activities. We created a measure for this study that examines the participants' desire to do activities that allow her to be pretty (e.g., Playing with makeup) or not (e.g., Getting dirt under my fingernails). There are 11 items in this measure and responses were recorded using a seven-point scale range from *don't like at all* to *like a lot* with corresponding graphic depictions of emotions (i.e., emoticons). There are five activities that promote prettiness ($\alpha = .84$) and six activities that do not promote prettiness ($\alpha = .71$). We created a composite measure by subtracting the average score of activities that do not promote prettiness from activities that do promote prettiness, with positive scores indicating a preference for activities that promote prettiness and negative scores indicating a preference for activities that do not promote prettiness.

Clothing. The clothing preference measure is a similar to the measure used in the mother survey and examined participants' desire to wear functional or pretty outfits. The only difference between the mothers' and daughters' versions of this measure is that the daughters' measure has an additional item for pretty clothing. This measure uses a

seven-point scale ranging from *don't like at all* to *like a lot* with corresponding graphic

depictions of emotions (i.e., emoticons). Scores were averaged for the five pretty

clothing items (α = .68) and the six functional clothing items (α = .68), with higher scores

indicating greater liking of each type of clothing. We created a composite measure by

subtracting the average score of functional clothing from pretty clothing, with positive

scores indicating a preference for pretty clothing and negative scores indicating a

preference for functional clothing.

     Toys. The toy preference measure is the same measure used in the mother survey

and examines participants' desire to play with different toys (e.g., a bike). This measure

used a seven-point scale ranging from *don't like at all* to *like a lot* with corresponding

graphic depictions of emotions (i.e., emoticons). For the toys, scores were averaged for

feminine toys (α = .88), masculine toys (α = .90), and gender-neutral toys (α = .71), with

higher scores for each category indicating greater liking of each toy type. We created a

composite measure by subtracting the average score of masculine toys from feminine

toys; positive scores indicated a preference for feminine toys and negative scores

indicated a preference for masculine toys.

Results

Analysis Overview

     Data analysis included four steps. First, we examined mothers' self-views of how

they generally feel about themselves and their bodies, and examined whether mothers'

views of themselves are consistent across multiple measures. Second, we looked at the

extent to which daughters value prettiness, and examined whether daughters who value

prettiness demonstrate this value through a preference for feminine friends, pretty

clothes, and activities that promote prettiness. Third, we examined the relationship

between mothers' self-views and the value that daughters place on prettiness, testing our

hypothesis that mothers with more deprecating self-views will have daughters who place

a higher value on prettiness. Fourth, and lastly, we examined whether mothers'

socialization strategies are related to the value their daughters place on prettiness.

Mothers' Self-Views

On average, mothers' level of body surveillance was 3.11 ($SD = 0.84$), which a

one-sample t-test indicated was significantly lower that the scale midpoint of 3.5, $t(24) =$

-2.34, $p < .001$. On average, mothers' appearance-based contingent self-esteem was 4.00

($SD = 0.79$), which was significantly higher than the scale midpoint of 3.5, $t(24) = 3.17$, p

$< .001$. Finally, the mothers' mean level of self-acceptance was 4.64 ($SD = 0.50$), which

was significantly higher than the scale midpoint of 3.5, $t(24) = 11.48$, $p < .001$. These

findings suggest that the mothers, on average, had relatively high levels of self-

acceptance and appearance-based contingent self-esteem, and slightly low levels of body

surveillance. Correlations among the three variables are presented in Table 1. As can be

seen, body surveillance was positively correlated with appearance-based contingent self-

esteem and negatively correlated with self-acceptance, and appearance-based contingent

self-esteem and self-acceptance were not correlated.

Daughters' Views on Prettiness

Means and standard deviations for all categories of each measure are given in

Table 2.

Peer traits. In terms of overall preference for feminine or unfeminine girls, the

composite score had a mean of 0.20 ($SD = .95$). Results of a one-sample t-test indicated

that this score is not significantly different from 0, $t(24) = 1.06$, $p = .301$, suggesting that girls equally preferred feminine and unfeminine girls.

Activities. In terms of overall preference for activities that do or do not promote prettiness, the composite score had a mean of 1.83 ($SD = 2.52$). Results of a one-sample t-test indicated that this score is significantly different from 0, $t(24) = 3.63$, $p = .001$, suggesting that girls preferred activities that promote prettiness more than activities that do not promote prettiness.

Clothing. In terms of overall preference for pretty or functional clothing, the composite score had a mean of 1.22 ($SD = 1.43$). Results of a one-sample t-test indicated that this score is significantly different from 0, $t(24) = 4.26$, $p < .001$, suggesting that girls preferred pretty clothing more than functional clothing.

Toys. In terms of overall preference for feminine or masculine toys, the composite score had a mean of 2.65 ($SD = 2.34$). Results of a one-sample t-test indicated that this score is significantly different from 0, $t(24) = 5.65$, $p < .001$, suggesting that girls preferred feminine toys more than masculine toys.

Correlations. Correlations among the four variables are presented in Table 1. As can be seen, peer traits were strongly correlated with outfits and toys.

Relation between Mothers' Self-Views and Daughters' Views on Prettiness

To test the hypothesis that there is a positive correlation between a mother's self-views and the value her daughter places on appearance, we ran a series of correlations (see Table 1). Contrary to our expectations, there were no significant correlations between mothers' self-views and daughters' views of prettiness.

Mothers' Socialization Strategies

Direct instruction. We examined the extent to which mothers directly talk to their daughters about their daughters' appearance and body. There are two separate subscales, one measuring the extent to which mothers talk about their daughters' appearance, and one measuring the extent to which they make positive comments about traits other than appearance. For the measure of making appearance-based comments, the mean score was 4.33 (SD = 1.49) on a scale that ranged from one to six. This suggests that mothers like to make positive comments about appearance. For the average of non-appearance-based comments, the mean score was 5.57 (SD = .60), indicating that the mothers highly stress the importance of valuing oneself and one's body for more than appearance.

Indirect instruction (observational learning). We examined the extent to which mothers talk about their own bodies in front of their daughters. For the subscale of mothers' positive comments about their appearance, the mean score was 3.60 (SD = 1.04). A one-sample t-test indicated that the mean score for mothers' positive comments about their appearance was not significantly different from the midpoint of 3.5, $t(24)$ = .49, p = .63, indicating that mothers are neutral on whether or not they talk about liking the way they look. For the subscale of mothers' negative comments about their appearance, the means score was 1.56 (SD = .77), indicating that mothers reported rarely making negative comments about their appearance in front of their daughter.

Opportunities provided. We examined the types of opportunities that mothers provide for their daughters by investigating a variety of activities, clothing, toys, and movies that mothers are comfortable exposing their daughters to. Means and standard deviations for all categories of each measure are given in Table 3.

Activities permitted. In terms of overall preference for types of activities permitted, the composite score had a mean of 0.56 ($SD = .62$). Results of a one-sample t-test indicated that this score is significantly different from 0, $t(24) = 4.58$, $p < .001$, suggesting that mothers are more permissive of feminine than masculine activities.

Clothing. In terms of overall preference for clothing, the composite score had a mean of -2.15 ($SD = 1.30$). Results of a one-sample t-test indicated that this score was significantly different from 0, $t(24) = -8.27$, $p < .001$, suggesting that mothers prefer for their daughters to wear functional clothing instead of pretty clothing.

Toys. In terms of overall preference for toys, the composite score had a mean of 0.22 ($SD = .95$). Results of a one-sample t-test indicated that this score was not significantly different from 0, $t(24) = 1.14$, $p = .27$, suggesting that mothers have similar levels of comfort with feminine and masculine toys.

Movies and television shows. In terms of overall preference, the composite score had a mean of -2.28 ($SD = 1.05$). Results of a one-sample t-test indicated that this score was significantly different from 0, $t(24) = -10.90$, $p < .001$, suggesting that mothers prefer their daughters to watch movies and television shows with strong female characters as opposed to those that focus on the looks of female characters.

With these four composite scores, we created an overall composite measure to represent mothers' views on opportunities as a whole ($M = -3.64$, $SD = 2.60$). This was calculated by adding the composite scores of the four measures of opportunities. A positive score indicated endorsement of feminine opportunities, a negative score indicated endorsement of masculine or unfeminine opportunities, and a score close to zero indicated endorsement of all types of opportunities. Results of a one-sample t-test

indicated that the overall composite score was significantly different from 0, $t(24) = -7.02$, $p < .001$. Because the score is negative, it indicated that mothers prefer to provide masculine or unfeminine opportunities (i.e., strong movies, masculine toys, masculine activities, and functional clothing) over feminine opportunities.

Predictors of Socialization Strategies and Daughters' Views of Prettiness

We ran a series of multiple regression models in which we used mothers' self-views (i.e., appearance-based contingent self-esteem, self-acceptance, and body surveillance) to predict their socialization strategies (i.e., use of negative indirect statements, positive indirect statements, appearance-based direct statement, non-appearance-based direct statements, and opportunities provided). All five of the regression models are presented in Table 4. Results indicated that none of the models significantly predicted the socialization strategies, with R^2s ranging from .01 to .12. Further, none of the betas associated with the significant predictors were statistically significant.

We ran a series of multiple regression models in which we used mothers' socialization strategies to predict daughters' preference for a variety of measures of prettiness (i.e., peer traits, clothing, activities, and toys). All four of the models are presented in Table 5. Interestingly, only opportunities provided significantly predicted daughters' scores on the peer traits measure, $\beta = .65$, $t(19) = 2.99$, $p = .01$. However, the overall model of predicting peer traits was not significant, $R^2 = .36$, $F(5, 18) = 1.98$, $p = .13$. Results indicated that none of the other models significantly predicted daughters' views of prettiness, with R^2s ranging from .02 to .17. Further, none of these betas associated with the predictors were statistically significant.

Discussion

The main goal of this study was to gain insight into the mechanisms through which young girls learn about prettiness from their mothers. We hypothesized that mothers' self-views would be related to daughters' views of prettiness, and that this relationship would be mediated by the type of socialization strategy used by the mothers. More specifically, we hypothesized that direct instruction would have a greater impact on daughters' views of prettiness, compared to indirect instruction and provision of opportunities.

We examined mothers' self-views across three measures: body surveillance, appearance-based contingent self-esteem, and self-acceptance. The results indicated that, on average, mothers in this sample spent relatively little time monitoring their body and appearance, agreed to some extent that their self-esteem is contingent upon appearance, and overall felt positively about themselves. As expected, mothers who focused on their body also based their feelings about themselves off of how they look. This finding is consistent with previous research, which has also indicated that there is a correlation between body monitoring and appearance-based contingent self-esteem (Noser & Zeigler-Hill, 2014). Furthermore, as we expected, mothers who monitored their bodies felt less happy about themselves in general. Contrary to our expectations, there was no relationship between mothers' appearance-based contingent self-esteem and their general self-acceptance. This is inconsistent with other work that has found a link between women's appearance-based contingent self-esteem and their general self-esteem (Zeigler-Hill & Noser, 2015). It may be that women in our sample base their self-acceptance on attributes of themselves that are not related to appearance (i.e., intelligence, kindness).

We measured daughters' views of prettiness through their preference for feminine children, pretty outfits, feminine toys, and participating in activities that promote prettiness. Results for the measure of peer traits indicated that the daughters in our sample equally liked feminine and unfeminine girls. However, there is an issue of internal reliability with the measure of unfeminine girls, as Cronbach's alpha was only .42. For the other three measures, all results indicated that daughters in our sample strongly preferred prettiness and femininity across the board. These results are consistent with literature that focuses on children's gender development between the ages of three and six. Young children have very rigid beliefs about gender, particularly beliefs about certain attributes associated with being a boy or a girl (Trautner et al., 2005). The knowledge that children have about gender can be applied to a multitude of stimuli (Martin & Ruble, 2004; Trautner et al., 2005), such as toys, clothing, and activities. As young children's understanding of their own gender is very rigid, they express it in ways they view as being stereotypically masculine or feminine (Ruble et al., 2007). Therefore, it makes sense that the young girls in this study preferred a variety of items that promote prettiness, as prettiness is associated with femininity.

Contrary to our hypothesis that mothers' self-views and daughters' value of prettiness would be related, results indicated that there is no relationship between the two. This is surprising because research that focuses on weight has repeatedly demonstrated that how mothers feel about themselves influences how their daughters learn to value weight (Hill, Weaver, & Blundell, 1990; Pine, 2001). Because of these findings, we hypothesized that this relationship between mothers and daughters would be similar for prettiness. However, our results were not similar to these previous findings, which raises

questions about how weight and prettiness differ in terms of methods of socialization.

Through this study, we attempted to further understand how prettiness is socialized and

therefore examined various socialization strategies that mothers may use around their

daughters.

These socialization strategies included direct instruction, indirect instruction, and

opportunities provided. For direct instruction, mothers were asked how often they make

appearance-based comments and comments about traits that are unrelated to appearance.

Our results for these measures indicated that, overall, the mothers in our sample

celebrated their daughters; scores for both appearance- and non-appearance-based

comments were significantly higher than neutral, which is similar to findings from

previous literature (Ogle & Damhorst, 2003). Scores for non-appearance-based

comments were significantly higher than appearance-based comments, which indicates

that mothers want to make it clear to their daughters that they are being celebrated for

more than just how they look. Research has demonstrated that girls often experience

increased body dissatisfaction when their mothers are critical of their appearance

(McLaughlin, Belon, Smith, Erickson, 2015; Ogle & Damhorst, 2003), so our results are

encouraging in that they highlight that mothers are trying to be more complimentary of

their daughters, especially in areas unrelated to appearance.

The results from indirect instruction indicated that mothers were neutral with how

much they talk about whether they like the way they look in front of their daughters.

Conversely, it was rare for mothers to talk about disliking the way they look in front of

their daughters. These results imply that mothers generally tried to avoid making

comments about their own appearance in front of their daughters, especially when those

comments were negative. Similar to the results from the direct instruction measures, when mothers discuss appearance, they do so in a positive and celebratory manner. Literature has suggested that when mothers put forward a positive body image, it acts as a buffer against the daughters' likelihood of having body dissatisfaction and a negative body image (Maor & Cwikel, 2016), so it is exciting to find that mothers in our sample were attempting to provide their daughters with examples of positive body image.

The four parts of the opportunities measure shed light on what mothers would like their daughters to be exposed to. Mothers preferred that their daughters watch movies with strong female leads, play with both feminine and masculine toys, participate in feminine activities, and wear functional clothing. These findings demonstrated that mothers do not strongly desire that their daughters be exposed to only feminine items, in any form. Rather, it seems that they would prefer for their daughters to have the opportunity to experience a variety of constructs, and that the gender typicality of the items does not matter when considering what they want their daughters to experience. This finding is in line with research that has found that mothers do not socialize their child based on the child's gender (McHale, Crouter, & Tucker, 1999).

Results from the regression indicated that mothers' self-views were not predictive of the types of socialization strategies they used. Furthermore, mothers' socialization strategies were, for the most part, not predictive of the extent to which the daughters valued prettiness. Our results indicated that the opportunities provided by the mother predicted, to some extent, her daughter's peer trait preferences. Therefore, our hypothesis that direct instruction about prettiness has a greater impact on how much the daughters value prettiness, compared to observational learning and opportunities

provided, was not supported by the findings. In fact, our results indicated that, in some cases, opportunities provided have a greater impact than direct instruction or observational learning on how daughters value prettiness.

One possible explanation for these findings is that mothers in this study want to raise their daughters differently than how they were raised. Mothers may be unhappy with how they value appearance and the extent to which their self-esteem is based upon how they look. These mothers may be actively trying to raise their daughters to have healthier, more well-rounded views about their bodies in order to prevent their daughters from having similar demonstrations of body monitoring and appearance-based contingent self-esteem. This viewpoint aligns with findings in current research (Maor & Cwikel, 2016). Another possible explanation for our findings is that while there was not a relationship between mothers' self-views and their young daughters' views on prettiness, mothers' influence may have a greater impact when the daughters are older. There could be a potential sleeper effect in terms of mothers' influence, where what they teach their daughters now impacts them later in childhood or adolescence.

For the most part, there was no relationship between the messages mothers gave their daughters about prettiness, and the daughters' views of prettiness. Daughters in this sample favored femininity and prettiness even though their mothers actively preferred exposing their daughters to gender atypical opportunities. This indicates that daughters are likely learning the value of prettiness from a source other than their mothers. One possible source of messages on prettiness could be fathers. Previous research has shown that fathers encourage their children to play with same-sex toys, and discourage play with cross-sex toys more than mothers do (Langlois & Downs, 1980). Another source of

gender socialization is peers. Martin (1989) found that same-sex peers positively

reinforce gender-typical activities and play as early as preschool. The daughters in our

study were of the preschool age range, so it is possible that these daughters learned to

view prettiness through interacting with their peers. Additionally, gendered messages are

pervasive in multiple forms of children's media, as well as in clothing and toys (Aubrey

& Harrison, 2004; Auster & Mansbach, 2012; Hamilton et al., 2006). Finally, there may

be biological influences on gender expression; some research has found that exposure to

varying levels of certain prenatal hormones, such as testosterone, can influence a child's

desire to participate in sex-typical activities (Hines, 2011). While mothers may prefer for

their daughters to demonstrate gender-neutral preferences and behaviors, there are many

other sources from which daughters can learn the perceived importance of prettiness.

Limitations

One limitation of our study is the sample of mothers used. These mothers are not

representative of the greater makeup of the area in which the study was conducted. Many

of the mothers tested are closely affiliated with the college as either employees or spouses

of employees. Many college campuses tend to have liberal leanings on political and

social justice issues. Furthermore, 96% of mothers in this sample possessed either a

bachelor's degree or higher, with 68% having obtained some form of graduate degree.

Due to the high levels of education, mothers in this study may be aware of research done

on the dangers of valuing appearance and therefore make a more conscious effort to raise

their daughters to value themselves for traits other than appearance. Additionally, there

are potential demand characteristics present in this study; for the measures of mothers'

self-views and the socialization strategies utilized, it was often clear which constructs

were being measured. If the mothers in this sample were aware of issues surrounding the

importance of appearance, it is possible that they avoided saying that they talk about their

appearance or care about their appearance in order to appear as a good parent.

Furthermore, the sample for this study was relatively small and so there may be issues

with statistical power in our results.

Another limitation of this study is that there is inconsistency in whether the

measures are examining mothers' attitudes or behaviors. The measures for opportunities

provided to daughters were meant to measure mothers' behaviors and what opportunities

are actually given to their children. However, as written, the measures for mothers'

activity preferences, movie preferences, and toy preferences all examine mothers' levels

of comfort with a variety of items rather than the extent to which their daughter is

actually exposed to them. It is possible that mothers are uncomfortable with their

daughter participating in feminine activities, watching movies with pretty rather than

strong characters, and playing with feminine toys, but still allow their daughters to have

those preferences and be exposed to those opportunities. If a daughter values prettiness,

it is possible that her mother will provide her with pretty opportunities so that the

daughter can feel happy and able to express herself.

Finally, there are smaller limitations in how certain measures were designed,

which we would like to alter for future research. In particular, in the toy measure, the

masculine toys used were often more violent with superhero action figures, characters

with toy guns, and football players, which some parents may view as aggressive.

Exposing children to violence is a very controversial topic and it is possible that the

mothers in this study were not uncomfortable with masculine toys, but rather with toys

that they viewed as violent or aggressive. In the future, those masculine toys could be

replaced with less violent options such as cars or tools. Another measure that has

limitations is the measure of daughters' clothing preferences. Some girls may have been

influenced by the color of the clothing in the picture, rather than by whether it allowed

the wearer to be active. We operationalized the prettiness of clothing by its functionality,

not by its colors or patterns. In the future, these images should be displayed in black and

white in order to remove the influence of color. Lastly, another limitation was with the

mothers' movie preference measure. This measure did not allow us to examine how

mothers felt about movies with masculine themes or characters. The measure was

valuable in that it allowed us to see whether mothers felt differently towards movies with

strong female characters and those which had female characters predominantly valued for

their appearance. However, female characters are often under-represented in children's

media (Aubrey & Harrison, 2004), so it is possible that mothers saw any female lead

character as positive. Adding masculine movies with female characters in minor roles or

not present at all would allow us to further examine these findings.

Future Directions

There are several directions that we think would be beneficial for future research

to follow. Our study primarily focused on mothers' behaviors, but future work should

concentrate on mothers' cognitions regarding the socialization strategies that we

measured. Research that emphasizes mothers' cognitions could ask questions related to

why mothers do or do not say positive things about their daughter's appearance. For

example, for mothers who do not say positive things about their daughters, what is the

reasoning behind that? Is it because mothers are becoming more aware of the dangers of

highlighting appearance? Other questions could focus on how mothers justify providing their daughters with feminine toys or clothing; is it because they want to support their daughters in whatever her interests are and be well-rounded, or do they want their daughters to like pretty and feminine things? By understanding the cognitions and goals of mothers, we will be better able to understand and predict parental decisions (Padilla-Walker, 2006) about gender socialization.

Future research should also examine how mothers' cognitions about prettiness and raising their daughters is related to the body positivity movement. While there is a surprising lack of literature that focuses on the growth of this movement, one organization, The Body Positive (The Body Positive, 2016) has been working for over two decades to help people love their bodies and liberate themselves from the constraints of the body ideal projected by the media. It is possible that current-day mothers are aware of this movement, and this awareness may lead them to make very conscious decisions about how they want to raise their daughters in this new age of body positivity. Exploring patterns of mothers' cognitions before and during the body positivity movement could lead to an enhanced understanding of how parenting decisions reflect larger societal trends, particularly those related to gender.

Lastly, another project that we think would be a beneficial addition to this research would be an intervention study. Previous research has shown that when gender is made highly salient in a classroom, students have higher gender-stereotyped attitudes than they did before the intervention began, whereas students in low-salience classrooms did not demonstrate this change (Hilliard & Liben, 2010). This finding makes a compelling case for doing research on what happens in families where certain attributes

related to gender (i.e., prettiness) are less salient. An intervention study that we are interested in conducting is to have parents of preschool- and elementary-aged children stop using any language related to prettiness (e.g., "You look so cute!"). Parents would refrain from commenting on their daughters' outfits and limit any mention of appearance at all. Results would indicate the effect of this change on daughters' well-being, as well as their preference for pretty things. Intervention studies such as the one described here are important because they allow researchers to better understand the extent to which young girls' attitudes about prettiness can change when it is not something that is emphasized in their daily lives.

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Table 1

Correlations between Mothers' Self-Views and Daughters' Value of Prettiness

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Appearance-Based Contingent Self-Esteem	–	.44*	-.27	-.04	-.03	.06	-.17
2. Body Surveillance		–	-.66***	-.03	.11	.25	-.25
3. Self-Acceptance			–	.12	-.02	.19	.26
4. Peer Traits				–	.18	.52**	.41*
5. Activities					–	.18	.32
6. Clothing						–	.66***
7. Toys							–

Note. Items 1-3 are mother measures and items 4-7 are daughter measures.

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

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Measures of Daughters' Views on Prettiness

Measure	*M*	*SD*
Peer Traits		
Feminine girls	4.50	1.12
Unfeminine girls	4.30	1.11
Activities		
Activities that promote prettiness	5.92	1.53
Activities that do not promote prettiness	4.10	1.59
Clothing		
Pretty	5.79	1.23
Functional	4.57	1.44
Toys		
Feminine	6.21	1.28
Masculine	3.57	1.97
Gender-neutral	5.69	1.52

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Opportunities Provided by the Mothers

Measure	*M*	*SD*
Activities Permitted		
Feminine	4.83	0.53
Masculine	4.27	0.64
Gender-neutral	5.71	0.55
Clothing		
Pretty	2.48	0.92
Functional	4.63	0.97
Toys		
Feminine	3.52	0.92
Masculine	3.30	0.97
Gender-neutral	5.79	0.32
Movies and Television Shows		
Pretty	3.03	1.16
Strong	5.31	0.84

Table 4

Hierarchical Linear Regression Models Using Mothers' Self-Views as Predictors of Socialization Strategies

Independent Variables	b	$(se)\ b$	β	R^2
Prediction of Use of Negative Indirect Statements				
Appearance-Based Contingent Self-Esteem	-0.01	0.23	-0.01	
Body Surveillance	-0.16	0.28	-0.18	.06
Self-Acceptance	-0.51	0.43	-0.33	
Prediction of Use of Positive Indirect Statements				
Appearance-Based Contingent Self-Esteem	-0.07	0.32	-0.05	
Body Surveillance	0.17	0.39	0.14	.02
Self-Acceptance	0.42	0.60	0.20	
Prediction of Use of Appearance-Based Direct Statement				
Appearance-Based Contingent Self-Esteem	0.70	0.44	0.37	
Body Surveillance	-0.10	0.82	-0.03	.02
Self-Acceptance	-0.49	0.52	-0.28	
Prediction of Use of Non-Appearance-Based Direct Statements				
Appearance-Based Contingent Self-Esteem	-0.10	0.17	-0.14	
Body Surveillance	-0.11	0.21	-0.16	.10
Self-Acceptance	0.13	0.33	0.11	
Prediction of Use of Opportunities Provided				
Appearance-Based Contingent Self-Esteem	0.33	0.80	0.10	
Body Surveillance	0.38	1.51	0.07	.011
Self-Acceptance	0.01	0.96	0.01	

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

Table 5

Hierarchical Linear Regression Models Using Mothers' Socialization Strategies as Predictors of Daughters' Views of Prettiness

Independent Variables	b	$(se)\ b$	β	R^2
Prediction of Views of Peer Traits				
Negative Indirect Statements	0.38	0.28	0.31	
Positive Indirect Statements	0.24	0.20	0.26	
Appearance-Based Direct Statement	-0.09	0.16	-0.14	.36
Non-Appearance-Based Direct Statements	0.13	0.36	0.08	
Opportunities Provided	0.24**	0.08	0.65	
Prediction of Views of Activities				
Negative Indirect Statements	0.89	0.85	0.27	
Positive Indirect Statements	-0.95	0.60	-0.39	
Appearance-Based Direct Statement	-0.13	0.48	-0.08	.17
Non-Appearance-Based Direct Statements	0.23	1.09	0.06	
Opportunities Provided	0.03	0.24	0.03	
Prediction of Views of Clothing				
Negative Indirect Statements	-0.04	0.53	-0.02	
Positive Indirect Statements	0.04	0.38	0.03	
Appearance-Based Direct Statement	-0.14	0.30	-0.14	.02
Non-Appearance-Based Direct Statements	0.28	0.68	0.11	
Opportunities Provided	0.05	0.15	0.08	
Prediction of Views of Toys				
Negative Indirect Statements	0.19	0.79	0.06	
Positive Indirect Statements	-0.39	0.56	-0.18	
Appearance-Based Direct Statement	-0.50	0.45	-0.32	.14
Non-Appearance-Based Direct Statements	1.13	1.02	0.29	
Opportunities Provided	0.20	0.22	0.22	

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