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DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Linda Haas Tarr, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1973

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Sex roles are pervasive codes. By sex role I refer to "the constellation of qualities an individual understands to characterize males and females in his culture" (Block, 1973, p. 512). Sex roles not only affect overt behavior, in areas from aggression to conformity, but affect an individual's most inner emotions, capacity to love, and self-concept. Children perceive conformity to sex role stereotypes as moral (Kohlberg, 1966). As the child grows older sex role stereotypes become less rigid. There is evidence, however, that attitudes concerning appropriate sex roles remain strong motivating forces in adults as well as children. Sanford (1966) found that although women became "more masculine" during their college years, graduation brought a "flight into femininity" and return to the societal sex role stereotype.

In recent years the Women's Liberation Movement has been an important force in changing women's, and often men's, views of the feminine role. At the same time, a youth subculture has been emerging which has rejected traditional sex role stereotypes for both men and women.
Some psychologists have noted a shift toward culturally defined femininity in males. Whittaker (1969) found that youth in the nonstudent Berkeley underground favored artistic, creative occupations and rejected pragmatic, routine occupations. Whittaker also found that it was difficult to differentiate males and females on the basis of their personality test profiles. While these youth represent a small and select sample, there is evidence of normative changes in sex role attitudes (Laufer, 1972).

Sex role attitudes, the affectively charged beliefs an individual holds concerning the attributes, behavior, and feelings appropriate to males and females, can be considered to exist on a continuum, with "traditional" sex role attitudes on one end of the scale and "new" sex role attitudes on the other end. The predominant feature of new sex role attitudes is the rejection of a priori differences in male and female attributes, behavior, and feelings, besides the strictly biological ones. Many societal and domestic roles have been differentiated on the basis of sex. Individuals with new sex role attitudes believe that either sex can function effectively in these roles, and that no role is validly considered male or female. Individuals with traditional sex role attitudes accept a priori sexual differences and the differentiated roles they infer.

A major objective of this study is to identify the
differences in home life and upbringing between youth with new and traditional sex role attitudes. While youth peers and the youth subculture as a whole are probably the models for new sex role attitudes, parental childrearing practices could facilitate or inhibit the adoption of these attitudes by their children. This could happen even if the parents themselves rejected the new sex role attitudes if Kohlberg's thesis that parental behavior may retard or stimulate cognitive sex role learning is true (Kohlberg, 1966). For example, Keniston (1965, 1968) found that while mothers may not hold radical or alienated philosophies, their behavior could facilitate or inhibit these attitudes in their sons.

Another objective of this study is to identify the differences in home life and upbringing between males and females with more and less pronounced masculine and feminine sex role identities. Sex role identity will refer to an individual's masculinity-femininity of self-concept, preferences, and behavior. Masculinity and femininity are often depicted as either/or characteristics. The fact that masculinity-femininity as a personality dimension distinguishes within as well as between the sexes is supported by two lines of research (Eysenck, 1971). Terman and Miles (1936) used questionnaires which produced scores within each sex, which predicted homosexuality. Guilford and Guilford's (1936) factor analysis of personality inventories gave rise
to M—aggressive, masculine interests, not easily aroused to fear or disgust, somewhat lacking in sympathy, a factor which varied within each sex.

Therapists have long realized that each person has both masculine and feminine characteristics and must come to accept them both. On the other hand, Broverman (1970) found that even clinicians are strongly influenced by societal sex role stereotypes. Clinicians evaluated healthy females adults as dependent, emotional, and unable to handle stress well. In this case the ability to cope with a variety of life situations conflicts with social desirability for women. Broverman found these masculine—feminine stereotypes unrealistic, since they failed to account for the wide variation and overlap of personality characteristics. By setting rigid sex role stereotypes, society may intensify the individual's masculinity—femininity conflict.

The relationship between an individual's sex role identity and society's sex role standards has been inadequately researched. Although there is a fair degree of similarity in cross-cultural stereotypes, Mead's (1935) anthropological research has shown the human potential for malleability. Increasing freedom for all kinds of sexual expression will naturally influence the equilibrium between intrapersonal and interpersonal factors. This is the complex area that connects emotional life and intellectual life, self-concept
and attitude, personality and cognition.

The lack of research in this area is beginning to be corrected. As indicated, Whittaker (1969) looked at the personality characteristics of youth who have rejected normative sex role standards. Recently Block (1973) related the individual's sex role identity and sex role attitudes to his stage of ego development. The present study examines the relationship between an individual's sex role attitudes and sex role identity.

Parents represent society's primary agents of socialization. Parental behavior may affect children by a number of processes. In sex role identification the child is motivated to become like the parent (Bronfenbrenner, 1960). Psychologists of many theoretical orientations, from psychoanalytic to social learning theory, have given parental nurturance a central place in the identification process. Some parental practices may facilitate greater experiential learning and cognitive growth in their children. For example, parental behaviors such as encouragement of independent activity and use of reasoning have been found to facilitate achievement motivation, field independence, and moral development (Baumrind and Black, 1967; Within, 1962; Hoffman, 1970). This study tests the proposition that while some parental variables (i.e. parental nurturance) affect the development of sex role identity, other parental
variables (i.e., parental education) may act as facilitators or inhibitors of certain sex role attitudes. In other words, certain parental variables are basic and primary to sex role orientation and preferences, developed in the early years of life. Other parental variables may affect the salience of role models and the cognitive elements of sex role development, influencing sex role attitudes. In addition, some parental variables (i.e., maternal employment) may affect the attitudes of one sex but not the other. Brown (1953) found that female sex role behavior varies more widely than male sex role behavior, although female sex role identity may be stronger. By extension, sex role attitudes may not be as closely related to sex role identity in females as in males.

The home life variables selected for study include parental nurturance, maternal influence, parental sex role reinforcement, maternal employment, and parental education. The Sex Role Attitude Scale assessed sex role attitudes. The N-F Adjective Check List and the Mf Scale of the MMPI assessed sex role identity.

Statement of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Mothers of new attitude males have had relatively greater influence upon their sons than mothers of traditional attitude males.

The influence referred to in this hypothesis is the
male adolescent's perception of the relative salience of his mother in relation to his father. Maternal influence may affect attitudes by a number of processes. The fact that society prescribes the father as the important parent for males may create a disequilibrium and propensity for change in maternally influenced males.

Hypothesis 2: Parents of new attitude males were less differentially rewarding of sex-typed behavior than parents of traditional attitude males.

When parents do not see sex-typed behaviors as moral imperatives, their sons may be freer to explore alternative roles. Parents are less likely to enforce sex-typed behaviors in their daughters (Hartley, 1959).

Hypothesis 3: Parents of new attitude females have had more years of education than parents of traditional attitude females.

Highly educated parents encourage autonomy and achievement in both sons and daughters, while less educated parents are more likely to differentiate between the sexes (Deuven and Adelson, 1966). For this reason daughters of highly educated parents may find certain traditionally masculine roles more accessible and attractive than daughters of less educated parents.

Hypothesis 4: Mothers of new attitude females have been employed outside the home more than mothers of traditional attitude females.

Employed mothers may supply a model of a traditionally masculine role for their daughters.
Hypothesis 5A: Mothers of masculine identity females are less nurturant than mothers of feminine identity females.

Hypothesis 5B: Fathers of masculine identity females are less nurturant than fathers of feminine identity females.

Females with masculine identities are more likely to have some tension in their relations with their parents than other females (Baumrind and Black, 1967).

Hypothesis 6: Fathers of feminine identity males are less nurturant than fathers of masculine identity males.

Paternal warmth appears to be a crucial variable in orienting males toward masculinity (Mussen and Kutherford, 1963; Sears, 1957).

Hypothesis 7: New attitude males have significantly less masculine sex role identities than traditional attitude males.

Hypothesis 8: New attitude females do not have significantly different sex role identities than traditional attitude females.

There is evidence that sex role identity is earlier and more securely established in females than in males (Lynn, 1961). On the other hand, female sex role behavior and preferences varies more widely. Sex role attitudes may therefore be less closely related to primary identification in females than in males.

Hypotheses 1-4 concern the role of parents as facilitators or inhibitors of new and traditional sex role attitudes. Hypotheses 5-6 refer to the role of parents in the development of sex role identity. Hypotheses 7-8 concern
the relationship of sex role attitudes to sex role identity.

These hypotheses are retrospective in nature and based upon the perceptions of college students. Therefore, causal inferences cannot be made conclusively. If relationships occur in the predicted direction, however, further research to determine their process and development is suggested.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The terminology of sex role has been "various, inconsistent, and only partly overlapping in usage" (Angrist, 1969). For this reason, it is important to clarify the distinctions between sex role standards, sex role identity, and sex role attitude, which were defined in the previous chapter. For the purposes of this study, sex role or sex role standards refer to the qualities attributed to each sex in a culture. Sex role identity refers to the masculinity-femininity of an individual's self-concept, preferences, and behavior. Sex role attitudes refer to an individual's affectively charged beliefs concerning the appropriate attributes, preferences, and behavior of males and females. The three concepts can be characterized as existing societal standards, the individual's approximation of those standards, and the individual's attitudes toward those standards respectively.

The mechanism whereby societal sex roles are internalized has not been clearly established. Both behaviorist and psychoanalytic theories deal with certain motives which are
basic in both sexes as the determinants of behavior. Emphasis on the attainment of these universal goals has, in Kagan's (1964) view, led to a lack of information about the desire to conform to a previously acquired societal standard like masculinity or femininity. Recently, however, theorists have attempted to integrate the motivational and cognitive aspects of sex role development.

Sex role research in the past has focused predominantly in the area of sex role identification. If the cognitive and emotional aspects of sex role development are closely related, as a number of developmental theories suggest, an examination of the identification research is important to the study of sex role attitudes. Recurring themes and trends in the literature will also suggest the most fruitful concepts. In this chapter the author reviews some of the identification theories and empirical findings, including the differences in male and female development, Freudian concepts and its derivatives, theories which emphasize cultural and cognitive determinants, and some recent efforts to relate the cognitive and emotional aspects of sex role using developmental stage theories. Research dealing with the parental variables used in the hypotheses is also examined.

Sex Role Identification

Some Basic Issues: Differences in Male and Female Sex Role Development

Implicit in the hypotheses is the assumption that there
are differences between males and females in the development of sex role attitudes and identity. Psychologists have long sought to distinguish male and female sex role development. One issue has been the relative ease and strength of identification for the two sexes. Freud saw masculine development as simpler, since the male's first love object, the mother, was female and could remain female. According to Parsons and Mowrer, however, since females need not shift their identification, they have an initial advantage in progressing toward appropriate identification (Lynn, 1961). Lynn believes this initial advantage may be lost by later experiences in a masculine oriented society.

Roessler (1971) has characterized the differences between female and male sex role development as constancy vs. differentiation. According to this view, the constancy of the female begins with the knowledge that she can bear another human being. In contrast, the male is forced to realize that he is different from his primary object choice, and his development is marked by continuing differentiation. Lewin found that development through differentiation places one in an uncertain, cognitively unstructured field, susceptible to external influences (Roessler, 1971). Male sex role behavior is said to be adjustive, that is, he takes his cues from the women around him, first his mother and then his female peers, who guide him to the cultural
expectations. When the mother approves of the father, the son is more likely to be similar to the father (Helper, 1955). Males in the Berkeley underground who openly violated societal sex role stereotypes were supported by acceptance from their peers of both sexes (Whittaker, 1969).

Not all theorists characterize feminine development by constancy. Hartley (1966) has formulated a developmental view of female sex role development. The first stage, molding, refers to early parental handling and the child's early self-manipulation, which mirrors parental handling. Canalization is the early familiarization with certain toys and activities, with self-reinforcement for the familiar. The third stage is symbol manipulation, where parents raise the saliency of the mother and all things feminine. During activity exposure early imitative behavior is mastered. With the beginning of concept formation at around four years old, the child correctly identifies her sex and sex appropriate activities. From around eight to eleven years old actual domestic helping behavior occurs, as well as the addition of peer-oriented skill games. Modeling of other children increases in the later school years.

Research bearing upon the relative ease of male and female identification has found that while females have earlier and stronger identification with their mothers than males have with their fathers, female sex role preferences,
values, and behavior are more variable (Brown, 1958). The availability of the mother may explain the greater mother-daughter similarity (Hartley, 1959). The lack of consistent rewards for feminine behavior, and male power in the larger society may account for greater female cross-sex preferences and behavior (Mussen and Rutherford, 1963; Kohlberg, 1966). The possibility that female identification may be stronger than male identification while female sex role values are more variable than male values motivates Hypotheses 7 and 8: that sex role attitudes are more closely related to identity in males but not in females.

Freudian Concepts and their Derivatives: Role Theory and Social Learning Theory

Freudian concepts have had a great deal of influence on the study of identification. According to psychoanalytic theory, during the Oedipal period the child desires the opposite-sex parent. He feels hostility toward the same-sex parent and fears retaliation. The child represses these disturbing feelings and identifies with the same-sex parent, defensive identification. Bronfenbrenner (1960) distinguishes Freudian theory from learning theory reformulations: according to Freud identification is the motive to become like the parent, the total gestalt, not isolated pieces of behavior. In his later theorizing Freud included the concept of anaclitic identification, identification preceding primarily from warmth, and especially relevant to feminine
identification.

According to Parsons and Bales, who translated Freudian ideas into role theory, the child identifies with the parental reciprocal role relationship rather than the parent himself. Parsons and Bales characterized the family as an interdependent system with the mother serving the expressive function and the father the instrumental function (Baldwin, 1967). In an actual family parents play both roles. Zelditch reported, however, that fathers played the predominant instrumental role in 44 of 56 societies. In this view it is the father who differentiates between the sexes, the mother is noncontingent in her love toward both sexes, that is she demands no achievements in exchange for her love. The father is noncontingent in his love toward his daughter but demands achievement from his son.

This view has received some empirical support. Block (1973) found that in four different samples, ranging from preschool to college age, fathers reported more sex differentiating behavior than mothers on the Child Rearing Practices report. Heilbrun (1964) found that college students reported more warmth from their mothers than from their fathers. Males reported significantly less warmth from their father than from their mother while females did not report any significant difference between parents.

Mowrer translated Freudian ideas into the operationally
defined terms of learning theory. Learning theorists believe that the individual learns sex-typed behavior patterns by the same processes involved in the acquisition of all behavior. Discrimination between patterns, generalization to new situation, and the differential patterns of reward, punishment, and conditioning all affect this process. According to learning theorists like Bandura and Walters, the terms "identification" and "imitation" refer to observational learning from a model (Mischel, 1966). From this viewpoint sex differences in behavior are determined by specific responses to a particular learning history.

The social power and rewarding value of the models are factors which determine who will be an effective model. In Sears' view (1965), the parent who nurtures the child's dependency becomes a particularly effective model. In this view femininity in girls increases with dependency rewarded by the mother, and femininity in boys increases when the father fails to reward dependency. To foster masculinity the father must overcome the mother's temporal primacy by rewarding the boy's dependency and masculine behavior himself.

Elements common to psychoanalytic theory, role theory, and social learning theory are the importance of nurturance, power, and the differences between the mother and father in sex role development. Hypotheses 5-6 utilize the concepts of nurturance and maternal and paternal differences for the
development of sex role identity. Relative parental dominance, which has been found to affect male values, is examined in Hypothesis 1 in regard to male sex role attitudes.

Contributions of Culture and the Intellect: Anthropological and Cognitive Approaches

From D'Andrade's anthropological standpoint, sex differences are not only part of the individual's psychological makeup, but "culturally transmitted patterns of behavior determined in part by the functioning of society" (p. 174). D'Andrade's examination of cross-cultural differences offers some clues regarding how much sex-differentiating behavior is innately sex-linked and how much is learned. Murdock found that in 224 societies men were concentrated in the more strenuous, mobile, and cooperative tasks. Women were concentrated in the physically easier, more solitary, and more stationary tasks. According to D'Andrade, some of these differences were based upon purely physical and reproductive differences. More of the differentiated roles can be explained by convenience, each sex taking on tasks related to their basic duties. Early habituation and learning tend to solidify these differences. In other words, a generalization from physical sex differences to customs and duties takes place. The Israeli kibbutz is an example of this. Despite strong feminist sentiment, women eventually left more strenuous activities and took jobs which would make them easily accessible to the children's house. Winch
(1970) found greater sex role differentiation in societies which required physical strength or spatial mobility.

While some psychologists and anthropologists stressed societal influences on identification, other researchers emphasized the cognitive dimension. Kohlberg (1966) believes that children develop sex role stereotypes, not from direct learning of cultural roles from parents, but from perceived differences in body structure and physical capacities. Many aspects of sex role development are universal, therefore, because they are based on cognitive universals: the child's conceptions of his own body. These cognitive conceptions change with the child's age, and affect his sex role attitudes. In other words, development and cognition mediate experiences rather than visa-versa, and sex roles are restructured over time.

There is some evidence of the hypothesized cognitive universals. Triandis and Osgood (1958) found that symbolic meanings of sex differences are culturally universal. These symbolic meanings may exist because of human concrete symbolism. Connotations of "man" and "woman" were cross-cultural, with men perceived as more active, powerful, and aggressive.

Viewed in Kohlberg's cognitive framework, sexual identification with parents is based on the child's basic sexual identity and self-maintaining motives. Piaget found that
children imitate interesting activities, not just rewarding ones. Boys with masculine identities find masculine behavior more interesting. Kohlberg found that boys' preferences for masculine behavior preceded their preferences for father imitation. Father imitation, in turn, preceded father attachment. The boy first desires to be the role occupant, then imitates the prestigious role occupant, and then forms an emotional attachment to the model. Parents are viewed as facilitators or inhibitors of sex role development in their children rather than direct reinforcers of attitudes and behavior. Authoritarian childrearing and restriction of independent activity are examples of parental inhibition.

While Kohlberg's research has highlighted an important aspect of sex role development, the cognitive element, he seems to assume that knowledge and adoption are almost the same (Biller, 1971). Individual differences in sex role orientation and preference, and cross-cultural differences in sex role standards, are left largely unexplained. Kohlberg's research appears to have the most relevance to the child's early self-identification as male or female. It may also be important to the adoption of new and changing attitudes throughout development.

Intellectual functioning has been related to sex role differences. Some researchers found that brighter children differentiate sex role standards earlier, although there
was less support for this in females (Kohlberg, 1966). Sugawara (1971) found that as early as preschool some of the brighter girls showed less same-sex role preferences than average girls.

Maccoby (1966) reported on a number of studies which found that stronger sex role preferences are not related to intelligence in adolescents and adults. According to Barron and MacKinnon, men who are very original or creative score as more feminine on masculinity-femininity scales than other males. Bieri found that analytic men identified with their mothers while analytic women identified with their fathers. Plank and Plank studied the autobiographies of outstanding women mathematicians, and found that they had a strong attachment to and identification with their fathers.

Maccoby notes that most studies indicate that analytic thinking, creativity, and intelligence are associated with cross-sextyping, with creative males scoring more feminine and creative females scoring more masculine, but the evidence is stronger for women. According to MacKinnon, the higher creativity and I.Q. of cross-sextyped individuals may be due to their lack of repression. They are not compelled to hide or deny part of their personality.

The anthropological and cognitive theories have enriched the concept of identification with cross-cultural research and information concerning the growth of intelligence and creativity. This research has shown some of the
ways cultural and cognitive factors influence sex role development.

**Recent Developmental Approaches**

Some developmental theorists have attempted to integrate the motivational and cognitive aspects of identification, and put the different levels of development into a time frame. Biller (1971) and Lynn (1961) have distinguished three different aspects of sex role identity, with certain age levels being particularly important for each aspect. As earlier defined, sex role identity includes sex role orientation, sex role preference, and sex role adoption. Sex role orientation refers to underlying masculinity-femininity, and is difficult to measure. Such projective techniques as the IT Scale for Children and the Franck Drawing Completion Test, as well as self-descriptions from adjective check lists, have been used to measure this aspect of sex role identity. Sex role preference, or masculinity-femininity of interests, has been measured by the Mf Scale of the MMPI and the Gough Femininity Scale. Peer and teacher ratings have been used to assess sex role adoption.

These aspects of sex role identity are believed to be established early in life, all preceding the elementary school years. Biller's developmental theory places sex role orientation within the first three years of life, with the child discriminating between and evaluating himself in
relation to maternal and paternal sex role models. Sex role preference, the relative desire to adhere to the cultural symbols of masculinity and femininity, is established during the preschool years. Environmental opportunities play an important role. Sex role adoption refers to the masculinity-femininity of the observable behavior of the child. According to Biller, the third through fifth year are the most important, although adolescence brings new demands in sex role adoption.

While the different aspects of sex role identity are usually closely related, researchers have found discrepancies. Psychologists have been particularly interested in investigating the development of sex role orientation and sex role preference, and the relationship between them. Father-absence, unconventional role models, the physical status of the child, and compensatory behavior are a few of the reasons why sex role orientation and preferences may not coincide. Biller and Barry (1971) found that college males with highly masculine sex role orientation perceived themselves as similar to their fathers. College males with highly masculine sex role preferences had high adjustment and favorable self-concepts. Lynn (1964) theorizes that because girls are more likely to identify with their mothers and boys with the male cultural stereotype, when there is a discrepancy between sex role preference and orientation,
males will more often have same-sex preference and opposite-sex orientation and females will more often have opposite-sex preference and same-sex orientation.

Attitudes concerning current and changing sex roles are a step further removed from the individual's basic self definition than sex role identity. Lynn (1961) emphasizes the relative strength and primacy of sex role identity as opposed to later learning. As Kohlberg (1966) suggests, however, we might expect later acquired sex role attitudes to be consistent with old ones and value judgements to be consistent with self-concept. Using a stage theory approach, Block (1973) has formulated a theoretical basis for connecting the ego and cognitive aspects of sex role development. The stages derive from Loevinger's stages of ego development. As in Loevinger's stages, the higher stages are not equated with better adjustment, but with the facing of increasingly deeper problems.

1. Presocial stage: no gender concept

2. Impulse ridden stage: identification of gender; both sexes exhibit self-assertiveness

3. Self-protective stage: behavior characterized by expediency

4. Conformity stage: differentiation of male and female behavior and conformity to sex role standards

5. Conscientious stage: evaluation of self with respect to internalized values; notions of masculinity and femininity may be moderated
6. **Autonomous stage:** attempts to cope with the discrepancies between one's own identity and sex role standards

7. **Integrated stage:** resolves conflict by accepting masculine and feminine traits

In Block's view the goal of sex role identity is not the achievement of masculinity or femininity, but the possession of a self-concept with a flexible and secure gender identity. The final stage requires integration of agency and communion, which refer to self-assertion and unity with others, respectively. These two modalities approximate the traditional definitions and connotations of masculine and feminine, but they go beyond stereotypic sex role standards and are available to both sexes.

The question remains whether male femininity, as well as female masculinity, is a reflection of neuroticism or an open, realistic acceptance of both sides of the personality. Heilbrun and Fromme (1965) found that in adolescence adjusted males identified with high masculine fathers and adjusted females with low feminine mothers. Longitudinally, Mussen (1962) found that masculine males had higher self-concepts in adolescence but not as adults. Block (1973) evaluated several studies which found that male and female adolescents at the more mature levels of ego functioning have integrated both agency and communion into their self-concepts.

The present study examines the relationship between
masculinity-femininity of self-concept and preferences, and sex role attitudes in college age individuals. It will determine whether males and females who accept new sex role attitudes are more likely to have cross-sex identification than traditional attitude males and females. Hypotheses 7 and 8 deal with this problem.

Parental Variables

Parents play an important part in their child's sex role development. In the following section the author will examine theory and research that bears on the proposition that some parental variables influence sex role identity and other parental variables influence sex role attitudes, and that some parental variables influence one sex more than the other. The parental variables include parental nurturance, maternal influence, parental sex role reinforcement, parental education, and maternal employment.

Parental Nurturance

The major sex role development theories have given a central place to parental nurturance. Psychoanalytic theory emphasizes the role of maternal nurturance for female identification, and social learning theory has given nurturance central importance in identification for both sexes. The dimension of warmth-hostility has been found to be among the most stable and predictive parental variables in longitudinal studies (Yarrow, 1970; Bayley and Schaefer, 1964).
A study by Mussen and Rutherford (1963) showed that masculine boys perceived fathers as more nurturant and powerful than fathers of less masculine boys. The parents' self-acceptance of role did not affect their son's masculinity. Feminine girls had nurturant and powerful mothers, but their parents' self-acceptance of role was correlated with femininity. Heilbrun (1964) found that college males with high nurturant fathers showed higher role consistency than those with low nurturant fathers. Role consistency refers to the stability of an individual's attributes in different social situations. Females with moderately nurturant mothers had higher role consistency than those with either high or low nurturant mothers.

There is evidence that nurturance from both parents is crucial to the development of femininity in females. Johnson (1963) found that expressive (feminine) females had more attentive fathers than less expressive females. In other words, fathers of feminine females appear to encourage feminine behavior rather than paternal imitation. This is consistent with a number of theories, including psychoanalytic and role theory, which stress the importance of the father in encouraging feminine behavior in his daughter.

Crandall found that achieving girls had less nurturant mothers, and longitudinally, Kagan and Moss found that achieving women had unaffectionate, pushy mothers (Baumrind, 1972). Maternal hostility was associated with increased
general activity level, adolescent aggression, and independence in women (Kagan and Moss, 1962). Wright and Tuska (1966) found that masculine females had emotionally satisfied fathers but frustrated, unsympathetic mothers while feminine females had emotionally satisfied mothers and successful fathers. Crandall (1964) believes that rewarding affection-seeking and dependency may teach females to use these behaviors to achieve security, and affectionate mothers serve as models for their daughters. Baumrind and Black (1967) believe that females need a certain amount of tension in their relations with their parents and some leeway to rebel in order to develop independence and self-assertiveness. In the present study, Hypotheses 5-6 deal with the effect of parental nurturance upon sex role identity.

Maternal Influence

Parental power has been used as an explanatory variable for sex role development, especially for its behavioral manifestations. There is also evidence that relative parental salience affects important attitudes in the child (Keniston, 1965; Keniston, 1968). Both boys and girls will model their behavior to the more powerful parent to the extent that this is tolerated. Hetherington (1965) found that parental dominance facilitated imitation in boys and girls. Maternal dominance caused weaker masculine sex role preferences in
boys, and low father-son similarity. Parental dominance had little effect on sex role preferences in girls, but paternal dominance increased father-daughter similarity.

Maternal overprotection has often been related to sex role deviance and childhood pathology, particularly in the male. In a cross-cultural study Minturn (1964) found that American mothers spent more time singly caring for both babies and older children than mothers of Africa, Mexico, Okinawa, India, and the Philippines. In a sense, American mothers are dominant in childrearing by their sheer exposure to their children. Devereux believes maternal dominance sometimes has detrimental effects because the father drops out of the picture (Benson, 1968). When the father is dominant, the mother usually continues to fulfill the nurturant role.

Biller (1969) found that maternal overprotection was not disruptive to male sex role development when the father was present to act as intervener. The lack of availability of the father may increase the anxiety associated with exploration of the male role (Kohlberg, 1966). When the father leaves before the boy is five, the boy has a less masculine self-concept (Hetherington, 1966). Maternal encouragement of masculine behavior appears to be particularly important for sex role identity in these early father-absent boys (Biller and Bahm, 1971). When the father is relatively
or absolutely unavailable, the boy becomes more dependent upon his peers for male models, sometimes resulting in an exaggerated and stereotyped picture of male behavior (Santrock, 1970).

There may be different kinds of maternal dominance. Keniston (1965, 1968) found that both alienated and committed males had dominant mothers. The mothers of alienated males, however, were emotionally binding and seductive, while mothers of committed males were nurturant and idealistic without being overly possessive. The dominant mother theme must be viewed in the context of the larger society. Keniston found that extremely alienated males often had mothers who transferred their frustrated ambitions to their husbands and children. As Roessler (1971) suggests, the content of roles may be less important than the compatibility between roles. Hypothesis 1 deals with the effect of relative parental influence upon male sex role attitudes. Sex Role Reinforcement

Parents react to sons and daughters differently. Mothers touched, talked to, and breast fed six month old girls more often than boys (Goldberg and Lewis, 1969). By thirteen months girls vocalized and touched mothers more, and showed more crying and less instrumental behavior in response to frustration.

Rothbart and Macceby (1966) found that fathers are more
permissive toward females and mothers are more permissive toward males. Both parents, but especially fathers, express more negative attitudes toward cross-sex behavior in males than in females. (Lansky, 1967). Masculine sex role behavior is also more stringently enforced than feminine behavior (Hartley, 1959). Males perceive their parents as less loving, more demanding, and more punitive than females do (Goldin, 1969). These parental practices not only affect the child's overt behavior, but his attitudes concerning the appropriateness of masculine and feminine behavior.

A number of studies have found sex differences in such behaviors as aggression and dependency. These differences may result from differential reinforcement by parents for these behaviors. Sears (1957) found that parents did punish their children for inappropriate sex-typed behavior. Males are allowed to exhibit more aggression than females. Females, on the other hand, are allowed to be more dependent, conforming, fearful, and passive.

Kagan and Moss (1962) found that aggressive behavior in females fluctuated, while aggressive behavior in males had high stability throughout childhood. Only aggressive outbursts and aggression toward the mother were predictive of adult aggression in men. Aggression toward peers seemed to be a reflection of sex role behavior which was channeled into more mature behavior, such as competition, in adulthood.
Dependency is an ambiguous term. It has simultaneously been used to describe normal attachment behavior in the infant and young child, and the lack of more mature social interaction and mastery skills in the older child, adolescent, and adult. After the child is one or two years old, dependency is too global a term to describe the behaviors that occur (Maccoby and Masters, 1970). At two years proximity seeking and attention seeking are positively related to each other and focused on the mother. By four years the two kinds of behavior are negatively correlated. Proximity seeking declines with age, but may be elicited in fear arousing situations in both children and adults. Attention seeking generalizes from the mother to other children, and has been associated with aggression and sociability.

On the basis of both observation and ratings, Emmerich (1966) found that dependency was a stable personality trait. The specific behaviors which made up dependency varied with the child. Kagan and Moss (1962) found little evidence of long term stability in dependency, although the evidence was somewhat greater for females. Early maternal behavior was predictive of the child's later behavior. Females who were very protected before three tended to withdraw from challenging situations as adults. For males, early protection was associated with dependency through adolescence, but not in adulthood.
In the present study the sex role reinforcement subscale includes reinforcement of dependency, aggression, and emotionality. Hypothesis 2 deals with the effects of parental reinforcement on male sex role attitudes.

Parental Education

Parental education and socioeconomic status affect the differential treatment of males and females. Levine found that socioeconomic status affected the amount of maternal vocalization to four month old females but not males (Repucci, 1971). In a study by Sears (1957), maternal education was negatively associated with sex role differentiation. Highly educated mothers were less inclined to insist that boys be masculine and girls feminine. This finding is congruent with results that maternal education and socioeconomic status were positively related to permissiveness in other areas: toilet training, dependency, sex play, and aggression. Kagan and Moss (1962) found that parental education was negatively associated with traditional sex role adoption in both sexes.

According to Douvan and Adelson (1966), suburbia lacks sex specific activity prescriptions. Autonomy and achievement were stressed by middle class parents for both males and females, but more consistently for males. Socioeconomic differences in achievement and autonomy were greater for males than females. Differences in disciplining males and
females were greater in the lower class. The differences for parental education were in the same direction as those for socioeconomic status.

There is evidence that the more rigid sex role reinforcement of lower class children is sometimes counterproductive. Douvan and Adelson found that most of the females who rejected femininity and marriage were the eldest daughters of lower class families. These females found their enforced adherence to a narrow view of the feminine role so distasteful that it was totally rejected. High socioeconomic parents may therefore be making the feminine role more attractive to their daughters by defining it broadly and enforcing it permissively. Hypothesis 3 deals with the effects of parental education on female sex role attitudes.

Maternal Employment

Maternal employment is another home life variable which affects the child's sex role attitudes (Douvan, 1963; Vogel, 1970; Hoffman, 1963; Baruch, 1972). Maternal employment was first considered in psychological theorizing in relation to maternal deprivation. It was viewed as a form of partial deprivation. More recently maternal employment has been studied with better controls. Research which has controlled socioeconomic status and other variables have found few significant differences in personality, independence, and psychopathology between children of employed and unemployed

Maternal employment may affect the self-image and future career plans of children. According to Super, vocational self-concept develops on the basis of observation of and identification with adults involved in work (Osipow, 1968). The family is the first reference group for role playing.

Douvan (1963) found that adolescent females were more crucially affected by maternal employment than adolescent males. Daughters of employed mothers admired and respected their mothers more than daughters of unemployed mothers, and more often chose them as models and confidantes. Daughters of employed mothers scored low on an index of traditional femininity. They more often chose traditionally masculine occupations. They showed strong internalization, and unlike most females aspired toward upward mobility through their own efforts rather than through marriage alone.

Daughters of all part-time employed mothers and high socioeconomic status full-time employed mothers were independent and autonomous. These females were the most active adolescent females. Daughters of low socioeconomic status, full-time employed mothers showed a mixed pattern of autonomy and dependence: autonomy in practical affairs but emotional dependence upon the family. They often worked and dated, but they had fewer leisure time activities than other
adolescent females. The differences between daughters of lower class full-time employed mothers and daughters of other employed mothers may reflect the differences between employment for economic necessity and employment freely chosen.

Douvall believes that much of the importance of maternal employment is its effects on the child's ego ideal and modeling, and therefore the effects will be less pronounced for males. In this view maternal employment affects males only as it affects their relationship with their fathers. Sons of lower class full-time employed mothers less often chose fathers as ideals, were rebellious, had poor ego integration, low activity levels, and short time perspectives. Sons of other employed mothers did not appear to differ from other adolescent males.

Hoffman (1963) found that elementary school children were more likely to choose employed mothers as models than children of unemployed mothers. Employment may represent a more salient achievement to school age children than household tasks. While maternal employment affects both male and female children's views of the feminine role, it widens the range of activities available for the self-concept in females. Vogel (1970) found that both male and female college students with employed mothers perceived significantly smaller differences between masculine and
feminine roles than other students, but the effect was stronger for women. Daughters of employed mothers perceived more competence in the feminine role than other females, and sons of employed mothers perceived more warmth in the masculine role than other males. College age daughters of unemployed mothers were more likely to devalue feminine competence and define career as masculine than those with employed mothers (Baruch, 1972). In the present study Hypothesis 4 deals with the effects of maternal employment on female sex role attitudes.

Trends in the Literature

The identification literature has moved recently toward consideration of both the motivational/emotional aspects of sex role development and its cognitive/cultural aspects rather than reliance on one or the other. The examination of parental variables shows that while some variables affect primary sex role identity, other variables are more likely to affect the child's values and sex role attitudes. The present study investigates the effects of parental variables upon sex role attitudes and identity, as well as the relationship between attitudes and identity.

A pilot study tested the reliability and validity of the questions on the Sex Role Attitude Scale (Tarr, 1971). In addition, it suggested that certain variables significantly affect the attitudes of one sex but not the other.
CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

The objective of this study is to determine the relationship of certain home life and upbringing variables to the sex role attitudes and identity of late adolescents. The parental variables selected include parental nurturance, maternal influence, parental sex role reinforcement, parental education, and maternal employment. As previously stated, the basic hypothesis is that some parental variables affect the development of sex role identity while other parental variables influence sex role attitudes. Different parental variables may affect the attitudes of males and females.

Description of the Sample

The sample consists of 253 college undergraduates from the Ohio State University enrolled in Introductory Psychology and Educational Psychology classes. The subjects were between the ages of 18 and 22. It is believed that students this age, now in college, have had exposure to both traditional and new sex role attitudes and behavior. Table 1 gives a description of the sample.
### TABLE I

**DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE**

(N=253)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
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<td>Males</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>142</td>
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<tr>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>94</td>
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<tr>
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<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
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<td>Both Parents</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>9th grade or less</td>
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<td>10th-12th grade</td>
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<tr>
<td>some college</td>
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<td>graduate degree</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Maternal Education</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10th-12th grade</td>
<td>127</td>
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<tr>
<td>some college</td>
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<tr>
<td>college degree</td>
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<td>graduate degree</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Maternal Employment</strong></td>
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<td>5 years of less</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20 years</td>
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</tr>
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</table>
Discussion of Instruments

The present study employed the Mf Scale of the MMPI and the M-F Adjective Check List as measures of sex role identity. The Mf Scale has been characterized as a measure of masculinity-femininity of interests, or sex role preference (Carson, 1969). Mussen (1962) found masculinity-femininity of interests to be a stable personality characteristic longitudinally. The M-F Adjective Check List was used to measure masculinity-femininity of self-concept, which has been characterized as a measure of sex role orientation (Biller and Bahr, 1971).

The two measures, one measuring sex role orientation and the other sex role preference, were together the criterion for sex role identity. Biller (1971) found that while sex role orientation and sex role preference don't always coincide, there is a fair degree of consistency in sex role patterns by late childhood. In this study masculine sex role identity will be said to exist in those individuals with both masculine interests and masculine self-concepts (i.e., males and females in the masculine half of their respective samples on both measures). Only individuals with feminine interests and feminine self-concepts will be said to have feminine sex role identities (i.e., males and females in the feminine half of their respective samples on both measures).
The Sex Role Attitude Scale, revised on the basis of the pilot study, was employed to differentiate youth with new and traditional sex role attitudes (Tarr, 1971). The Home Life and Upbringing Questionnaire measured the parental variables.

The Mf Scale of the MMPI (Appendix D)

This scale served as one of the measures of sex role identity. The original Mf Scale was developed to differentiate heterosexual and homosexual men, and the items were selected empirically (Dahlstrom and Welsh, 1960). It has since been validated for differentiating males and females. The 60 Mf Scale items concern interests, vocational choices, aesthetic preferences, and the activity-passivity dimension (Carson, 1969). It cannot be considered a pure measure of masculinity-femininity since it correlates with education and intelligence.

Many psychologists have been questioning the adequacy of present masculinity-femininity measures. Lunneborg (1970) found that the responses of students who were asked to predict the answers of most men (or women), when compared to self-descriptive responses, exaggerated existing sex differences and created differences not normally acknowledged. As on all personality measures, real differences may be blurred if both sexes avoid endorsing socially undesirable traits.
Some research indicates that M-F scales may be improved by exploring the dimensionality of the questions. Murray (1963) found that only 40 of the 60 Mf Scale items significantly differentiated college men and women. This, however, does not mean that the 20 nondiscriminating items should be abandoned. Gonen and Lansky (1968) found that the 20 nondiscriminating items were more often bipolar. They classified items bipolar if masculinity and femininity defined the ends of a single continuum. When an item reflected only one sex role, more feminine to less feminine or more masculine to less masculine, the item was classified unipolar. Males who elevated toward deviancy on the Mf Scale were found to use more unipolar conceptions. Using adjective checklists, Jenkin and Vroegh (1969) asked middle class American adults to describe most and least feminine and masculine persons. Neither males nor females placed masculine and feminine persons at opposite ends of a bipolar scale. The most masculine and feminine people shared many traits.

Hathaway and Monachesi (1963) found that from grades nine to twelve both male and female Mf scores became lower (more masculine for males and more feminine for females). Both high feminine girls and high feminine boys, however, had high intelligence, good school adjustment, and were high SES members. For years researchers have reported high Mf scores in college males. Gilliland and Colgin (1951)
believe this may be because they are less inhibited. According to Carson (1969), however, clear elevations in either males or females are suggestive of nonidentification with the culturally prescribed masculine or feminine role.

From a number of studies Carson has drawn these composite pictures of high and low scorers on the Mf Scale. Male high scorers are relatively passive, somewhat effeminate in manner, imaginative, sensitive, and with a wide range of interests. Male low scorers are easygoing, adventurous, and somewhat coarse. When low scores reflect an element of compulsive masculinity, the individual is often inflexible and exhibitionistic.

High scoring females tend to be aggressive, dominating, and competitive, with mechanical and scientific interests. These females are typically confident, spontaneous, and uninhibited, but anxious when expected to adopt the traditionally feminine sex role. Female low scorers are passive, submissive, and demure. Extremely low scorers are usually highly constricted, self-pitying, and faultfinding.

In the present study male Mf raw scores ranged from 13-41 with a median score of 28. Female raw scores ranged from 29-48 with a median score of 39. Despite the wide overlap of scores, the Mf Scale continues to differentiate the mean scores of males and females to a highly significant degree ($p < .001$).
The M-F Adjective Check List (Appendix B)

This instrument served as the other measure of sex role identity. Adjective check lists have been used as measures of self-concept (Anastasi, 1961). In a study by Rosenkrantz (1968), college students were asked to choose adjectives which described typical males and females and themselves. Both sexes agreed which adjectives described typical males and females. They also agreed that masculine descriptions were more desirable. Self-concepts were less extreme than "typical" responses, but male and female self-concepts were not significantly different from their respective stereotypes. Jenkin and Vroegh (1969) asked adults to describe most and least masculine and feminine persons, both real and ideal.

The M-F Adjective Check List was constructed using the most discriminating adjectives from the Rosenkrantz and Jenkin and Vroegh studies. Biller and Bahm (1971) used an adjective check list to determine masculinity-femininity of self-concept. They used an equal number of desirable feminine and masculine adjectives. Masculinity of self-concept was the proportion of masculine adjectives selected of all adjectives chosen for self-description. This was the method used in the present study in constructing and scoring the M-F Adjective Check List. The measure consists of 25 desirable masculine adjectives and 25 desirable feminine
adjectives. The split-half reliability with Spearman-Brown correction was .76. To assess the validity of the M-F Adjective Check List as a masculinity-femininity measure its discriminative ability was determined. Male scores ranged from 7-94 with a median score of 44. Female scores ranged from 25-90 with a median score of 60. The M-F Adjective Check List differentiated the self-descriptions of males and females to a highly significant degree (p<.001).

The Sex Role Attitude Scale (Appendix C)

The scale measured new and traditional sex role attitudes. Questions were coded on a 1-5 value Likert scale. New attitude males and females were operationally defined as the third of their respective samples with the highest coded scores, those individuals who adhere to the new sex role attitudes to the highest degree. Traditional attitude males and females were operationally defined as the third of their respective samples with the lowest coded scores, those individuals with the most traditional sex role attitudes.

Sex role attitude is a theoretical construct, and as such has all its associated problems of measurement. The scaling method selected was the Likert scale. The Likert is a summative or monotone scale. Scores are computed by adding item scores together. In the summative model, the
more of an attribute the subject has, the more likely he will be to accept (or reject) any item. Each item is regarded as an imperfect measure of the critical attribute, since irrelevant influences enter the measure. Each item score can be represented as \( x = t + e \) (\( t \) = true score, \( e \) = error). The error term is less important with longer tests. Scott (1968) reported that test scores based on pooled items have high validity for the selection of extreme groups.

The acquiescence set, the tendency to choose the answer representing acceptance of a statement, has been found to be a relatively stable subject trait (Anastasi, 1961). The tendency, however, does vary from test to test. To eliminate the effects of the acquiescence set, the items on this measure were counterbalanced for agreement and disagreement.

Questions on the Sex Role Attitude Scale are based on recent research concerning changing attitudes toward sex roles and life styles, including the Whittaker (1969) study. The questions fall into Kagan's (1964) broad categories of sex difference: physical attributes, overt behavior, and covert feelings. The question dealing with physical attributes (#11) pertains to physical ability, shown by Kohlberg (1966) to be an important cognitive universal in sex role development. Physical ability is an especially valued characteristic in the male peer group, and physical retardation is more detrimental to the self-concepts of male adolescents.
than female adolescents, often having long-term effects (Mussen and Jones, 1957).

Behavioral questions deal with attitudes toward aggression, submission, initiation, and dependency (#1,2,12,14). They also deal with attitudes about the division of labor and responsibility in the home (#4,5,15), which Sell (1969) found to be closely related to societal norms. Questions dealing with feelings included attitudes toward new life style and morality values, and perceived origin and justness of current sex roles (#6,7,8,10,13,16). Two questions referred to the connotations of various academic disciplines, which Janis (1969) found to have implicit masculine and feminine connotations (#3,9).

The few items which either failed to differentiate group extremes or failed to correlate positively with the other items on the pilot study were removed (Tarr, 1971).

In the present study, the split-half reliability of the Sex Role Attitude Scale with the Spearman-Brown correction was .79. The Kuder-Richardson reliability was .85. As a measure of construct validity, item-test correlations were computed. Item-test correlations give a measure of test homogeneity. All items correlated positively with the total scale, with correlations ranging from .35 to .71 for all items but one. All but one item (#14) differentiated new attitude and traditional attitude females, and all but
one item (#1) differentiated new attitude and traditional attitude males (p<.001).

The Home Life and Upbringing Questionnaire (Appendix A)

This questionnaire is a report by college students of their home life. Since most of the students are no longer living at home, the questionnaire must be considered a retrospective report.

Hoffman and Lippett (1960) report that many studies have found children's reports of parental behavior to be quite accurate. Brown (1947) found significant correlations between children's responses to the Family Relations Questionnaire and parental interviewers and clinicians. Children may be less likely than parents to answer in the direction of social desirability. Wenar and Coulter (1962) found that maternal accuracy in reporting developmental histories was partly a function of affective content. Heilbrun (1967) considers the child's perception of parental behavior to be the measurement procedure of choice in his research with college students.

Yarrow et al. (1970) have recently examined the retrospective method. Using mothers' contemporaneous reports as the baseline data, mothers and children were asked to recall infant and childhood behavior and earlier parent-child relations. The correspondence was therefore a measure of recall rather than validity, since the original data may have been
inaccurate.

Yarrow found that mothers' reports were somewhat closer to baseline data than children's reports. Both mother and children recalled information in the direction of social desirability. This tendency, however, was more pronounced for mothers. Mothers modified recall to conform to sex-linked characteristics. Children tended to recall more early traumata, less paternal warmth, and more closeness to the mother than baseline data. High stress family interaction did not differentially affect recollections. Both mothers and children with cold relations recalled less warmth with time, while warm relations were recalled as even warmer. In other words, recollections were more extreme than original relations. In conclusion, Yarrow's study showed that while recollections were significantly correlated with baseline information, they were not equivalent. Retrospective reports must be considered subjective interpretations of experience rather than purely objective reports.

The Home Life and Upbringing Questionnaire assessed parental nurturance, maternal influence, parental sex role reinforcement, parental education, and maternal employment. The questions concerning parental nurturance are based on a similar conceptualization of warmth by Heilbrun (1964). This conceptualization includes eight different aspects of
perceived parental warmth: felt affection, physically expressed affection, approval, acceptance of feelings, concrete giving, encouragement of interests, trust, and sense of security. Each aspect was anchored in a descriptive phrase.

In the present study, maternal and paternal nurturance subscales had Kuder-Richardson reliabilities of .90 and .93 respectively. Both subscales had high item-test correlations, ranging between .67 and .81. To test the validity of the nurturance subscales, the results were compared with existing theory and empirical research. Females perceived more affection than males from their parents. Mothers were seen as more nurturant than fathers by both sexes, but the result was significant for males only. This adds support to the view that it is the father who is the primary agent of sex role differentiation by giving his daughter unconditional affection, and making demands upon his son.

The questions concerning parental influence, dominance, and similarity are based on a similar conceptualization of parental control by Doherty (1970). The subscale attempts to measure the relative salience and impact of the mother and father as perceived by the adolescent. The Kuder-Richardson reliability of this subscale in the present study was .73. The item-test correlations ranged between .47 and .69. As identification theory predicts, females report
significantly more maternal influence than males \(p < 0.025\). The questions concerning sex role reinforcement relate to research by Sears (1957) and more recently Block (1973) who found evidence of differential reinforcement of males and females for dependency, emotionality, and aggression. The sex role reinforcement subscale had a Kuder-Richardson reliability of 0.75 and item-test correlations between 0.28 and 0.73. The validity checks tended to correspond with previous research. Males and females reported significantly different parental reinforcement for sex-typed behaviors in the predicted direction \(p < 0.05\). Males perceived significantly more discouragement of emotionality from both parents than females \(p < 0.005\), and significantly more encouragement of aggression from fathers than females \(p < 0.05\). Fathers were perceived as encouraging independence more often and being more restrictive than mothers by both sexes. Overall, males did not perceive significantly greater encouragement of independence or significantly greater freedom from restrictions on activities than females. There is some evidence that females may not perceive greater parental restrictiveness because the restrictions do not bother them. Douvan and Adelson (1966) found that female adolescents were compliant about parental rules and identified with parental authority. Females with strict parents were no more rebellious than others. Adolescent males, on the other
hand, were concerned with control and independence, and likely to rebel against restrictive parents.

The studies of Kagan and Moss (1962), Douvan and Adelson (1966), and Hartley (1960b) give evidence concerning the effects of parental education on sex role differentiation and sex role attitudes (see Review of the Literature). The research of Baruch (1972), Hartley (1960a), and Nye and Hoffman (1963) motivates the questions concerning maternal employment. Both number of years of employment and part-time or full-time designation were assessed.

Whenever more than one measure is administered at one time, the experimenter must take care to avoid creating unwanted response sets. For example, Jenkin and Vroegh (1969) gave their subjects two measures, one which measured the characteristics of most masculine and feminine ideals, and the other which measured the characteristics of the most masculine and feminine people known. They wanted the "real" measure to be completed in the context of sex differences, so they administered it last. In this study the aim was to minimize biasing the home life and self-concept measures by the context of sex roles. For this reason the Home Life and Upbringing Questionnaire and the M-F Adjective Check List were administered first. Since some M-F Scale items imply deviance, this measure was administered last to avoid restricting responses on the Sex Role Attitude Scale.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Means and standard deviations were computed for new and traditional attitude males and females on the Sex Role Attitude Scale and are represented in Table 2. Means and standard deviations for masculine and feminine identity males and females on the Mf Scale and the M-F Adjective Check List are represented in Table 3 and Table 4 respectively. The author employed t-tests to test each of the hypotheses. The null hypothesis was rejected at the .05 level of significance on a one tailed test. The results of the analyses are represented in Table 5. The hypotheses will be restated with the findings.

**Hypothesis 1:** Mothers of new attitude males have had relatively greater influence upon their sons than mothers of traditional attitude males.

The maternal influence subscale dealt with this hypothesis. The t-value was significant at the .001 level.

**Hypothesis 2:** Parents of new attitude males were less differentially rewarding of sex-typed behavior than parents of traditional attitude males.

The sex role reinforcement subscale dealt with this hypothesis. The results were significant at the .05 level.

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### TABLE 2

**MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THE SEX ROLE ATTITUDE SCALE FOR NEW AND TRADITIONAL ATTITUDE MALES AND FEMALES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>New Attitude</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>59.06</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trad. Attitude</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39.22</td>
<td>3.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>New Attitude</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>59.91</td>
<td>4.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trad. Attitude</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38.40</td>
<td>4.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^Trad. = Traditional
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>F. Identity(^a)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72.12</td>
<td>6.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. Identity(^a)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>53.06</td>
<td>6.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>M. Identity</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>53.19</td>
<td>5.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. Identity</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36.75</td>
<td>5.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)F.=Feminine, M.=Masculine
TABLE 4

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON THE M-F ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST FOR MASCULINE AND FEMININE IDENTITY MALES AND FEMALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>P. Identity(^a)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>56.18</td>
<td>9.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>M. Identity(^a)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>31.85</td>
<td>10.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>P. Identity</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>50.36</td>
<td>7.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>M. Identity</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>70.90</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)P.=Feminine, M.=Masculine
### TABLE 5

**MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND t-VALUES**

FOR THE STATED HYPOTHESES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
<th>t-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Influence</td>
<td>New Attitude</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20.14</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>3.55b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trad. Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17.17</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Role Reinforcement</td>
<td>New Attitude</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22.94</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>-1.93c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trad. Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24.97</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Education</td>
<td>New Attitude</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5.87</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trad. Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5.82</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Employment</td>
<td>New Attitude</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>-.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trad. Attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Nurturance</td>
<td>M. Identity</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33.14</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>-.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. Identity</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33.85</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Nurturance</td>
<td>M. Identity</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33.40</td>
<td>5.99</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. Identity</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32.13</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Nurturance</td>
<td>F. Identity</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31.52</td>
<td>7.50</td>
<td>-1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. Identity</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33.13</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Role Attitudes</td>
<td>F. Identity</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52.33</td>
<td>8.49</td>
<td>5.39b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. Identity</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>42.71</td>
<td>5.95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Role Attitudes</td>
<td>M. Identity</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>50.19</td>
<td>9.02</td>
<td>1.86c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F. Identity</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>46.23</td>
<td>10.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aTrad.=Traditional, M.=Masculine, F.=Feminine

*bSignificant at the .001 level, one tailed

*cSignificant at the .05 level, one tailed

*dMaternal and paternal education pooled, see Appendix A for scoring

*eMaternal employment is measured according to years of employment, see Appendix A for scoring
Hypothesis 3: Parents of new attitude females have had more years of education than parents of traditional attitude females.

The result of this comparison was not significant.

Hypothesis 4: Mothers of new attitude females have been employed outside the home more than mothers of traditional attitude females.

The null hypothesis could not be rejected at the .05 level.

Hypothesis 5a: Mothers of masculine identity females are less nurturant than mothers of feminine identity females.

Hypothesis 5b: Fathers of masculine identity females are less nurturant than fathers of feminine identity females.

The maternal and paternal nurturance subscales dealt with these two hypotheses. The null hypothesis could not be rejected.

Hypothesis 6: Fathers of feminine identity males are less nurturant than fathers of masculine identity males.

The paternal nurturance subscale dealt with this hypothesis. When the two criterion for sex role identity, the Mf Scale and the M-F Adjective Check List, were used the null hypothesis could not be rejected. The results were significant, however, when the Mf Scale alone was used to select subjects for comparison (p<.025).

Hypothesis 7: New attitude males have significantly less masculine sex role identities than traditional attitude males.

This hypothesis dealt with the relationship of sex role attitudes to sex role identity in males. The results were
significant at the .001 level.

Hypothesis 8: New attitude females do not have significantly different sex role identities than traditional attitude females.

This hypothesis dealt with the relationship of sex role attitudes to sex role identity in females. The hypothesis was not confirmed since the t-value was significant at the .05 level.

The validity checks, as previously discussed, revealed that females perceive more affection from parents than males. Mothers are seen as more nurturant than fathers, but the difference was significant for males only. Females report significantly more maternal influence than males.

In the area of parental reinforcement of sex-typed behavior, males perceived significantly more discouragement of emotionality from both parents than females, and significantly greater encouragement of aggression from fathers than females. Fathers were perceived as more encouraging of independence but also more restrictive than mothers by both sexes. Males did not perceive greater encouragement of independence or fewer restrictions than females.

Parental education was positively associated with paternal warmth and influence for both sexes. Daughters of high socioeconomic status, part-time employed mothers were more traditional than other females. Sons of unemployed mothers, especially those who were in the lower classes,
were more traditional than other males.

The Wherry Test Selection was employed to determine which variables predicted scores on the three criterion measures: the Mf Scale, the M–F Adjective Check List, and the Sex Role Attitude Scale. The nine predictor variables were maternal influence, maternal nurturance, paternal nurturance, parental sex role reinforcement, maternal employment, paternal education, maternal education, socioeconomic status, and age. The technique selects variables one at a time, beginning with the best predictor, until all variables which increase prediction of the criterion scores have been selected. Male and female samples were tested separately. Table 6 gives the best predictors of the Sex Role Attitude Scale in order of decreasing potency. Table 7 and Table 8 give the best predictors of the M–F Adjective Check List and the Mf Scale respectively. The t-values are not always in decreasing order since predictors share some variance. Not all predictors listed reach significance for a two-tailed test ($t=1.96, p<.05$). Predictors which differed significantly for high and low scorers on separate t-tests are footnoted.
TABLE 6

PREDICTORS OF SEX ROLE ATTITUDE SCORES
IN ORDER OF DECREASING STRENGTH
(N MALES=111, FEMALES=142)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Beta weight</th>
<th>t for weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Maternal Influence</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>5.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Education</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Employment</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>3.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High SES</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Nurturance</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Nurturance</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masculine Sex Role Reinforcement</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Positive weights associated with new sex role attitudes

\(^b\) Significant at the .05 level for top and bottom third scorers

\(^c\) Maternal employment is measured according to years of employment, see Appendix A for scoring
TABLE 7

PREDICTORS OF M-F ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST
SCORES IN ORDER OF DECREASING STRENGTH
(N MALES=111, FEMALES=142)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Beta weight</th>
<th>t for weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>High SES</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Education</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Influence</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Nurturance</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal Nurturance</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Masculine Sex Role Reinforcement</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>-2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal Education</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Nurturance</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal Nurturance</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>-1.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Positive weights associated with femininity

b Significant at the .05 level for top and bottom third scorers
TABLE 8

PREDICTORS OF MF SCALE RAW SCORES
IN ORDER OF DECREASING STRENGTH
(N MALES=111, FEMALES=142)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Beta weight</th>
<th>t for weight(^a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Maternal Influence(^b)</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>3.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal Nurturance(^b)</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Maternal Employment(^bc)</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal Influence</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paternal Education</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Positive weights associated with femininity

\(^b\) Significant at the .05 level for top and bottom third scorers

\(^c\) Maternal employment measured according to years of employment, see Appendix A for scoring
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

There has been little effort to tie the emerging sex role attitude literature to the larger body of sex role identification research. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship of selected home life and upbringing variables to sex role attitudes and identity. Sex role attitudes were assessed by the Sex Role Attitude Scale. Sex role identity was assessed by the Mf Scale of the MMPI and the M-F Adjective Check List. Parental variables were measured by the Home Life and Upbringing Questionnaire.

Eight hypotheses based on the author's examination of relevant theory and research were tested. The hypotheses dealt with the effect of maternal influence, sex role reinforcement, and paternal nurturance on males, and the effect of parental education, maternal employment, and parental nurturance on females. Two hypotheses dealt with the relationship between sex role attitudes and sex role identity.

The results of the analysis supported two of the three hypotheses concerning males, and the third was partially supported. The first is that males with new sex role
attitudes experienced greater maternal influence than males with traditional sex role attitudes. The second is that males with new sex role attitudes received less parental encouragement of masculine sex-typed behavior than males with traditional sex role attitudes. These new attitude males received significantly less maternal encouragement of aggression and significantly less paternal encouragement of independence. Males with feminine identities, as measured by the Mf Scale, had less nurturant fathers. When both criterion for sex role identity, the Mf Scale and the M-F Adjective Check List, were used the null hypothesis regarding effect of paternal nurturance could not be rejected. These results suggest that less parental pressure to conform to societal sex role stereotypes and greater maternal influence do facilitate the male's adoption of new sex role attitudes. On the other hand, there was only a tendency for males with less masculine identities to have less nurturant fathers.

The hypotheses concerning females were not confirmed. Parental education and maternal employment were not greater for females with new sex role attitudes than for those with traditional sex role attitudes. Douvan and Adelson (1966) found an interaction effect between socioeconomic status and part-time vs. full-time maternal employment in adolescents' sex role attitudes. The present study found that
daughters of high socioeconomic status, part-time employed mothers had more traditional sex role attitudes than other females, while sons of unemployed mothers were the most traditional males. If high SES part-time employed mothers are less committed to their work than other employed mothers, this might explain their daughters' more traditional attitudes. Daughters of unemployed mothers may be rejecting their perceived limitations of that role. Exposure to an employed mother, rather than SES or part-time, full-time employment, appeared to be important for males' attitudes.

The last two hypotheses concerned the relationship of sex role attitudes to sex role identity in males and females. There was a significant relationship between new sex role attitudes and cross-sex identity in both sexes. A significant relationship was predicted for males only. These results suggest that males and females who have incorporated cross-sex qualities into their self-concepts and cross-sex interests into their personal preferences are more likely to accept new sex role attitudes than other youth. While the relationship between cross-sex identity and new sex role attitudes was much stronger for males, it was significant for both sexes.

The Wherry Test Selection technique was used to determine which personal and parental variables were actually predicting scores on the Sex Role Attitude Scale, the M-F
Adjective Check List, and the Mf Scale. The Sex Role Attitude Scale measured the acceptance and rejection of new as opposed to traditional sex role attitudes. Age was the best predictor of sex role attitudes for females. They rejected traditional sex role attitudes in increasing proportions from 18 to 22 years. This result is consistent with Block's (1973) stage theory model of sex role development. In this view, individuals gain flexibility in their sex role attitudes and can admit cross-sex behavior into their self-concepts as they mature. Age did not predict sex role attitudes in males over this age range. Further research may reveal if and when male sex role attitudes undergo these developmental changes. Parental reinforcement of masculine sex-typed behavior also predicted new sex role attitudes in females.

Greater maternal influence, maternal education, and maternal employment were associated with new sex role attitudes in males. Factors which increase the relative salience of the mother may influence the male's views concerning the feminine role and sex roles in general. High socioeconomic status was also associated with new sex role attitudes in males. This finding is consistent with research that egalitarianism is valued in the middle class home (Douvan and Adelson, 1966). Maternal nurturance was negatively associated with new sex role attitudes in both males and
females. Since the mother is expected to fulfill the expressive role in most societies, her failure to do so may imply a rejection of traditional sex roles. New attitude males present a paradox. They perceived relatively greater influence from their mothers than from their fathers, yet they perceived their mothers as absolutely less nurturant than other males. These mothers may be fulfilling the role that fathers fulfill for most males, that is they are the salient yet demanding parent. In Parson and Bales terminology, these mothers are the instrumental parents.

The M-F Adjective Check List measured masculinity—femininity of self-concept, or sex role orientation. Masculine self-concepts in females were associated with low maternal nurturance and high paternal nurturance. Feminine self-concepts in males were associated with low paternal nurturance and high maternal nurturance. These results are consistent with sex role identification theory. Same-sex orientation is said to proceed from nurturance from the same-sex parent early in life (Biller, 1971). When the opposite-sex parent rewards the child's dependency in place of the same-sex parent, male femininity and female masculinity may result (Sears, 1957).

High paternal education was associated with masculine self-concepts in females, and high maternal education was associated with feminine self-concepts in males. Children
tend to imitate the dominant parent (Hetherington, 1965). If education increases relative dominance within the family, the highly educated parent has additional value as a model.

Parental reinforcement of masculine sex-typed behavior predicted masculine self-concepts in females. There was no analogous finding for male self-concepts. Low socioeconomic status was associated with feminine self-concepts in these college males. Lower class husbands have less power in the family, and may therefore be poorer models for male sex role identification (Blood and Wolfe, 1960).

The Mf Scale of the MMPI measures masculinity-femininity of interests, or sex role preference. Greater maternal influence was associated with femininity of interests in both sexes. Maternal employment predicted masculine interests in females. The Mf Scale includes a number of items dealing with occupations, and it is not surprising that maternal employment would orient females toward the occupational world. High paternal education was associated with feminine interests in females. This finding was not anticipated and is not subject to easy explanation. Low paternal nurturance was associated with feminine interests in males. Warmth from the father may orient the male child toward masculine interests and activities as well as facilitating a masculine identity.

Longitudinal studies have found parental nurturance to
be a powerful variable associated with a wide range of feelings and behavior. Developmental primacy may be one reason for its pervasive effects. As in past research, females perceived more parental nurturance than males. Mothers were perceived as more nurturant than fathers, with the results significant for males. Role theory predicts that fathers take an expressive role with their daughters and an instrumental role with their sons, while mothers take an expressive role with both sexes (Baldwin, 1967). This study shows that this is how adolescents do perceive their parents' behavior.

Parental nurturance has been said to be the key to socialization (Sears, 1957). Rejection by the same-sex parent and acceptance by the opposite-sex parent affected masculinity-femininity of self-concept in both sexes, as identification theory predicts. Rejection by the same-sex parent also predicted weaker same-sex interests. Maternal nurturance was associated with traditional sex role attitudes in both sexes.

For males, maternal influence was associated with all three aspects of sex role. Greater maternal influence predicted feminine self-concepts, femininity of interests, and new sex role attitudes in their sons. For the sample as a whole females perceived more maternal influence than males. Maternal influence was associated with feminine interests in
both sexes. This agrees with Biller's finding (1971) that parental salience affects the sex role preferences and interests of children.

In this study males perceived less encouragement of emotionality and greater encouragement of aggression from their parents than females. Unexpectedly, females did not perceive less encouragement of independence or more restrictions upon their activities than males. Further research is necessary to determine whether parents in fact no longer differentiate between the sexes in these behaviors, or whether their children just do not perceive these differences.

Parental education and socioeconomic status were associated with all three measures. Kagan and Moss (1962) and Douvan and Adelson (1966) have found that parental education and socioeconomic status are associated with differences in parental childrearing practices, including warmth and sex role reinforcement. In the present study, both males and females with high educated parents perceived greater warmth and influence from their fathers than adolescents with low educated parents.

There was evidence that maternal employment affects males not less than but in a different way than females. Maternal employment was associated with masculine interests in females. For males, maternal employment was associated with a nontraditional view of male and female roles.
How closely associated were sex role orientation, preferences, and attitudes, as measured by the M-F Adjective Check List, the Mf Scale, and the Sex Role Attitude Scale respectively? Tables 9 and 10 give the correlation matrices of the three measures for males and females. There was a moderate correlation between the two aspects of sex role identity, sex role orientation and sex role preference, for both sexes. Sex role attitudes were more closely associated with sex role orientation in females and more closely associated with sex role preferences in males. The significance of these sex differences must be left to future research.

A major proposition of this study, that some parental variables influence the child's sex role identity while other parental variables facilitate or inhibit new sex role attitudes, received support. In addition, the study confirmed that different parental variables are important to the development of sex role attitudes in males and females. Finally, the study supported the basic hypothesis that sex role attitudes and sex role identity are closely but complexly related. Since the analyses are descriptive in nature, research is necessary to determine the development of these relationships and to describe their mechanism. Sex role identity needs to be better integrated into personality theory. The intrapersonal and interpersonal consequences of different sex role patterns and their adaptive value may be another important line in future research.
TABLE 9

CORRELATION MATRIX OF THE CRITERION MEASURES FOR MALES (N=111)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M-F ACL&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Mf Scale</th>
<th>SRAS&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mf Scale</td>
<td>.29&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRAS&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td></td>
<td>.54&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>M-F ACL=M-F Adjective Check List, SRAS=Sex Role Attitude Scale

<sup>b</sup>Positive correlation denotes positive relationship with femininity

<sup>c</sup>Significant at the .01 level

<sup>d</sup>Significant at the .001 level
TABLE 10

CORRELATION MATRIX OF THE CRITERION MEASURES FOR FEMALES (N=142)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M-F ACL&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Mf Scale</th>
<th>SRAS&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mf Scale</td>
<td>.31&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRAS&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-.30&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>M-F ACL=M-F Adjective Check List, SRAS=Sex Role Attitude Scale

<sup>b</sup>Negative correlation denotes negative relationship with femininity

<sup>c</sup>Significant at the .01 level
APPENDIX A

THE HOME LIFE AND UPBRINGING QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is anonymous. 
Circle the answer you select for each question.

1. Sex: Male Female
2. Age: 18 19 20 21 Other
3. Race: Black White Other
4. Socioeconomic Status: Lower Working Middle Upper Upper Middle
5. Lived with: Both Mother Father Other Parents Only Only
6. My father's formal education was:
   1 2 3 4 5
   9th grade 10th-12th some college graduate
   or less grade college degree degree
7. My mother's formal education was:
   9th grade 10th-12th some college graduate
   or less grade college degree degree
8. During my lifetime my mother was employed outside the home:
   1 2 3 4 5
   never 5 years 6-10 years 11-15 years 16-20 years
   or less
9. My mother's employment outside the home was mostly:
   Part time Full time

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Circle the answer which best describes your own home life.

Maternal Influence Subscale

10. The parent who influenced me most:
   5 Mother Mostly 4 Equal Mostly 3 Father Mostly 2 Father

11. The parent who had ideals closest to mine:
   Mother Mostly Equal Mostly Father

12. The parent who disciplined me most often:
   Mother Mostly Equal Mostly Father

13. The parent who gave me the most affection:
   Mother Mostly Equal Mostly Father

14. The parent who was closest to me:
   Mother Mostly Equal Mostly Father

15. The parent who was dominant in my home:
   Mother Mostly Equal Mostly Father

Sex Role Reinforcement Subscale

16. My mother discouraged me from expressions of emotionality such as crying:
   Never Seldom Often Most of All of the time the time

17. My father discouraged me from expressions of emotionality such as crying:
   Never Seldom Often Most of All of the time the time
18. My mother encouraged me to defend myself when attacked by my peers:

Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of  the time  the time

19. My father encouraged me to defend myself when attacked by my peers:

Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of  the time  the time

20. My mother encouraged me to do everything I was able to do for myself:

Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of  the time  the time

21. My father encouraged me to do everything I was able to do for myself:

Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of  the time  the time

22. My mother let me do most of the things my friends were allowed to do:

Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of  the time  the time

23. My father let me do most of the things my friends were allowed to do:

Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of  the time  the time

Maternal Nurturance Subscale

24. I feel my mother really loves me:

Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of  the time  the time

25. My mother openly expresses her affection for me:

Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of  the time  the time
26. I feel my mother approves of me:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

27. My mother accepts my personal feelings:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

28. My mother is generous with me:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

29. My mother encourages me to pursue my interests:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

30. My mother trusts me:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

31. I know I can count on my mother when I need her:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

Paternal Nurturance Subscale

32. I feel my father really loves me:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

33. My father openly expresses his affection for me:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

34. I feel my father approves of me:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time

35. My father accepts my personal feelings:
   Never  Seldom  Often  Most of  All of
   the time  the time
36. My father is generous with me:

Never Seldom Often Most of All of the time the time

37. My father encourages me to pursue my interests:

Never Seldom Often Most of All of the time the time

38. My father trusts me:

Never Seldom Often Most of All of the time the time

39. I know I can count on my father when I need him:

Never Seldom Often Most of All of the time the time
APPENDIX B

M-F ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST

active<sup>m</sup>       unemotional<sup>m</sup>       worldly<sup>m</sup>       alert<sup>m</sup>
unemotional<sup>m</sup>  feminine<sup>f</sup>      neat<sup>f</sup>        vigorous<sup>m</sup>
tactful<sup>f</sup>       neat<sup>f</sup>       direct<sup>m</sup>       sympathetic<sup>f</sup>
sociable<sup>f</sup>     pleasant<sup>f</sup>   graceful<sup>f</sup>      emotionally stable<sup>m</sup>
independent<sup>m</sup>  direct<sup>m</sup>       graceful<sup>f</sup>      poised<sup>f</sup>
charming<sup>f</sup>     graceful<sup>f</sup>   forceful<sup>m</sup>      expressive<sup>f</sup>
appreciative<sup>f</sup> affectionate<sup>f</sup> competitive<sup>m</sup> objective<sup>m</sup>
logical<sup>m</sup>      competitive<sup>m</sup> understanding<sup>f</sup>    warm<sup>f</sup>
sentimental<sup>f</sup>  understanding<sup>f</sup> confident<sup>m</sup>        ambitious<sup>m</sup>
capable<sup>m</sup>       confident<sup>m</sup>   masculine<sup>m</sup>      courageous<sup>m</sup>
adventurous<sup>m</sup>  masculine<sup>m</sup>   energetic<sup>m</sup>        sensitive<sup>f</sup>
gracious<sup>f</sup>     energetic<sup>m</sup>   dominant<sup>m</sup>        affectionate<sup>f</sup>
talkative<sup>f</sup>    considerate<sup>f</sup>    aggressive<sup>m</sup>      aggressive<sup>m</sup>
stong<sup>m</sup>        considerate<sup>f</sup>    attractive<sup>f</sup>      gentle<sup>f</sup>
kind<sup>f</sup>         attractive<sup>f</sup>    motherly<sup>f</sup>        gentle<sup>f</sup>
religious<sup>f</sup>    motherly<sup>f</sup>    responsible<sup>m</sup>      mature<sup>m</sup>
courteous<sup>f</sup>    responsible<sup>m</sup>  athletic<sup>m</sup>

<sup>m</sup>=masculine adjectives, <sup>f</sup>=feminine adjectives
APPENDIX C

THE SEX ROLE ATTITUDE SCALE

Circle the answer which best describes your own attitude.

1. I like aggressive women.
   Strongly Agree
   Mildly Agree
   Neutral
   Mildly Disagree
   Strongly Disagree

2. Men should be protective of women.
   Strongly Agree
   Mildly Agree
   Neutral
   Mildly Disagree
   Strongly Disagree

3. Men are naturally better in math and science.
   Strongly Agree
   Mildly Agree
   Neutral
   Mildly Disagree
   Strongly Disagree

4. A woman's primary responsibility is to her husband and children.
   Strongly Agree
   Mildly Agree
   Neutral
   Mildly Disagree
   Strongly Disagree

5. Men should be responsible for the economic security of a family.
   Strongly Agree
   Mildly Agree
   Neutral
   Mildly Disagree
   Strongly Disagree

6. Women should have the same exact freedoms (sexual, social, academic) that men have.
   Strongly Agree
   Mildly Agree
   Neutral
   Mildly Disagree
   Strongly Disagree
7. Women must protect their reputation.

**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree

8. Couples should live together before marrying.

**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree

9. Women have greater aptitude in the arts and music.

**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree

10. I approve of communal living.

**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree

11. Athletic ability is not important in men.

**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree

12. Men should take the initiative in dating.

**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree

13. Women have been oppressed by the society.

**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree


**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree

15. Women should have the predominant responsibility for household chores.

**Strongly** Agree **Mildly** Agree **Neutral** Agree **Mildly** Disagree **Strongly** Disagree
16. The current sex roles are predominantly culturally determined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Mildly Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Mildly Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
APPENDIX D

THE MF SCALE OF THE MMPI

Circle True if the statement is true of mostly true as applied to you. Circle False if the statement if false or not usually true as applied to you. If a statement does not apply to you or is something that you don't know about, leave it blank. Do not leave any blank spaces if you can avoid it.

1. I like mechanics magazines.
   True   False

2. I think I would like the work of a librarian.
   True   False

3. When I take a new job, I like to be tipped off on who should be gotten next to.
   True   False

4. I would like to be a singer.
   True   False

5. I feel that it is certainly best to keep my mouth shut when I'm in trouble.
   True   False

6. When someone does me a wrong I feel I should pay him back if I can, just for the principle of the thing.
   True   False

7. I am very strongly attracted by members of my own sex.
   True   False
8. I used to like drop-the-handkerchief.
   True  False

9. I have often wished I were a girl. (Or if you are a girl) I have never been sorry that I am a girl.
   True  False

10. I enjoy reading love stories.
    True  False

11. I like poetry.
    True  False

12. My feelings are not easily hurt.
    True  False

13. I sometimes tease animals.
    True  False

14. I think I would like the kind of work a forest ranger does.
    True  False

15. I would like to be a florist.
    True  False

16. It takes a lot of argument to convince most people of the truth.
    True  False

17. I would like to be a nurse.
    True  False

18. I like to go to parties and other affairs where there is lots of loud fun.
    True  False
19. I frequently find it necessary to stand up for what I think is right.
   True   False

   True   False

21. I enjoy a race or game better when I bet on it.
   True   False

22. Most people are honest chiefly through fear of being caught.
   True   False

23. My table manners are not quite as good at home as when I am out in company.
   True   False

24. I like dramatics.
   True   False

25. I like collecting flowers or growing home plants.
   True   False

26. I have never indulged in any unusual sex practices.
   True   False

27. At times my thoughts have raced ahead faster than I could speak them.
   True   False

28. I like to cook.
   True   False

29. I would like to be a soldier.
   True   False
30. I used to keep a diary.
   True  False

31. I do not have a great fear of snakes.
   True  False

32. I am worried about sex matters.
   True  False

33. My hands have not become clumsy or awkward.
   True  False

34. I daydream very little
   True  False

35. If I were a reporter I would very much like to report news of the theater.
   True  False

36. I would like to be a journalist.
   True  False

37. In walking I am very careful to step over sidewalk cracks.
   True  False

38. I have never had any breaking out on my skin that has worried me.
   True  False

39. I frequently find myself worrying about something.
   True  False

40. I think I would like the work of a building contractor.
   True  False
41. I like science.
   True False

42. I very much like hunting.
   True False

43. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very well.
   True False

44. I should like to belong to several clubs or lodges.
   True False

45. I like to talk about sex.
   True False

46. I have been disappointed in love.
   True False

47. I believe there is a Devil and a Hell in afterlife.
   True False

48. I like to be with a crowd who play jokes on one another.
   True False

50. If I were an artist I would like to draw flowers.
   True False

51. It does not bother me that I am not better looking.
   True False

52. I am entirely self-confident.
   True False
53. I have often felt that strangers were looking at me critically.
   True   False

54. Most people make friends because friends are likely to be useful to them.
   True   False

55. Once in a while I feel hate toward members of my family whom I usually love.
   True   False

56. If I were a reporter I would very much like to report sporting news.
   True   False

57. I liked "Alice in Wonderland" by Lewis Carroll.
   True   False

58. I wish I were not bothered by thoughts about sex.
   True   False

59. I think that I feel more intensely than most people.
   True   False

60. There was never a time in my life when I liked to play with dolls.
   True   False
BIBLIOGRAPHY


