

Gender and finances in emerging adulthood

Emanuela E. Rinaldi*, Valeria A. Giannella**

*Department of Business and Law, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, Milan,
Italy

**Department of Psychology, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy

This chapter will first discuss the difference between sex and gender, and how money contributes to “do gender” - as a social construct - with economic norms, expectation, and behaviors that changes over time and from one country to another. Then, it will show how gender creates economic inequalities (for example in earning) that may affect the transition to adulthood. As one of the salient factors that shape gender-based wealth inequity is financial literacy, we provide an overview of studies from several countries that show the causes of the gender gap in financial literacy level among young people (lower for women). After that, we explore gender differences in financial attitude and behaviors. Finally, we highlight the role that gender stereotypes play in financial flourishing and floundering in emerging adulthood.

Keywords: gender, gender gap, inequalities, financial literacy, gender stereotype

SEX, GENDER AND INEQUALITIES

The terms “sex” and “gender” are sometimes used interchangeably. Even though for many people their sex and gender coincide, however, these terms indicate two distinct concepts. According to the World Health Organization¹, sex refers to characteristics that are biologically defined whereas gender refers to the characteristic of boys, men, girls, and women

¹ <http://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/health-determinants/gender/gender-definitions>

that are socially constructed. In detail: sex (labelled “female” or “male”) is usually based on a chromosomal typing that occurs before birth, individuals’ genitalia or the type of gametes (sperm cells or egg cells) produced by their reproductive organs. Sex is the assumed biological category into which individuals are placed, regardless of their gender identification. Gender, instead, as a social construct refers to norms, roles and behaviours associated with being a man, woman, girl, boy, as well as relationship with each other.

Gender identity is one’s personal sense of self and how an individual conceptualizes one’s own gender. Although gender is not binary (Richards et al., 2017), ‘women’ and ‘men’ are the two categories most widely studied in the literature about the role that financial literacy, financial attitudes and financial behaviors play in teenagerhood, emerging adulthood to adulthood (for example: Bottazzi & Lusardi, 2020; Chen & Volpe, 2002; Cupák et al., 2021; Gonçalves et al., 2021; Goyal et al., 2021; Terriquez & Gurantz, 2015), and these two will be the focus of our essay. In several (but not all) societies over the course of history, gender has been used as a category that ruled people’s access to different power resources such as money, preventing for example women from accessing money and managing it autonomously (Graeber, 2012; Simmel, 1900). Nowadays as well, in capitalist society, gender is considered a hierarchical variable in that it produces significant inequalities that intersect with other socio-demographic variables – such as ethnicity, disability and age, among others – to produce economic disparities such as different levels of income and financial wellbeing, making women the disadvantaged gender (Chancel et al., 2022; World Economic Forum, 2022; World Health Organization, 2006).

Some readers may assume that, in most contemporary modern countries, women and men when officially ‘adults’ have the same rights to access money, open a bank account, access credit, and take a paying job, and that these are all socially acceptable behaviors. However, we must bear in mind that women’s right to access credit or open a bank account was the object of heated struggle even in recent times. Throughout history (see for example Graeber, 2012: 165-

210; Johnson, 1994) including after the industrial revolution, it was not easy for middle-class women to secure the right to manage money. It was not until 1974, for example, that the United States passed the *Equal Credit Opportunity Act*: until that time, banks required all single, widowed or divorced women to be accompanied by a man to co-sign any credit application, regardless of the women's income². Even nowadays, indeed, studies about financial inclusion show that women have less access to money than their male counterparts (Morsy & Youssef, 2017; World Economic Forum, 2022). Understanding the role that money (the basic resource of finance) plays in gendered trajectories in emerging adulthood is thus crucial to shedding more light on how these inequalities are built, reinforced or reduced, as they strongly affect the flourishing or floundering of individuals' financial independence and ultimately their financial wellbeing.

DOING GENDER WITH MONEY

According to the 'doing gender' perspective (West & Zimmerman, 1987; 2009), the fact that gender expectations are social constructs means that they change over time and from society to society. In other words, gender is not something that individuals possess but instead something that they "do," that they continuously act out in interaction (Hollander, 2013). Family, media, peers, schools, and other socialization actors all contribute to shaping these expectations and norms. It is not easy for individuals alone, through their agentic power – that is, their ability to act independently of the constraining power of social structures – to bring about change in terms of modifying or diverging from such norms (Bandelj et al., 2021; Campbell, 2009; McKenzie, 2023). In capitalist societies, several of these cultural norms related to gender have to do with the division of labor and its economic and non-economic

² See <https://www.theguardian.com/money/us-money-blog/2014/aug/11/women-rights-money-timeline-history>

rewards (for example, raising children or performing domestic labor – Rossi, 2018; Zelizer, 1994; 1997). On the basis of this evidence, several authors have argued that money – with its uses, the restrictions on using it, and the social meanings attached to it – plays a significant role in doing gender in capitalist society (Deutsch et al., 2003; McKenzie, 2023; Zelizer, 2005) and in shaping young women’s and men’s transition to adulthood and expectations about their future (Bandelj et al., 2017; 2021; Rossi, 2018). The extent to which perception of money in emerging adulthood is affected by gender was found to change across several countries (Crocetti et al., 2015; García-Mendoza et al., 2022). For example, young women may perceive emerging adulthood as a more unstructured period when they must face a difficult balance between family life and work life, and may decide to give up one of them, especially in a country with high level of gender-stereotyped roles, like Italy (Leccardi, 2007). On the one hand, young women strive to realize themselves in the workplace due to a combination of extrinsic motivation (such as the need for two sources of income within the family unit) and intrinsic drive (such as the need to establish financial independence from one’s family of origin or the desire to find fulfilling work - Cecchetti et al., 2015: 231-232).

In those countries where higher education is not a public good but is rather individually funded, for example, young people must choose between taking on debt to complete their education and taking their chances in the job market without a degree. However, as highlighted in a study conducted by Dwyer et al. (2013), these trade-offs are gendered by inequalities in college preparation and assistance, as well as by the differing labor market opportunities that men and women encounter: the authors showed that males drop out at lower debt levels than women do, despite the fact that both genders endure a slowing and even decreased probability of graduating when carrying high levels of debt.

Also, whereas in the past women may have been more able to rely on their husband’s income when married and on their husband’s pensions as they aged (and consequently they may have anchored their expectations about their transition to adulthood and to old age in

traditional stereotypes around female dependence on men for financial resources - Dwyer et al., 2013), with increasing divorce rates in a number of countries as well as lower marriage rates (OECD, 2019), these gendered expectations may not be fulfilled any more (Agarwalla et al. 2015).

As stated in the introduction of this book, financial domain is a key aspect of the transition to adulthood because financial independence is a primary goal for many emerging adults and is viewed as a marker of adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Arnett, 2014). However, access to paid work (Blossfeld et al., 2015; Matsumoto & Elder, 2010) and the ability to build financial independence is much more difficult for young women than it is for young men: although bank account ownership does continue to grow, there continue to be inequalities globally and only 65% of women hold a bank account as compared to 72% of men; account ownership is also less widespread among young adults, the less educated, and those who are outside of the labor force (Demirguc-Kunt et al., 2018: S3-S4). Women also have lower participation in the risky asset market because of lower self-confidence, despite their education and financial literacy (Cupák et al., 2018). Women also have unique difficulties due to their lower lifetime incomes as compared to men, longer career breaks caused by taking off work to raise children (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2017; Holzmann, Palmer & Robalino 2012). In some countries, women have different financial needs than men, since they are more likely to spend a portion of their retirement years as widows (Bucher-Koenen, Lusardi, Alessie & Van Rooij, 2017; Streeter, 2020). In addition, women are less likely than men to make retirement plans, which makes them less prepared to face financial hardship as they age (Lusardi & Mitchell, 2006).

When looking at the financial career from adolescence to adulthood, international data show that, even nowadays, as compared to boys and men, girls and women have a higher probability of being engaged in unpaid or underpaid work, living in extreme poverty and experiencing conditions of food insecurity, with some of these disparities exacerbated during

the pandemic (UN Women, 2019). Across the OECD on average, the gender wage gap (measured at median earnings for full-time workers) stands at 12%; even if women now tend to have similar or better qualifications than men, they often work in low-pay jobs (OECD, 2022: 1). This disparity is wider among mothers, immigrant women, and women of color. The so-called “motherhood penalty” forces women, even younger women, into the informal sector, casual employment, and part-time employment, and it is more prevalent in developing nations than it is in industrialized nations (OECD, 2023). Although there are promising results in reducing the gender pay gap for countries and companies that have implemented a pay-transparency policy (Bennedsen et al., 2023), this gap is still a significant factor that shapes women’s paths to financial wellbeing and independence during the course of their lives. According to the World Economic Forum (2022: 7), the most salient factors contributing to gender-based wealth inequity are gender pay gaps, unequal career progression trajectories, life events and financial literacy. That is why we will focus our attention on the gender gap on this specific form of literacy - together with gender differences in financial attitudes and behaviours - among young adults.

GENDER DIFFERENCE IN FINANCIAL LITERACY, ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOURS

Gender differences in young adults' financial literacy

There are several risks associated with low financial literacy during the transition to adulthood for both men and women: a higher likelihood of making use of payday borrowing, the risk of suffering economic abuse in relationships, and higher rates of credit delinquency (Kutin et al., 2019; Harvey, 2019; Preston & Wright, 2019). Furthermore, the new generations are facing a less obvious pathway into employment, family formation, and property ownership than past generations, thus making the transition to adulthood itself more unpredictable from

the financial point of view as well (Serido et al., 2013; Walther & Plug, 2006) and research have documented a paucity of interventions to improve young adults' financial wellbeing (She et al., 2023). At the same time, a gender gap in financial literacy levels has been found among young adults in several economies, from developing countries to industrialized ones, with women performing worse than men and with younger individuals showing poorer performance than adults (e.g. Ali et al., 2021; Atkinson & Messy, 2012; Bucher-Koenen et al., 2017; Chobhthaigh, 2019; Davoli & Rodríguez-Planas, 2022; Hasler & Lusardi, 2017; Klapper et al., 2015; Lusardi & Mitchell, 2006; OECD, 2020), though no gender gap was found among young people studying finance at university (Bongini et al., 2015) and evidence among college students are mixed (Falahati & Paim, 2011; Jorgensen & Savla, 2010).

When it comes to the causes of the gender gap, there is no single explanation that can satisfactorily address gender differences (or the lack thereof). Some have argued that the gender gap in financial literacy may depend on the language used in related surveys, as finance is considered primarily a male domain (Boggio et al., 2014), or on the measurement of financial literacy (Palladino, 2022). Yet, this explanation does not seem satisfactory when gender gaps are not found in countries such as Spain or among adolescents, and when they are, conversely, observed in countries such as Italy, where the same measurement and language are used, such as in the OECD-PISA case (Rinaldi et al., 2022). Personal characteristics such as education and gender differences in non-cognitive factors like self-rated confidence in own knowledge about financial matters (which is lower for women in several age-group – Arellano et al., 2018; Cupák et al., 2018) and financial self efficacy (Al-Bahrani et al., 2020) explain only a small part of the gap, while a larger part may be due to varying socio-economic environments across countries (Davoli & Rodríguez-Planas, 2022) and across regions with matrilineal or patrilineal cultural environments (Filipiak & Walle, 2015). According to other studies, the gender gap in financial literacy is largely explained by disparities in the factors or processes that lead to literacy, rather than by variations in the demographic and socioeconomic traits of men and

women (Barboza et al., 2016; Bottazzi & Lusardi, 2020; Driva, Lührmann, & Winter, 2016; Preston & Wright, 2019; Salas-Velasco, 2022): hence, the gender disparity in financial decision-making may be caused by unrecognized psychological and behavioral characteristics as well as cultural and societal conventions and stereotypical beliefs. In rural areas, for example, where the gender gap is wider, the low scores may be attributed to the tradition of young men assuming responsibility for family finances, which could make women less inclined to acquire financial knowledge or exercise prudence in their financial behavior (Agarwalla et al., 2015). However, this gap is found to exist even in Iceland, a nation at the forefront of gender equality according to the World Economic Forum (Gudjonsson et al., 2022).

Family has been pointed as one the main sources of financial socialization (Agnew et al., 2018; Gudmunson & Danes, 2011) and research about childhood suggests that financial socialization based on gender begins at an early age through the financial attitudes of parents toward their children, with parents in several countries giving more pocket money to boys than to girls (ISTAT, 2011; Wilska, 2005; Wilson, 2022). Some authors (Agnew & Cameron-Agnew, 2015; Arellano et al., 2018; Fonseca et al., 2012; Rinaldi et al., 2022) indicate that children may acquire their financial knowledge differently while growing up just from adolescence “As boys and girls grow up, they may be exposed to different opportunities to learn and improve their financial competencies, such as different access to labor and financial markets, and therefore they may develop different levels of financial knowledge and different financial strategies in adulthood over time” (OECD, 2014: 81). This idea is supported by the work of Mahdavi and Horton (2014), who observed that even highly qualified women have a lower level of financial literacy compared to men with similar backgrounds.

Agnew and Cameron-Agnew’s study (2015) demonstrated the impact of the home, in particular, financial conversations at home, on children’s and young adults’ financial literacy levels: on average, boys have their first financial discussion at a younger age than girls, and that this difference holds true for students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Even after

controlling for other factors such as socioeconomic position, the age of the child when the family had its first financial chat affected the financial literacy levels of boys in college. Stereotypical societal expectations and perceptions regarding the need for men to be more financially literate than women may exist, with these influences possibly beginning in the home at a relatively young age (Agnew & Agnew-Cameron, 2015) and being reinforced during teenagerhood (Bottazzi & Lusardi 2020; Driva et al. 2016).

In their study among USA college students – though they did not find significant gender differences in financial knowledge – Jorgensen and Salva showed an interaction effect between gender and implicit/explicit³ learning for perceived parental influence and financial knowledge, attitudes, and behavior: men who thought they learned implicitly about finances from their parents had a significantly higher financial knowledge score than men and women who believed they learned explicitly, whereas this was not found to be true for women. On the contrary, women who perceived having learned explicitly about finances from their parents had a significantly higher financial behavior score than those who perceived having learned implicitly, (Jorgensen & Savla, 2010: 473), a finding that points to the need to focus on parents' financial education habits to reduce the gender gap, for example by being more explicit in teaching finance and on financial information seeking, as suggested by a recent study on young Malaysian adults (Pahlevan Sharif, Ahadzadeh & Turner 2020).

According to some authors, the gendered division of labor within households, with men more responsible for money matters, can mean that young women – by virtue of taking their mothers as role models – are less motivated to invest in learning about finance, thus explaining part of their lower financial literacy levels (Argwalla et al. 2015; Preston & Wright, 2021). In their study about the source of the gender gap, Preston and Wrights (2021) compared

³ The implicit/explicit variable was studied with this question: "How would you describe how finances were communicated in your family?". Implicit only= "We didn't talk much about finances but I learned from their examples); explicit = "My parents explicitly taught me about finance [e.g., credit cards, debt, budgeting, and saving]". The authors assumed that students who learned explicitly from their parents about finance also learned from their parents' examples (Jorgensen & Salva 2010: 470).

adolescents (15-19 y.o.), emerging adults (20-24 y.o.) and young adults (25-29 y.o.) using nationally representative data in Australia. They found that those who still live at home at older ages have financial literacy rates which are 10% lower if male and 17% lower if female, but having a mother who was employed when the respondent was 14 years old was an important factor that improved the financial literacy of female teenagers and emerging adults and thus reducing the gap.

The financial literacy gender gap among emerging adults is far from being satisfactorily explained and indeed calls for further research in the future.

Gender differences in young adults' attitudes and financial behaviour.

We can historically define in the literature the attitude towards money as the set of perceptions, meanings and values attributed to money, as well as the way one behaves in money-related matters (Yamauchi & Templer, 1982). As has been amply demonstrated in the literature, money is not a neutral element, but is charged with values and meanings based on how people examine their everyday lives (Tang, 1992).

Some literature has shown that monetary attitudes are determined by striving for status and power, to improving self-esteem (Lindgren, 1980) to seeking security and satisfaction of one's needs (Knight, 1968).

The impact of gender on attitudes towards money has been analysed earlier by Scott (1976): in this seminal work young males see money as closely related to identity, esteem and power; whereas young women see money as a means to obtain things and experiences that they can live with in the present. Women seem to be more sensitive to promotions, while men seem to be more cautious buyers, given their greater interest in quantitative thinking.

Following studies provided evidence for gender differences in attitudes toward money in general (Sesini et al., 2023) and in particular for young adults aged 18-34 years (Bapat, 2020). Data from the study show that among young adults, young men report more confidence

and thus independence of action and take more risks (Charness, & Gneezy, 2012). Their identity, self-esteem and sense of power are inextricably linked to money. Rudmin (1990), in his work on motivations for ownership, confirms that for men money is power and that women relate to money in different ways - related to the relational aspect and specific social purposes. Furthermore, young women appear to seek present gratification through spending and are more interested in bargain hunting, although more oriented towards security in management.

What is interesting to know is that personal possessions also acquire different meanings for men and women: men are more likely to view their possessions from a functional and self-oriented point of view. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to view possessions on a symbolic and other-oriented level (Dittmar, 1989). Jacobson (1980) concludes that risk is more culturally valued and has a higher value for males. Furthermore, according to Furnham's (1984) research, young men use (or would like to use) money to influence others (power-prestige factor); whereas young women seem to experience anxiety about saving money (money-conscious bargain hunter). Tang's (1995) research results state that with increasing age, the likelihood of making financial plans for the future also increases and we tend to view money as a symbol of success.

The observed gender differences in attitudes towards money may be attributable to socialisation during childhood and the gender roles observed by parents as we have seen previously in this chapter. These differences in attitudes towards money will, consequently, also produce differences in the financial behaviours displayed by young adults. Financial knowledge of young females is still less than that of young males (Chen & Volpe, 2002). In terms of socio-environmental factors, young adult males and females are likely to be socialised differently (Edwards et al. 2007; Lippa 2002).

For example, young women are less likely than young men to answer financial education questions correctly and the gap is present not only in general, but also within each topic (see e.g. Lusardi, 2019). This gap is present across different countries of the world

with different income levels (United States, Switzerland, and Finland). Young women are also more likely to admit that they do not know the answers to specific questions, demonstrating excessive insecurity. Even in Finland, which is a relatively gender equal society, only 27% of women, compared to 44% of men, answer all financial education questions correctly and 18% of women give at least one 'don't know' answer compared to less than 10% of men (Kalmi and Ruuskanen, 2017).

As children develop, their perceptions of finance may be reinforced by the family and the activities and attitudes that they believe, and are perceived as such by children, as appropriate for their particular gender (West & Zimmerman, 2009). Studies have shown that parental teaching through planned behaviour drives financial information-seeking behaviour, which in turn leads to financial literacy in young women (Pahlevan Sharif et al., 2020).

Indeed, many studies show that financial education makes a difference in the confidence young adults have in their own self-efficacy in handling money (Danes & Haberman, 2007). Financial socialisation factors, such as discussing money matters with parents, are more strongly correlated with positive attitudes towards money and participating in family financial decisions correlates positively with financial planning (Amagi and colleagues, 2020; Jorgensen & Savla, 2010; and Shim et al., 2013).

On the other hand, recent studies have also shown that excessive parental financial support suggests a high dependence on parents, not only for financial support, but also for financial decision-making (Ray, 2019). This prevents a positive flourishing of young adults as financial independence is one of the ways in which emerging adults identify reaching adulthood (Arnett, 2014). Remaining financially dependent on parents, even in late adolescence, may floundering the young people' self-efficacy and psychological well-being.

Indeed, there is also good support in the literature highlighting gender differences in financial behaviour/practices in young adulthood. For example, Hayhoe et al. (2000) found that, compared to male students, female students were more likely to have a written budget,

were more likely to plan their spending and kept their receipts well organised in order to save regularly. Henry et al. (2001) also found that female students were more likely to have a budget than male students. Certainly, many studies on young adults have shown that the ability to manage money is important so that money can be planned especially for those who are on a low income level (Abdullah et al., 2019).

In studies by Amagi and colleagues (2020), young men score higher in terms of power/prestige and quality of money possessed, whereas young women score higher in terms of financial planning. Probably because, as consistently mentioned, boys tend to be more interested in money as a status symbol, whereas girls are more conservative and security-conscious (Edwards et al., 2007).

However, no statistically significant gender differences in financial knowledge scores have yet been found in the literature; this is also confirmed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2017) findings. Indeed, in the literature is somewhat contradictory on the description of young women's behaviour, as some studies have even indicated that young women are more likely to be risky in using credit cards than men (Lyons, 2008).

These inconsistencies can be explained simply by the fact that, in reality, gender differences in this area are only the result of gender stereotypes in relation to money and its use, and not from an objective biological difference between men and women: for example, a series of studies conducted by Tinghög and colleagues (2021) show that the observed gender gap in financial literacy is the result of gender stereotypes, which undermine women's performance in tasks involving finance. Gender stereotypes are defined as the rigid set of shared and socially transmitted beliefs about what are and should be the behaviour, role, occupations, traits, physical appearance of a person, in relation to their gender membership (Ellemers, 2018).

In light of this evidence, we can identify financial education, free of stereotypes, as a concrete possibility to enhance good financial behaviour among young adults. Indeed, for

people without financial experience, financial education programs have been identified as a key to improving financial literacy and promoting personal financial responsibility (Lusardi, 2019; Kaiser et al., 2022). Furthermore, enhancing female financial literacy could make girls feel more confident about managing money, asking for higher income and reduce the probability of falling into economic violence.

Here we find the results of the study by Borden et al. (2008) showing the effects of a basic financial skills seminar on young adults. Participants in this seminar reported significant changes in their intentions to limit their use of credit cards and manage their finances in more beneficial ways, using different types of savings/investment vehicles, increasing the number of effective financial behaviours and decreasing the number of risky financial behaviours.

AT THE ORIGIN OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN FINANCIAL FLOURISHING AND FLOUNDERING IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD: THE ROLE OF GENDER STEREOTYPES

Little effort has been paid so far in providing a comprehensive understanding of the psychological aspects which may partially explain the gendered nature of financial literacy and money self-efficacy attitude and management. In other words, the existing literature does not seem to explain the reasons for gender differences in attitudes and behaviour in relation to money.

In a recent review and as mentioned above, Sesini and colleagues (2023) advance the idea that stereotypical beliefs and gender role prescriptions related to money may play an important role in explaining such differences. The literature has shown that women's unfamiliarity with financial topics is correlated with girls' tendency to avoid competitive contexts (Niederle & Vesterlund, 2010), because they lack the confidence to engage in tasks that are outside a gender-specific domain (Coffman, 2014). For example, finance is considered

primarily a male domain (see Boggio et al., 2015), so women are uncomfortable when coming into contact with financial contexts and topics.

Driva and colleagues (2016) show that gender differences in financial matters is due to an individual's gender-based expectations: boys who perform better than girls in financial literacy also think that returns on financial knowledge are higher for males than for females and that males are more likely to deal with financial matters at work. This is because stereotypes are cultural products that provide an image associated with a certain social category (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Brigham, 1971; McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980). They are beliefs that are both descriptive and prescriptive. Stereotypes do not describe reality as it objectively is (Judd & Park, 1993), but rather describe what is culturally conveyed about a certain social category (Fiske & Stevens, 1993; Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Despite being distorted images, stereotypes unfortunately have a strong influence on people's cognitive functioning, motivation and behaviour (Ellemers, 2018). As far as for gender, the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) clarifies the specific content of stereotypical beliefs about what is considered to be associated with male and female gender: we expect women to be warm, affectionate, and caring, just because as women; whereas we expect men to be competent, dominant and combative, as men. Cross-cultural studies have confirmed that these stereotypical images, especially those related to women, are consistent across different cultural contexts (Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2022). Thus, more or less consciously, women can construct their identity around stereotypical images of the groups to which they belong. This phenomenon is called stereotype internalization or embodiment in the literature (e.g. Aarntzen et al., 2023). It may enhance the “doing gender” process mentioned above, and lead to more difficult financial career patterns for young women turning adult (in term of probability to get higher income when finishing studying, for example). An example of this phenomenon in young adulthood is in relation to career choices. These can very often unconsciously trace the gender stereotypes of the pre-occupation. For this reason, we find very few girls enrolled in

STEM faculties despite the fact that there are no scientifically documented gender differences in logical-mathematical abilities, and therefore girls are equally well-suited to STEM subjects as boys (Makarova et al., 2019). As in several countries STEM majors still get the most lucrative jobs, women's educational choices may turn into "bad" choice from the earning-perspective point of view (Simon, Wagner & Killion, 2017).

In relation to money management and attitude Sesini et al. (2023) suggest that stereotypic beliefs on gender and money could follow a twofold direction: direct discrimination and stereotype embodiment. On the one hand, due to the persistence of stereotypic gender beliefs related to money in today's society, women can experience direct discrimination and face, for instance, limited access to financial education as shown in the review of the literature on financial literacy. Moreover, studies conducted in different cultural contexts show a persistent effect of gender stereotypes on the gender pay gap, on leadership positions in the financial industry, and on activities in high finance (e.g., Capelle-Blancard & Reberioux, 2021; Tinghög et al., 2021; Williams et al., 2010). As far as for stereotype internalization, we can suppose that women can assume and interiorize stereotypical beliefs about gender and money (Hentschel et al., 2019). In fact, women's behaviors can boost stereotypes whose activation may have critical and detrimental consequences when it comes to important money matters. Thus, the internalization of stereotypes could prevent women from effectively managing money and using financial knowledge, while also increasing their anxiety and ambivalence on the topic.

Even if stereotypical beliefs can explain a lot about the controversial relationship between gender and money, still little research has been done in analyzing the specific content of stereotypical beliefs related to gender and money and how they can actually affect the differences observed in attitudes and behaviors. Broadening this research topic might give rise to new effective intervention tools with the aim of reducing the gender gap in money management for young adults. For example, a recent study conducted on a nationally

representative sample of Italians explored the effects of stereotypical beliefs related to gender and money and tested the effects of these beliefs on women's attitudes towards money at both implicit and explicit levels. This study shows that gender stereotypes limit and condition women, leading them to manage money differently. These results also suggest that effective financial communication against stereotypes seems to be crucial. Indeed, usually financial promotional messages use terminology that is stereotypically masculine, invoking metaphors and dimensions related to spheres that are considered culturally masculine (Prast et al., 2018); this study instead showed that promotional messages constructed with concepts and metaphors that do not confirm the stereotype, thus counter-stereotypical, can better suit female spheres and be more effective and attractive to women.

Key Points for Practitioners

When it comes to money matters, there are some differences between women and men found in several and independent studies that have to be accounted for by practitioners.

- Adult women have lower financial literacy than men, and this holds true among several college and university students too. You may need to put more effort to give information or teach how to find reliable information to women, rather than men.
- In certain countries, gender differences in financial literacy are found at age 15 and some argue that gendered patterns of financial socialization are found during childhood. The cause of this gender gap is not clear yet but it is crucial to act at early stage to prevent the widening of the gender gap during the transition to adulthood.
- Women tend to live longer than men in most countries, and face the final years of their lives alone as widows. Therefore, it is crucial to help them to learn how to manage their finance autonomously even during their early adulthood.

- Gender stereotypes may influence the attitudes of people working in banks, who may unintentionally discriminate against female customers simply because they are stereotypically less good at handling money.
-
-

Key Points for Researchers

- Future research should better investigate the effects of gender prescriptions in young adults and whether changing gender stereotypes can improve young women's attitudes toward money.
 - Given that gender in most research about financial literacy is considered as binary (“male” and “female”) there is a need to further investigate how gender diversity interacts with building financial literacy, financial independence, thus the flourishing or floundering of financial wellbeing
-

REFERENCES

- Aarntzen, L., Derks, B., van Steenbergen, E., & van der Lippe, T. (2023). When work–family guilt becomes a women's issue: Internalized gender stereotypes predict high guilt in working mothers but low guilt in working fathers. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(1), 12-29.
- Abdullah, N., Fazli, S. M., & Muhammad Arif, A. M. (2019). The Relationship between Attitude towards Money, Financial Literacy and Debt Management with Young Worker's Financial Well-being. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, 27(1).

- Agarwalla, S. K., Barua, S. K., Jacob, J., & Varma, J. R. (2015). Financial literacy among working young in urban India. *World Development*, *67*, 101-109.
- Agnew, S., & Cameron-Agnew, T. (2015). The influence of consumer socialisation in the home on gender differences in financial literacy. *International journal of consumer studies*, *39*(6), 630-638.
- Agnew, S., Maras, P., & Moon, A. (2018). Gender differences in financial socialization in the home—An exploratory study. *International journal of consumer studies*, *42*(3), 275-282.
- Al-Bahrani, A., Buser, W., & Patel, D. (2020). Early causes of financial disquiet and the gender gap in financial literacy: Evidence from college students in the Southeastern United States. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *41*, 558-571.
- Ali, M., Ali, I., Badghish, S., & Soomro, Y. A. (2021). Determinants of financial empowerment among women in Saudi Arabia. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *12*, 747255.
- Amagir, A., Groot, W., van den Brink, H. M., & Wilschut, A. (2020). Financial literacy of high school students in the Netherlands: knowledge, attitudes, self-efficacy, and behavior. *International Review of Economics Education*, *34*, 100185.
- Arellano, A., Cámara, N., & Tuesta, D. (2018). Explaining the gender gap in financial literacy: The role of non-cognitive skills. *Economic Notes: Review of Banking, Finance and Monetary Economics*, *47*(2-3), 495-518.
- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American Psychologist*, *55*(5), 469-480.
- Arnett, J. J. (2014). *Emerging adulthood: The winding road from the late teens through the twenties*. Oxford University Press.
- Ashmore, R. D., Del Boca, F. K., & Hamilton, D. L. (1981). Cognitive processes in stereotyping and intergroup behavior. *Conceptual approaches to stereotypes and stereotyping*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

- Atkinson, A., & Messy, F. A. (2012). Measuring financial literacy: Results of the OECD / International Network on Financial Education (INFE) Pilot Study. *OECD Working Papers on Finance, Insurance and Private Pensions*, 15.
<https://doi.org/10.1787/5k9csfs90fr4-en>
- Bandelj, N., Lanuza, Y. R., & Kim, J. J. (2021). Gendered relational work: How gender shapes money attitudes and expectations of young adults. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 14(6), 765–784. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17530350.2021.1952098>
- Bandelj, N., Wherry, F. F., & Zelizer, V. A. (Eds.). (2017). *Money talks: Explaining how money really works*. Princeton University Press.
- Bapat, D. (2020). Antecedents to responsible financial management behavior among young adults: moderating role of financial risk tolerance. *International Journal of Bank Marketing*, 38(5), 1177-1194.
- Barboza, G., Smith, C., & Pesek, J. G. (2016). Assessing financial literacy, gender gap and cognitive differences. *Journal of Financial Education*, 42(3-4), 205-242.
- Bennedsen, M., Larsen, B., & Wei, J. (2023). Gender wage transparency and the gender pay gap: A survey. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 1– 35.
- Blossfeld, H. P., Skopek, J., Triventi, M., & Buchholz, S. (Eds.). (2015). *Gender, education and employment: An international comparison of school-to-work transitions*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Boggio, C., Fornero, E., Prast, H. M., & Sanders, J. (2015). Seven ways to knit your portfolio: Is investor communication neutral?. *Netspar Discussion Paper*, 10.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2668579>
- Bongini, P., Trivellato, P., & Zenga, M. (2015). Business students and financial literacy: When will the gender gap fade away?. *Journal of Financial Management, Markets and Institutions*, 3(1), 13-30.

- Borden, L. M., Lee, S. A., Serido, J., & Collins, D. (2008). Changing college students' financial knowledge, attitudes, and behavior through seminar participation. *Journal of family and economic issues*, 29, 23-40.
- Bottazzi, L., & Lusardi, A. (2020). Stereotypes in financial literacy: Evidence from PISA. *Journal of Corporate Finance*, 71, 101831.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcorpfin.2020.101831>
- Brigham, J. C. (1971). Ethnic stereotypes. *Psychological bulletin*, 76(1), 15.
- Bucher-Koenen, T., Lusardi, A., Alessie, R., & Van Rooij, M. (2017). How financially literate are women? An overview and new insights. *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 51(2), 255-283.
- Campbell, C. (2009). Distinguishing the power of agency from agentic power: A note on Weber and the "black box" of personal agency. *Sociological theory*, 27(4), 407-418.
- Capelle-Blancard, G., & Reberioux, A. (2021). Women and Finance. Available at SSRN 3802724.
- Chancel, L., Piketty, T., Saez, E., & Zucman, G. (Eds.). (2022). *World inequality report 2022*. Harvard University Press.
- Charness, G., & Gneezy, U. (2012). Strong evidence for gender differences in risk taking. *Journal of economic behavior & organization*, 83(1), 50-58.
- Chen, H., & Volpe, R. P. (2002). Gender differences in personal financial literacy among college students. *Financial services review*, 11(3), 289-307.
- Chobhthaigh, N.B. (2019). Understanding the gender gap in financial well-being evidence of a gender gap in financial well-being in EU member states. *European Economy Discussion Papers*, 121, 1-35.
- Cialdini, R. B., & Trost, M. R. (1998). Social influence: Social norms, conformity and compliance.

- Coffman, K. B. (2014). Evidence on self-stereotyping and the contribution of ideas. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *129*(4), 1625-1660. youth
- Crocetti, E., Tagliabue, S., Sugimura, K., Nelson, L. J., Takahashi, A., Niwa, T., Sugiura, Y., & Jinno, M. (2015). Perceptions of emerging adulthood: A study with Italian and Japanese university students and young workers. *Emerging adulthood*, *3*(4), 229-243. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696815569848>
- Cupak, A., Fessler, P., & Schneebaum, A. (2021). Gender differences in risky asset behavior: The importance of self-confidence and financial literacy. *Finance Research Letters*, *42*, 101880. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.frl.2020.101880>
- Cupák, A., Fessler, P., Schneebaum, A., & Silgoner, M. (2018). Decomposing gender gaps in financial literacy: New international evidence. *Economics Letters*, *168*, 102-106.
- Danes, S. M., & Haberman, H. (2007). Teen financial knowledge, self-efficacy, and behavior: A gendered view. *Journal of Financial Counseling and Planning*, *18*(2).
- Davoli, M., & Rodríguez-Planas, N. (2022). Culture, Gender, and Financial Literacy. *IZA Discussion Papers*, *15054*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4114598>
- Demirguc-Kunt, A., Klapper, L., Singer, D., & Ansar, S. (2018). *The Global Findex Database 2017: Measuring financial inclusion and the fintech revolution*. World Bank Publications.
- Deutsch, F. M., Roksa, J., & Meeske, C. (2003). How gender counts when couples count their money. *Sex Roles*, *48*(7), 291-304.
- Dittmar, H. (1989). Gender identity-related meanings of personal possessions. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *28*(2), 159-171.
- Driva, A., Lührmann, M., & Winter, J. (2016). Gender differences and stereotypes in financial literacy: Off to an early start. *Economics Letters*, *146*, 143-146.
- Dwyer, R. E., Hodson, R., & McCloud, L. (2013). Gender, debt, and dropping out of college. *Gender & Society*, *27*(1), 30-55.

- Edwards, R., Allen, M. W., & Hayhoe, C. R. (2007). Financial attitudes and family communication about students' finances: The role of sex differences. *Communication Reports, 20*(2), 90-100.
- Ellemers, N. (2018). Gender stereotypes. *Annual review of psychology, 69*, 275-298.
- Falahati, L., & Paim, L. H. (2011). Gender differences in financial literacy among college students. *Journal of American Science, 7*(6), 1180-1183.
- Filipiak, U., & Walle, Y. M. (2015). The financial literacy gender gap: A question of nature or nurture?. *Discussion Papers, 176*.
- Fiske, S. T., & Stevens, L. E. (1993). *What's so special about sex? Gender stereotyping and discrimination*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2018). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. In *Social cognition* (pp. 162-214). Routledge.
- Fonseca, R., Mullen, K. J., Zamarro, G., & Zissimopoulos, J. (2012). What explains the gender gap in financial literacy? The role of household decision making. *The Journal of Consumer Affairs, 46*(1), 90-106.
- Furnham, A. (1984). Many sides of the coin: The psychology of money usage. *Personality and individual Differences, 5*(5), 501-509.
- García-Mendoza, M. D. C., Parra, A., Sánchez-Queija, I., Oliveira, J. E., & Coimbra, S. (2022). Gender differences in perceived family involvement and perceived family control during emerging adulthood: A cross-country comparison in Southern Europe. *Journal of child and family studies, 1-12*.
- Gonçalves, V. N., Ponchio, M. C., & Basílio, R. G. (2021). Women's financial well-being: A systematic literature review and directions for future research. *International Journal of Consumer Studies, 45*(4), 824-843.

- Goyal, K., & Kumar, S. (2021). Financial literacy: A systematic review and bibliometric analysis. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 45(1), 80–105.
- Graeber, D. (2012). *Debt: The first 5000 years*. Penguin UK.
- Gudjonsson, S., Minelgaite, I., Kristinsson, K., & Pálsdóttir, S. (2022). Financial literacy and gender Differences: Women choose people while men choose things?. *Administrative Sciences*, 12(4), 179.
- Gudmunson, C. G., & Danes, S. M. (2011). Family financial socialization: Theory and critical review. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 32, 644-667.
- Harvey, M. (2019). Impact of financial education mandates on younger consumers' use of alternative financial services. *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 53(3), 731-769.
- Hayhoe, C. R., Leach, L. J., Turner, P. R., Bruin, M. J., & Lawrence, F. C. (2000). Differences in spending habits and credit use of college students. *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 34(1), 113-133.
- Henry, R. A., Weber, J. G., & Yarbrough, D. (2001). Money management practices of college students. *College Student Journal*, 35(2), 244-244.
- Hentschel, T., Heilman, M. E., & Peus, C. V. (2019). The multiple dimensions of gender stereotypes: A current look at men's and women's characterizations of others and themselves. *Frontiers in psychology*, 11.
- Hollander, J. A. (2013). "I demand more of people": Accountability, interaction, and gender change. *Gender & Society*, 27(1), 5-29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243212464>
- ISTAT. (2011). *Infanzia e vita quotidiana*. Rapporto annuale. Istituto Nazionale di Statistica.
- Jacobson, G. C. (1980). Money in congressional elections. (*No Title*).
- Johnson, J. H. (1994). "Annuity contracts" and marriage. In Silverman, D. P. (Ed.), *For his Ka. Essays in memory of Klaus Baer. Studies in ancient oriental civilization*, 55, 113-132.
- Jorgensen, B. L., & Savla, J. (2010). Financial literacy of young adults: The importance of parental socialization. *Family relations*, 59(4), 465-478.

- Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (1993). Definition and assessment of accuracy in social stereotypes. *Psychological review*, *100*(1), 109.
- Kaiser, T., Lusardi, A., Menkhoff, L., & Urban, C. (2022). Financial education affects financial knowledge and downstream behaviors. *Journal of Financial Economics*, *145*(2), 255-272.
- Kalmi, P., & Ruuskanen, O. P. (2017). Financial literacy and retirement planning in Finland. *Journal of Pension Economics & Finance*, *17*(3), 1–28.
- Klapper, L., Lusardi, A., & Van Oudheusden, P. (2015). Financial literacy around the world: Standard & poor's ratings services global financial literacy survey. Standard & Poor's. https://media.hotnews.ro/media_server1/document-2015-11-19-20605811-0-
- Knight, J. A. (1968). For the love of money: human behavior & money. (*No Title*).
- Kosakowska-Berezecka, N., Bosson, J. K., Jurek, P., Besta, T., Olech, M., Vandello, J. A., ... & van der Noll, J. (2023). Gendered self-views across 62 countries: A test of competing models. *Social psychological and personality science*, *14*(7), 808-824.
- Kutin, J. J., Reid, M., & Russell, R. (2019). Special WSMC edition paper: What is this thing called money? Economic abuse in young adult relationships. *Journal of Social Marketing*, *9*(1), 111-128. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JSOCM-03-2018-0028>
- Leccardi, C. (2007). Stereotipi di genere [Gender stereotypes]. In C. Buzzi, A. Cavalli, & A. de Lillo (Eds.), *Rapporto giovani: Sesta indagine dell'Istituto IARD sulla condizione giovanile in Italia* (pp. 233–247). Il Mulino
- Lindgren, H. C. (1980). Great expectations: *The psychology of money*. W. Kaufmann.
- Lippa, R. A. (2002). Gender-related traits of heterosexual and homosexual men and women. *Archives of sexual behavior*, *31*, 83-98.
- Lusardi, A. (2019). Financial literacy and the need for financial education: evidence and implications. *Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics*, *155*(1), 1-8.

- Lusardi, A., & Mitchell, O. S. (2006). Planning and Financial Literacy: How Do Women Fare?.
Michigan Retirement Research Center Research Paper
- Lyons, A. C. (2008). Risky credit card behavior of college students. In *Handbook of consumer finance research* (pp. 185-207). New York, NY: Springer New York.
- Mahdavi, M., & Horton, N. J. (2014). Financial knowledge among educated women: Room for improvement. *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 48(2), 403–417. <https://doi.org/10.1111/joca.12032>
- Makarova, E., Aeschlimann, B., & Herzog, W. (2019). The gender gap in STEM fields: The impact of the gender stereotype of math and science on secondary students' career aspirations. In *Frontiers in Education* (p. 60). Frontiers.
- Matsumoto, M., & Elder, S. (2010). Characterizing the school-to-work transitions of young men and women: Evidence from the ILO school-to-work transition surveys.
Employment Working Paper, 51. International Labour Organization.
- McCauley, C., Stitt, C. L., & Segal, M. (1980). Stereotyping: From prejudice to prediction. *Psychological Bulletin*, 87(1), 195.
- McKenzie, C. (2023, february 27). *Part One: The Myth of the Financial Personality Defect*. NEFE.
- Morsy, H., & Youssef, H. (2017). Access to finance – Mind the gender gap. *EBRD Working Paper*, 202. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3092974>
- Niederle, M., & Vesterlund, L. (2010). Explaining the gender gap in math test scores: The role of competition. *Journal of economic perspectives*, 24(2), 129-144.
- OECD. (2014). PISA 2012 Results: students and money: Financial literacy skills for the 21st century (Vol. VI). PISA, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264208094-en>

ha formattato: Inglese (Regno Unito)

- OECD. (2017). PISA 2015 Results (Volume IV): Students' Financial Literacy. OECD Publishing, Paris. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264270282-en>. Retrieved from OECD.
- OECD. (2019). Society at a Glance 2019: OECD social indicators. OECD Publishing. <http://oe.cd/sag>
- OECD. (2020). *OECD/INFE 2020 International survey of adult financial literacy*. OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2023). *Gender wage gap (indicator)*. doi: 10.1787/7cee77aa-en (Accessed on 14 March 2023).
- Pahlevan Sharif, S., Ahadzadeh, A. S., & Turner, J. J. (2020). Gender differences in financial literacy and financial behaviour among young adults: The role of parents and information seeking. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 41(4), 672-690.
- Palladino, G. (2022). Ask a question, get an answer. A study of the framing effect on financial literacy in Italy. MPRA, 112168. <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/id/eprint/112168>
- Prast, H., Sanders, J., & Leonhard, O. (2018). *Can words breed or kill investment? Metaphors, imagery, affect and investor behaviour*. (CentER Discussion Paper; Vol. 2018-014). CentER, Center for Economic Research.
- Preston, A. C., & Wright, R. E. (2019). Understanding the gender gap in financial literacy: Evidence from Australia. *Economic Record*, 95(S1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-4932.12472>
- Ray, S. K. (2019). *Economic flourishing and floundering in emerging adulthood* (Doctoral dissertation, Iowa State University).
- Richards, C. L., Bouman, W. P., & Barker, M. (2017). *Genderqueer and non-binary genders*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-51053-2>
- Rinaldi E. E., Salmieri L., & Vera J. (2022). Gender differences in financial literacy and socialization: Comparing Italy to Spain. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 14(2), 121-149.

- Rossi, A. (2018). *Gender and the life course*. Routledge.
- Rudmin, F. W. (1990). The economic psychology of Leon Litwinski (1887–1969): A program of cognitive research on possession and property. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, *11*(3), 307-339.
- Salas-Velasco, M. (2022). Causal effects of financial education intervention aimed at university students on financial knowledge and financial self-efficacy. *Journal of Risk and Financial Management*, *15*(7), 284.
- Scott, C. A. (1976). The effects of trial and incentives on repeat purchase behavior. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *13*(3), 263-269.
- Serido, J., Shim, S., & Tang, C. (2013). A developmental model of financial capability: A framework for promoting a successful transition to adulthood. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *37*(4), 287-297.
- Sesini, G., Manzi, C., & Lozza, E. (2023). Is psychology of money a gendered affair? A scoping review and research agenda. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*.
- She, L., Waheed, H., Lim, W.M. and E-Vahdati, S. (2023). Young adults' financial well-being: current insights and future directions. *International Journal of Bank Marketing*, *41*(2), 333-368.
- Shim, S., Serido, J., Bosch, L., & Tang, C. (2013). Financial identity-processing styles among young adults: A longitudinal study of socialization factors and consequences for financial capabilities. *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, *47*(1), 128-152.
- Simmel, G. (1989). *Philosophie des Geldes*. Suhrkamp. (Original work published 1900).
- Simon, R. M., Wagner, A., & Killion, B. (2017). Gender and choosing a STEM major in college: Femininity, masculinity, chilly climate, and occupational values. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, *54*(3), 299-323.
- Tang, T. L. P. (1992). The meaning of money revisited. *Journal of organizational behavior*, 197-202.

- Tang, T. L. P. (1995). The development of a short money ethic scale: Attitudes toward money and pay satisfaction revisited. *Personality and individual differences, 19*(6), 809-816.
- Terriquez, V., & Gurantz, O. (2015). Financial challenges in emerging adulthood and students' decisions to stop out of college. *Emerging Adulthood, 3*(3), 204-214.
- Tinghög, G., Ahmed, A., Barrafreem, K., Lind, T., Skagerlund, K., & Västfjäll, D. (2021). Gender differences in financial literacy: The role of stereotype threat. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization, 192*, 405-416.
- UN Women. (2019). *Progress on the sustainable development goals. The gender snapshot 2019*. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA).
<https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2019/09/progress-on-the-sustainable-development-goals-the-gender-snapshot-2019>
- Walther, A., & Plug, W. (2006). Transitions from school to work in Europe: Destandardization and policy trends. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development, 2006*(113), 77-90.
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. H. (2009). Accounting for doing gender. *Gender & society, 23*(1), 112-122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432083265>
- Williams, M. J., Elizabeth, L. P., & Spencer-Rodgers, J. (2010). The masculinity of money: Automatic stereotypes predict gender differences in estimated salaries. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 34*(1), 7-20.
- Wilska, T. A. (2005). Gender Differences in the Consumption of Children and Young People in Finland. In Wilska, T. A., & Haanpää, L. (Eds.), *Lifestyles and social change: Essays in economic sociology Research in Education No. 90 Social Change. Essays in Economic Sociology*, Publications of the Turku School of Economics and Business Administration, 159–176.

https://www.utupub.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/113599/Kre11_2005.pdf?sequen#page=159

Wilson, G. (2022, October 19). The gender pay gap starts early: girls get less pocket money and pay higher prices than boys. Starling Bank.

<https://www.starlingbank.com/news/gender-pay-gap-starts-early/>

World Economic Forum. (2022). *Global gender gap report 2022: Insight report*. World Economic Forum https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2022.pdf

World Health Organization. (2006). *Gender equality, work and health: A review of the evidence*. World Health Organization.

Yamauchi, Kent T., and Donald J. Templer. "The development of a money attitude scale." *Journal of personality assessment* 46, no. 5 (1982): 522-528.

Zelizer, V. A. (1994). *Pricing the priceless child: The changing social value of children*. Princeton University Press.

Zelizer, V. A. (2005). *The Purchase of Intimacy*. Princeton University Press.

Zelizer, V.A. (1997). *The Social meaning of money: Pin money, paychecks, poor relief and other Currencies*. Princeton University Press.

ha formattato: Italiano (Italia)

ha formattato: Italiano (Italia)