

CHAPTER III.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

During the last decade, interest in children's moral development and in their learning of role appropriate behavior, has focused a good deal of attention on the processes of identification. This mechanism, first conceptualized by Freud (1917) to account for the pathology of melancholia, has seemed to have broad explanatory power for other types of behavior as well. Later, in connection with the structural part of Psycho analytic theory, Freud (1921, 1923) extended and revised the concept in such a way as to make identification the process responsible for the development of the super ego and ego-ideal, and for certain qualities of sex typing (1924). The further analysis of Freud's ideas have been ably described by Bron Fenbrenner (1960).

As a hypothesized process, identification has been attractive to non-analytic psychologists because it has given promise of explaining several rather complex forms of behavioral development that have not yielded easily to theoretical analysis in terms of the learning theories. Increasingly as research has revealed more and more of subtleties that characterize the early stages of sex typing, adult role formation, self control, self-recrimination, prosocial forms of aggression, guilt feelings and other expressions of conscience, Psychologists have sought higher level conceptualizations.

The behaviors mentioned have three common aspects; they develop very early in life, they seem to occur spontaneously and they became very strongly established. These similarities have but impetus to inquiries into the nature of identification i.e. into

whether there may be a single unitary process of identification that accounts for the development of a seemingly quite heterogeneous set of complex responses.

Efforts at self-control, pro-social aggression and the display of guilt feelings find expression very early in a child's life, and although they often give the appearance of having been modeled after the parents' behavior, their development also often appears to have been independent of direct tuition by the parents. Similarly certain sex role behaviors, such as style of aggression or toy preference, not only occur very early but also give the impression of almost spontaneous development without parental intervention. A pervasive quality such as masculinity (or femininity), receives at least some intentional reinforcement by parents and peers, of course, but the training task required for creating this kind of role-conformity seems too great to persue an explanation in terms of the direct reinforcement of each of the behavioral components that compose the roles. There could be some intermediary process which, very early in life, enables the child to learn without the parents having to teach and which creates a self reinforcing mechanism that competes effectively in some instances with external sources of reinforcement.

If there is a single mediating process governing the development of the various hypothesized behavioral products of identification, there should be some unity among them. One would expect them to develop at the same rate and at a given point in a child's life, to have developed to the same degree. In other words,

within a group of young children, there should be high positive correlations among the measures of the several so called identification behaviours. Another purpose of such a study would be to determine whether the child rearing ante-cedents of such behaviors were those to be expected from identification theory.

Although Freud from his clinical observations; provided the original induction of the identification process, his analysis of the presumed conditions under which it might be supposed to develop in infancy were incomplete, and were not concluded in terms conducive to empirical investigation. There have been several attempts to reformulate the theory in more precise terms to facilitate behavioral research on sex typing andx various aspects of moral development. In the main, these efforts have rested specifically on the basic principles of learning, making use of what is known concerning the effects of reward and punishment and the mechanism of secondary reinforcement. Perhaps for this reason in the literature, there is an over emphasize on the concept of primary or anaclitic identification.

Anaclitic identification is understood to be a mechanism developed during the first three or four years of life, by which behaving like the parents or perceiving the similarity between the self and the parents becomes intrinsically rewarding, various sources of reinforcement have been hypothesized to account for the establishment of this motivational system; Basically most of them reduce to gratification of dependency needs. The actions learned by the child, by imitation, are those which the parent performs in providing this gratification. The assumption has been made

(Sears 1957) that the child generalizes these actions in to "being like" the rewarding parent. When he behaves in this fashion, his own performance possesses (acquired) reward value.

This development assumes that the earliest relationship between infant and mother is a care taking one. The mother provides constant biological support for the child's needs i.e. she nurtures him, and he in turn becomes both physically and emotionally dependent on her. She and all she does become environmental events that have reward value for the child.

Once this dependency motive is established, he will seek her out and attempt to manipulate both her and other necessary parts of the environment in such a way as to keep her available to him by sight and sound and to instigate in her behavior all the qualities that have been associated with the primary rewards that have accompanied care taking.

As the child progresses in age, he begins to imitate the mother. Only the inception of this process is theoretically troublesome, Bandura and Walters (1963) understanding of "observational learning", learning by imitating a model, occurs early in life. The relevance of this imitation to identification theory is that the child by performing acts which in the mother's behavior repertoire, have become secondary rewards or reinforcers for the child, now has a mechanism by which he can reward himself. By imitating his mother, he can provide a substitute for her, when she begins withdrawing affectionate interaction and nurturance from him.

Mowrer (1960) formulated that all forms of proprioceptive feed back from imitative acts could serve the function of acquired rewards. Sears (1957) extended Mowrer's proposal to include among the acquired forms of self reward the whole class of imitated maternal behaviors, such as gestures, postures, task performances and expressions of feeling and ultimately as the child's cognitive capacities develop and he begins to perceive and absorb belief systems, values and ideological positions, he imitates these aspects of his available models also.

To account for the apparently non-tutitional character of much of the learning from models, various theorists have postulated the establishment of a general habit of role practice. For example, Sears (1957) hypothesized the development of a secondary drive to behave like the parents and Maccoby (1959) suggested that role playing develops as generalized habit that permits the child to gain mastery of many responses he will be expected to perform as an adult. Bandura and Walters (1963), however have questioned whether any such generalized habit need be hypothesized.

In their view there are so many models available to children that one need assume only the operation of "observational learning" to account for the efficiency with which children absorb the adult and sex appropriate qualities of behavior. The theory postulates that many of the absorbed qualities should develop simultaneously and at appropriately the same rate, the rate depending on the extent to which the optimum conditions of nurturance, withdrawal of love, and modeling characterize parental behavior.

The kinds of behavior presumed to be adopted under these circumstances are those that characterize the behavior of the models since the most potent models for the very young child are those who are nurturant and who control resources (Bandura & Watters, 1963, pp. 93-100).

The two main classes of this initiative behavior are sex appropriate and adult like behavior. The latter includes a great variety of things, such as adult role play, pro-social aggression, resistance to temptation, achievement orientation, (in American middle class - Culture) rule quoting, labeling of action as "right" or "wrong", and various inhibitions of change worthy behavior, including infantile sexual and dependency actions. Since the child incorporate the parental strictures on mis-behavior, he not only tends to behave, but also feels it to be wrong when he does yield to temptation and expresses reprehension of himself just as the parents would. Thus the child experiences guilt and tends to respond to his feelings by methods of confession and restitution.

One has to look at the developmental principles that dictate a wide range of individual variation in the rate at which the identification process develops and the ultimate strength it reaches.

The high early dependency in the child for example plays two roles. It exists as a set of supplicative habits that are instigated both internally and externally. It is also the dyadic system in which the nurturant, affectional and attention giving acts of others serve as secondary reinforcements. Thus, the dependency

50
habits and the feedback system is encouraged or discouraged. The stronger the system becomes as seen by the frequency of dependency expressive acts, the more of these environmental events are necessary to avoid frustration. Of course, ultimately the social necessity for the mother to reduce her responsiveness does produce the frustration required for establishing the imitation.

The quality of parental nurturance is also a dependent factor in deciding the rewarding quality of that behavior on which is going to depend the need for imitating the parent's behavior.

The role of parental standards of conduct would also determine the total imitated parental behaviors. The more demanding the parents standards are, the more, the child must do to attain them, hence less frequently he will receive reinforcement and the stronger will be his learning of whatever acts are reinforced. Thus the principle of intermittent reinforcement provides greater assurance of that behavioral trait to be continued.

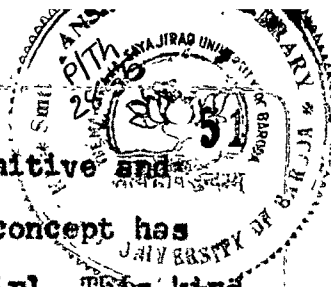
The use of love-oriented techniques of discipline, rather than material rewards, in shaping a child's behavior should increase the child's dependency. Clearly labelling the appropriate behavior increases the discriminability of the behaviors to be imitated, and reference to such rewardable behavior should increase both the rate of learning and the extent to which the parental behavior becomes the model to be imitated.

The secondary form of identification (Freud 1923), is conceived to be a defensive process in which the anaclitic

identification produces an internalization of the punitive and restrictive qualities of a threatening parent. This concept has been elaborated by Freud more for a Boy than for a girl. This kind of identification is a defence in the sense that it reduces the anxiety shown by the boy by his own oedipal hostilities. The immediate motivation is fear of castration by the father in retaliation for the boy's libidinal feelings toward the mother and hostile, competitive feelings toward the father. As a solution to the oedipal dilemma, this identification with the aggressive father arises only if the boy has a strong ambivalent attachment to the father, thus in cases where the boy's hostility toward the father is intermingled with affection and love, the boy admires his father and wishes to be like him, but also wants him out of the way. The latter wish is repressed due to the fear of castration but remains as an unconscious source of guilt. Associated with this repression and guilt is the product of the conflicting love impulse toward the father, an identification with the mother's role in relation to the father, an identification that adds a feminine component to his personality.

These two solutions are not alternatives to each other, but they occur in combination and are responsible for the continuing residue of femininity that accompanies masculinity in the male.

To live together as a group and to maintain some degree of harmony requires some sort of organisation and administration within the society. An aspect of this organisation



52

is classification of human beings on the basis of sex (Parsons 1942).

Ralph Linton states :

"The structure of even the simplest primary society such as a primitive village is by no means simple or homogeneous. The individuals who compose such a society are classified and organized in several different ways simultaneously. Each of these systems has its own functions as regards relating the individual to culture and he occupies a place within each of them. Thus every member of the society has a place in the age sex system and also in the prestige series. (Linton 1952, P. 263-12)."

According to Linton (1952), the place a certain individual occupies in a particular system in a particular time is his "status". His "role" is the sum total of culture patterns associated with a particular status. It includes the attitudes, values and behaviors ascribed by the society to any and all persons occupying this status. Linton emphasized the content of a role:

It can even be extended to include the legitimate expectations of such persons with respect to the behavior toward them of persons in other statuses within the system (Linton, 1952, P. 264).

Linton (1952) further clarifies the relationship between a status and a role. Every status is related to some particular role but the two are never the same thing for any one individual. The individual's statuses are ascribed to him on the basis of his age, sex, his birth or marriage in a particular family unit, his ordinal position and so forth. His roles are dependent on and based on his statuses. This is true of both the current statuses and anticipated ones.

In so far as it represents overt behavior, a role is the dynamic aspect of a status: what the individual has to do in order to validate his status and his occupation of it. (Linton, 1952, P. 264).

Parsons (1942) has also paid attention to age and sex as the bases of statuses and roles. His emphasis is more on the adult behavior rather than that of young children.

Once statuses and roles are formulated and defined in a society. There are pressures toward following the roles. An individual should follow the roles associated with his current status at a given time (Linton 1952). As a young boy matures, he is likely to find increasing familial, peer and general societal pressures to identify with his father and thus to learn to think, feel and act like a member of his sex. Brown (1958), Mussen (1961) In other words, the process means the adoption of sex appropriate motivational patterns, personality characteristics and overt masculine behavior as well as masculine interests.

A number of findings from the Thematic Apperception test, ratings and sociometric variables supported Mussen's hypothesis of the young boys' facing a lot of pressure to conform to the prescribed masculine role, Mussen (1961). The evidence demonstrated that the strong identification with the male role is manifested in the adoption of coherent set or patterns of sex role behaviors rather than in the acquisition of a few isolated sex appropriated characteristics, Mussen (1961).

A study by Bloemer (1964) was done to examine methods that children of both sexes would use to solve problems they see

arising from (a) normal life situations with some pressure and (b) in situations requiring primitive survival. It was found that boys chose highly decisive and more tense characters under survival stress than under normal conditions. For the primitive survival conditions, girls' identification figures were significantly less romantic than for normal conditions (Bloomer, (1964). Bloomer's subjects were middle class boys and girls from grades 4 through in the school system of mid western city with a population of 350,000. Frank (1958), suggested that current changes in women's social roles are likely to lead to feelings of anxiety, inadequacy and hostility in men because of a lack of synchronization in role change on their part. Several others (Brown 1958, Cave 1952 and Raush 1952, Gray 1957, Gray & Klaus 1956, Hacker 1957, Hamburger 1953, Tuddenhan 1951-1952) have noticed evidence of socialization and adjustment difficulties from male role demands at the adult and adolescent levels. As far as U.S.A. is concerned the fact that more boys than girls have been referred to child guidance clinics in recent years points to the markedly greater failure of boys in social functioning as compared with girls (Gilbert 1957, Ullman 1957, Department of mentalhygiene 1955,1956, Public Health Service publication 1956). There have been more boys than girls rated as delinquents (Schwartz, (1949) and there are more underachievers among boys than girls (Gowan (1955).

Hartley (1960) accepts a social role as including all the personal qualities, behavioral characteristics, interests, attitudes, abilities and skills which one is expected to have because one occupies a certain status or position. She points to

the problem, of a status or role being an outcome of the society's culture alone and thus at times being completely unrelated to an individual's native endowments.

Another dimension of sex role development is to see it through the socialization process and the pressures of this process associated with sex role development.

The demands of boys' conforming to the social notion of masculinity come much earlier and are enforced with more intense emphasis than similar attitudes with respect to girls. Several studies of pre-school children have revealed that boys are aware of what is expected of them because they are boys and hence they restrict their interests and activities to what is suitably masculine in Kindergarten (Brown 1956, 1957, Pauls & Smith 1956, Gilbert 1957, Rabban 1950), while girls move gradually in the direction of femininity taking about five more years.

(1960)
Hartley's interpretation based on these findings is that more stringent demands are placed on boys at an age when they are best able to understand the meaning of the demands and also that these demands are frequently enforced harshly to make things more difficult, the desired behavior is rarely defined positively. The child is told what not to be, but hardly ever what to be. These circumstances create more anxiety in boys than in girls. This remains to be seen in Indian Culture, as there is no information available yet as to the sex role pressures in Indian Culture.

B. Tarabai (1971) in her study on sex role identification of father absent, mother absent children of elementary school age

(grade 1 to 4) draws the following conclusions:

(1) Children whose one of the parents were absent did not differ from normal children in their sex role identification.

(2) Children whose same sex parent was absent did not differ from normal children in their sex-role identification.

(3) Children whose opposite sex parent was absent did not differ from normal children in their sex role identification.

(4) Sex role identification is helped by:

- (a) Presence of other male members in the environment,
- (b) Presence of other female members in the environment,
- (c) Recency of the absence of the parent.

(5) Father absent and mother absent children chose the available living parent as the model they wanted to imitate, irrespective of whether the parent was of the same or of opposite sex. In ⁽¹⁹⁷¹⁾ Tarabai's research, the sample consisted of 30 children from father absent homes (20 B, 10 G) and 14 children from mother absent homes (8 B, 6 G) as well as 40 children (20 B, 20 G) from normal homes from the various school located in Tirupati (India).

~~Research~~ (1971) in her study on sex role preferences of pre-school children ~~(1971)~~ found that :-

(a) Boys and girls, clearly differed in their sex role preferences. Boys were found to be more masculine and girls were found to be more feminine in their interests and behaviors.

(b) Girls indicated more confused pattern of sex role preferences.

(c) The parents of the children selected for this study indicated through their verbalization that they expected different set of sex role behaviors and preferences from boys and girls.

(d) Children in the study (B & G) indicated culturally stereotyped sex linked behavior.

(e) Female children on the whole gave ambiguous responses as regards to their "sex role" preferences where as male children gave other emphasised masculine responses. This can be attributed to the difference in child rearing practices in Indian Culture. Sex role behaviors perhaps are more clearly articulated for boys and a good deal of emphasis is placed on masculinity for boys, where as such pressures are not placed on girls for being feminine. The sample in her study consisted of 24 children (12 B & 12 Girls) between 3½ to 4½ from the laboratory preschool, Child Development Department, attached to the Faculty of Home Science. Parents of these children were given an open-end interview with a set of questions to study their verbalization & views on the sex role preferences of boys and girls.

The sex role learning dilemma that boys face is further intensified by the fact that fathers are characteristically less available at home as either behavior models or interacting masculine agents. The active absence of the father means that much male behavior is learned, if at all, by trial and error and indirection (Lynn 1962) one outcome of this kind of learning is much greater

resemblance of girls to their mothers than that of boys to their fathers (Beier and Ratzburg 1953, Gray 1959, Lazowick: 1955, Roff 1950, Schoppe 1955). There have also been some studies showing that relations between fathers and sons are not as good as those between mothers and daughters (Meltzer 1941, 1943, Ninkoff 1942). It is assumed that identification is influenced by the quality of relationship between the child and his model (Kewrer 1950 a & b, Symonds 1946). A poor relationship with the father diminished the son's chances to learn appropriate sex role behavior easily and naturally by using the father as a model (Cava and Raush 1952, Payne and Mussen 1956). Boys with difficulties in sex role behaviors often report their fathers as punishing agents and their mothers as protectors (Emmerich 1959).

Hartley (1959) points out another factor that may add to the boys' anxiety with all the emphasis on developing masculine behavior, ~~the~~ ~~ye~~ and leaving behind every trace of feminine behavior, the young boy is faced with women as models and interacting agents for most of his day (because of the fathers being away and there being female teachers in pre-school as well as elementary school programs). Hartup, Moore and Sagar (1963) found in their study that when boys were individually permitted to play with a selection of attractive feminine toys and unattractive neutral (neither feminine nor masculine) toys, most of the boys avoided feminine toys, spending their time with the unattractive dilapidated ones. Also the avoidance of feminine toys was stronger when an adult was present in the situation than when the adult was absent (Hartup, Moore and Sagar 1963, Kobasigave Arkaki & Awaguni 1966), while similar trends appear for the girls in

the research findings, the avoidance aspect of their sex role learning is less pervasive. Delucia (1960) and Spencer (1963) found that when mild verbal punishment was administered to children upon making inappropriate choices on a toy preference test, the appropriateness of subsequent choices was increased. It was concluded that avoidance of opposite sex behavior or sex-role appears to be an important part of sex role learning, particularly in a boy's life. The finding that avoidance may be less important among girls' sex role learning is in agreement with everyday observation. American culture is considerably more lenient with girls (Ragan 1964). They may wear trousers, be tomboys and enter into masculine games and activities without strong cultural disapproval (Delucia 1960, Spencer 1963).

Nash (1965) has published an article called "The father in contemporary culture and psychological literature". In this article, he pays attention to the common assumption generally made by sociologists and psychologists about child rearing practices of western industrial society. To many, the child rearing practices of the American society appear to be definitely matricentric. There is also a relative lack of studies about the father's role. If the matricentre characteristic of the American society is accepted as existing, the implication may be drawn that the boy and the girl face different qualities of environments influencing their sex-role development. It has been suggested (Hetherington 1966, Lynn and Sawrey 1959) that relative neglect of the father may have distorted the understanding of the dynamics of development of children and adversely affected the rearing of the males. Nash (1965) suggests

some hypotheses as to why this might be so. First, the father is the sole wage earner and thus he leaves all of the child rearing responsibility to the mother. Second, social scientists have uncritically adopted this cultural philosophy of child care, assuming that it is both the only and the most desirable pattern of child care. Nash also refers to the results of clinical studies and studies of delinquents to emphasize that the relationship of a child with the father is important for healthy social development (1965). Psycho-sexual difficulties, such as homo sexuality, apparently result from a child's identification with the parent of opposite sex. (Brown (1958)). If this is the case, a mother centered system is peculiarly unsuited to the needs of the boy while he is under constant pressure to act as a male (Hartley 1959) he is really predominantly with women, from whom he is likely to acquire only a feminine pattern. The girl, on the other hand, is confronted with a different set of difficulties. She is treated with permissiveness about her to adopt the appropriate sex role behavior. There is less pressure on her, as compared with that on the boy, toward the task of sex role learning. Further, the American culture is heavily masculine oriented with men being accorded more privileges than women (Bennett and Cohen 1959). This is true of many cultures wherein women are pressured into developing nurturance, obedience and responsibility, while men are encouraged to achieve and be self reliant (Berru, Bacan and Child 1957). Research findings indicating that the feminine orientation of young girls is less strong than the masculine orientation of young boys, may be utilized as bases for the implication that children learn very early in life the importance of the masculine role from the point of view of greater social and personal advantages.

Brown (1958) recognizes that gradually there is more and more flexibility shown in American Culture about the sex role patterns. He states :-

"There are definite signs that a convergence of the two sex roles is gradually taking place in our society. This cultural trend is evident in the increasing overlap between things and activities formerly considered "exclusively masculine", or "exclusively feminine". A major effect of this emerging culture pattern is widespread interfamily variability in the sex roles of the family members (Brown 1958 (a) P. 241).

He also believes on the basis of his research, that educational experiences and professional opportunities are more nearly equal for the sexes to day and that modes of stress change tremendously with styles for men changing as rapidly as do those of women.

It is possible that these cultural changes in the roles of the sexes influence the sex role development of the young generation of to day. (Hartley (1960) & Spencer (1967) suggest after considerable speculation that any such effects on the childrens' sex role development will be minimum because the child does not see the occuring changes but only sees the sex role patterns as they exist at a given point in time.

Delucia (1963) made use of toy preference test as a measure of sex role identification. The test consisted of 52 photographs familiar to the children. Pairs of toys of determined masculinity and femininity were presented to the subject, he was asked to chose which of the toys a 'picture child' of the same sex as the subject would like to play with when presented with the feminine toys, boys chose the more masculine of two masculine toys. Girls chose

between two masculine toys, more often than two feminine toys.

62

Billar (1958) made use of IT Scale measure, draw a person measure, to find the relationship of the following variables: father availability, father dominance, and power, maternal encouragement, intellectual level & physique, in 186 Kindergarten age boys. His hypothesis concerning the degree of father availability as positively related to masculinity was not confirmed in this study. The degree ^{of} boys' perception ^{of} their fathers as dominant and powerful was positively related to boys' masculinity. Maternal encouragement as well as physique facilitated sex role adoption.

Finch (1955), by making use of pictorial interview with the children and mothers found out how the children understood ~~the~~ parental roles. Children considered the father only as an economic provider and the mother only as house keeper and contributor to the species.

Billar (1969) studied the effect of maternal encouragement for sex role identification in father absent children. 34 children of five year old constituted the sample. There were 17 matched pairs of father absent and father present children. He conducted an interview with mothers to measure the maternal encouragement. He used Brown's IT scale ^{to} ~~measure~~ masculinity, a game preference test to assess sex role preference and a rating scale of sex role adoption. His findings suggest that mothers ^{of the} ~~of the~~ father absent boys are encouraging masculine behavior in their sons more than mothers ~~of the~~ the father present boys.

Billar (1968), studied the relation of father's absence and socio-cultural background to masculine development, in six year old lower class negro and white boys. All boys were of low socio-economic status and their sibling distribution did not differ. The negro and white boys had lost their father for the same duration of time and for the same time. He made use of Brown IT Scale to assess sex role orientation. A teacher's rating scale was also used. The results showed that the father present boys rated higher in masculinity than father absent boys. The white boys rated higher in masculinity when compared to negro boys. Milton (1957) studied the effect of sex role identification upon problem solving skill by making use of Terman-Miles M.F. test, M.F. Scale of minnesota multiphasic personality, inventory problems were presented individually. He states that problem solving skill is significantly related to sex role identification. There is a positive relationship between sex role identification and problem solving skill both across and within sexes.

Cord et al. (1962) summarises the effects of parental absence. Although feminine aggressive behavior was negatively related to parental absence, feminine aggressive behavior appeared if the boy was between 6 and 12 when the father left, or mother was deviant or rejecting.

Hoffman and Hoffman (1964) in their article state that lack of identification of objects during childhood is likely to result in sexual inversion, in boys. They quote the work of the following authors. Fenichel theorizes personality disturbance as being the result of guilt engendered by the fantastic fulfilment of oedipal wishes, when the same sex parent dies. Freud and Burlingham say that

the absence of the father may not preclude identification at least in very young boys. Stolz found not only more feminine orientation behavior but also more feminine behavior in boys during father's absence. Leichthy using the helacky test^{and} different projective technique of the doll play interview, concluded that boys identification with the father was unfavourably influenced by the father's absence.

Barclay and Cusumano (1964) studied the effect of father absence on cross sex identity and field dependent behavior in adolescent boys. They selected 10 father absent white boys, 10 father absent negro boys and control group consisted of 20 boys. The subjects were asked to rate themselves, father, mother, on a series of bipolar objectives. The data provided a systematic profile for self, for mother and for father. The degree of similarity among profiles was taken as index of cross sex or same sex identity. The results suggest that there was no difference between father present and father absent boys with respect to cross sex identification. They support this by saying that this was because of compensatory drive towards hyper masculinity in father absent groups. Father absent group is more field dependent, more passive, in orientation to environment.

Wladis, Hoffman and Lipitt (1964) in their article related to sex role identification of mother absent children state that there was difference between the experimental and control groups.

Hoffman and Hoffman (1964) quote the work of Bowlby,

Ainsworth, Rosen Bruth who studied the long term effects of maternal separation (hospitalization). There were some indications of personality damage, withdrawal as well as aggressiveness.

McCandless (1961) says that girls around five years are actually stating that they like fathers better than their mothers. He also states that according to Ammons and Ammons and Simpson, the usual pattern for both boys and girls was to state a preference for mothers. If a mother is a successful person, she provides the best available model for appropriate sex role.

On intercultural variations in sex role patterns, Kobasigawa (1959) attempted a direct cross cultural comparison of childrens' sex role development. The ITSC (with considerable modification for cultural differences) was administered to a group of Okinawan children. Results indicated dichotomous sex role patterns, similar to those in the United States. On the basis of these findings there is reason to suspect that sex role patterns and their outcomes may vary between cultures (Mead 1937), Whiting and Child (1953) and sex role development is one of the aspects of the socialization of the child. Malinowski (1927) found evidence against the Freudian assumption that the oedipus complex was universal. There are some findings about the personality variations between cultures also, e.g. McDougall's acquisitive instinct and the instinct of Pugnacity are found to be absent in some other societies (Mead 1937).

Sex of the sibling and sex role development

Koch (1956) found that when the age difference between siblings was over four years, those from the opposite sex

pairs tended to be gauged higher on exhibitionism than those from the same sex pairs. In addition, the latter were higher on popularity than the former and children with a brother received higher ratings in competitiveness and leadership than children with a sister.

Boys also are found to be higher on "uncooperativeness" with peers and "tendency to tease girls" than girls are (Koch 1956), Foster (1930) and Koch (1956) found girls to be higher on jealousy than boys. Koch (1956) found girls to be consistently scored as more friendly, gregarious, popular, better leaders and less reactive to defeat when the sibling age difference was less than two years. Boys were more revengeful than girls when the sibling spacing was less than two years.

Fauls and Smith (1956) and Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1964) found that additional male and female models in the family, e.g. siblings, modify sex-role learning of a child. Children with older, like sex siblings acquire appropriate sex-role learning (Fauls and Smith 1956). Boys with sisters, particularly older sisters, tend to be more feminine in their behavior (Brown 1956, Koch 1956).

Bauer and Ehrlich (1956) found the mental health of a child to be related to the sex of his siblings. Females from opposite sex sibships were reported to be impaired psychiatrically (Bauer and Ehrlich 1966, Koch 1956). For both sexes the mixed sex sibships had the most negative outcomes at the conclusion of therapy, although the differences were small. Control analysis revealed that sex is not independently related to any given measures of psychiatric impairment or outcome, nor is there a sex bias in the direction of high or low

impairment when sibship type is controlled.

Birth order and sex role development:

Certain relationships have been found between birth order and some personality traits that also can be called sex-linked characteristics. Schacter (1959) found greater affiliative behavior among first borns (affiliation is considered a feminine trait by Kagen 1964, Edwards 1959, Goodenough 1957, Hildreth 1945, Honzik 1951, Lansky et al 1961, Terman and Miles 1936, Whitehouse 1949 and Winker 1949). Altus 1959 found that first borns in a family of two children were better adjusted but this was not the case when they belonged to larger families (~~to 3~~ 3 to 13 children). First borns were also found to be superior in verbal aptitude (Altus 1965). This is incongruent with Lasko's finding (1954) that the first child received greater verbal stimulation and accelerated attempts in activity from the parents at the preschool level. However, in the same study, the parents were found to baby, protect and be more solicitous of the second child and the first child received less parental warmth and more parental control.

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Diamond and Munz (1967) found that later borns are more socially adept than first borns. Among 1300 World War II soldiers, last borns from families of 10 to 13 were better adjusted than last borns from smaller families (2 to 9 children). The middle child from a family of three was adjusted best of all children born in an intermediate position, i.e. between the first and the last.

Emmerich (1959) used a sample of "only" children in a nursery school to test the hypothesis that the child would be more

likely to identify with attitudes associated with the same sex parent's sex role. The hypothesis was confirmed for boys but not for girls. Heilbrun (1965a,) found the opposite with his sample. Boys who were "only" children were more strongly identified with their mothers than boys who had siblings. Oldest girls were more highly identified with their mothers than middle and youngest children.

Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1964), have criticized most of the ordinal position studies on the ground that there has ^{not} always been control for other intervening variables such as family size etc. In their own study, they investigated the effect of ordinal position on sex role identification in a sample of 253 college students (20 years of age) from two child families. Their results and some comparisons with the findings of some of the previous studies led them to conclude that anxiety is greater at six years of age in first borns, at ten years among those who have inappropriate sex role characteristics and at twenty years, among those who have higher femininity scores. Thus ordinal position seems to be important at age six, but the sex of the sibling is more important between ages ten and twenty. It is after six years of age that peers become very important to the child and identification shifts toward them and away from the parents. Thus the effect of siblings, if they can be considered peers, on the child's sex role development is greatest between age ten and twenty.

Personality traits associated with sex-typing :-

Personality traits are another variable that may be related to sex-role learning. Impulsivity in elementary school has

been found to be related to sex-role learning (Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg 1960). Inappropriate sex typing in boys also was related to immaturity (Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg 1961). The results of a study done by Lefkowitz (1962) indicated a positive relation between adequacy of sex roles and IQ Scores. A more recent study by Anastasiow (1965) has shown that boys with adequate sex roles learn faster in verbal conditioning situations and also show superior achievement on reading tests when compared with boys with poor sex role development. Kagen (1964) taught second and third grade children two nonsense syllables, one a substitute for the word "masculine" and the other for the "feminine". After the nonsense syllables were taught, the children were asked to apply the more appropriate nonsense syllable to items in school (e.g. blackboard, desk). Both boys and girls more frequently classified these items as feminine rather than masculine. It is possible that boys view their school environment as more inconsistent with their sex role than do girls. Such a perception could influence the boys' early learning patterns in school. Drayer and Haupt (1966) obtained self evaluations of competence from 32 kindergarten children. "Level of aspiration" and "impulse control" were the two measures obtained along with teacher ratings and maternal behaviour data. The children with more autonomous evaluations manifested more achievement and independence as well as affiliative behavior. The less-autonomous evaluation group was associated with over control of impulse and less stable levels of inspiration. The latter group also had mothers who exercised the most control over the child.

Adults also have been used in some studies as subjects for research in the area of relation of personality variables to sex-role learning. Irvine's subjects were 102 freshman and sophomore students at Stanford University (1957). These 52 males and 50 females were individuals of high intelligence, Caucasians with religious affiliations mainly Protestant, and tended to come from families of high socio-economic status. Males scored higher than females on variables of authoritarianism and hostility. There was no difference between the sexes on manifest anxiety. This finding is in agreement with those of Taylor (1956) and Stotsky (1955). Goodstein, Crites and Heilbrun (1963) studied college students using the MMPI to obtain both a general measure of adjustment as well as modes of adjustment. The subjects were 7500 in number and came from three different universities. An attempt was made to find any existing relation between adjustment and either achievement in college or scholastic aptitude. Results indicate that personality contributes to college achievements in a general rather than a specific manner. According to ^{and} Kagan ~~and~~ Moss (1962), expressions of aggression, competitiveness, dependency or sexuality is determined in part, by a person's assessment of congruence of behavior with traditional sex role standards. When subjects, followed from birth through adulthood, were periodically asked to indicate their sex role preferences, a relatively stable relation emerged between their choices at ages six to ten and their subsequent choices as adults. The boy's sex role preferences at pre-school ages were highly predictive of their subsequent adult interests.

These results offer strong support to the popular notion that aspects of adult personality begin to take form during early childhood. (Kagan and Moss, 1962).

Social class as related to sex role behavior :-

Social class does determine a family's cultural patterns to an extent and hence it is possible that it may have an effect on the different attributes a child acquires through living in the family environment. Sex-role development may be one of these attributes. The difference in the sex-role learning of children from different social classes may arise because of the different kinds of treatments received by them. It has been found by some researchers that children from middle class families are treated with less permissiveness and more restriction than children from working classes (Davis and Havighurst, 1948, Havighurst and Davis 1955, Sears, Maccoby and Levin 1957).

Contradictory results were revealed by Maccoby and Gibb's study (popularly called the Boston study as Davis and Havighurst's study is called the Chicago study), done in 1954. They found that middle class parents were more permissive than working class parents. Klatskin's (1952) research supports the Boston study findings. He also stated that the lower class parents allowing greater freedom of movement to their children was a reflection of their "rejection" rather than of their permissiveness". Bronfenbrenner's (1958) report on "socialization and social Class through Space and Time" covers an evaluation of a twentyfive year period. He concludes that from 1930 to the end of World War II, working class mothers were uniformly more permissive than those of the middle class. Since the end of World War II, he says, there has been consistent change reported in the

attitudes of middle class mothers in the direction of the practices advocated by U.S. Children's Bureau bulletins. Over the entire period of twentyfive years, parent-child relationships in the middle class are consistently reported as more acceptant and equalitarian while those in the working class are obtained toward maintaining order. Finally, Bronfenbrenner states that in the past two years there have been indications that the gap between the social class may be narrowing.

Besides general patterns in child rearing, there is some research done specifically on the sex-role learning of middle class and of lower class children. Hall and Keith (1964) and Rabban (1950) found children in working class homes to be earlier and more clearly aware of the sex-role patterns than were children in the middle class homes. Hartley (1959) found that for boys, the taboos against effeminate behavior are strong in lower socioeconomic status families. Lefkowitz (1962) reported data that failed to support the difference in social classes in terms of the children's sex-role learning. Minuchin (1965) approached the problem by using the "modern" and "traditional" home and school backgrounds and their relation to sex-role learning in children. She found that unequivocal commitment to one's own sex role, Sex-typed, play, aggression in boys and family orientations in girls were more consistently characteristic of children from "traditional" backgrounds. Girls from "modern" home and school environments departed most from conventional expectations.

Research on the IT Scale :-

The instruments so far developed and used to measure aspects of sex-role learning are (a) the IT Scale by Brown (1956),

(b) The Toy Preference Test by [redacted] DeLucia (1963) and (c) a game checklist by Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1960). In each of these tests, sex typing is measured by the number of appropriate choices a child makes from toys, toy pictures or games.

Several investigators (Brown 1956, Hagan 1957, Lowe 1957, Handy 1954, Hall 1960, Hartup and Zook 1960) ~~have~~ found that boys when administered the IT Scale, more frequently and consistently preferred the masculine role than girls preferred the feminine role. Lefkowitz (1962) reported that both girls and boys prefer their appropriate sex-role equally when confronted with a choice.

Kohlberg and Zigler (1961) asked children whether they thought "IT" was a boy or a girl. Almost all the boys and half the girls reported "it" to be a boy. When the usually prescribed instructions of administration were modified to refer to "IT" as "her" instead of "it" girls made significantly more feminine choices. On the other hand, when "IT" was referred to as "him" instead of "it" no changes occurred in the boys' responses. Lansky and McKay (1963) concealed the "IT" figure in an envelope, thus keeping it out of the child's sight, and found that more boys thought the concealed figure to be feminine than girls thought it to be masculine. This finding brought about the suspicion that the cause for most children's thinking the "IT" figure was masculine may be the strong influence of the American culture's being predominately masculine.

Dolgan (1965) modified the IT Scale to be used in classroom situations for grades 2 through 6. Duryea (1967) used this version

with two first grade classes. Class A was administered the group version (modified by Dolgen in 1965) following the administration of the standard version and class B was administered the paper-and-pencil group version only. In the modification, Dolgen has all the card pictures on one sheet of paper each in a booklet, and in the provided space beside the picture on each page the child is supposed to indicate his preference by marking with a pencil. In this way the test can be administered to ^{the} whole class at one time without having to take the time to administer it individually. The results of Durey's study (1967) showed that the difference between boys' and girls' means was significant. Also, boys showed greater consistency between scores for the two administrations than did girls.

Other research findings on sex-role behavior

To understand children's sex-role development, toys and their preferences have been a usual medium. There are some tests based on toy preference such as Brown's IT Scale (1956), Delucia's Toy Preference Test (1963) and the game checklist by Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1959, 1960). Certain toys are considered masculine and certain others feminine in these devices and a child's preference for toys reveals his sex-role development at a particular point in time. Benjamin (1932), Brown (1956), Delucia (1960) and Rabban (1950) found that toys such as doll, buggy, dishes, beads and purse are classified as feminine while a dump truck, carpentry tools, a gun and an tractor set are classified as masculine. Knives, boats, planes, trucks and cement mixers are regarded by school children as masculine; dolls, cribs, dishes and nurses' equipment are regarded by school children as feminine (Foster 1930), Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1960),

Vance and McCall (1934), Walker (1964) and Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1959) found that distinctly masculine games, according to choices of preschool and school age children include football, soldiers, bows and arrows and cops and robbers. Feminine games are jumping ropes, red rover, doll play and follow-the-leader.

On the IT Scale, boys show an increasing preference for sex-appropriate games as they advance in age. As early as three years of age, boys are aware of some of the activities and objects that their culture regards as masculine. Among girls, preferences are more variable as late as nine or ten years of age, (Brown 1957). Many girls between ages three and ten show a strong preference for masculine games, whereas it is unusual to find boys of the same age group who prefer feminine activities. Thus five year old boys show a clearer preference for masculine toys than do five-year-old girls for feminine toys (Brown 1957, Hartup and Zook 1960).

This difference in toy preference is accompanied by a relatively greater frequency of girls stating a desire to be a boy or wanting to be a daddy rather than a mommy when they grow up (Brown 1957). Bennett and Cohen (1959) explain the situation by stating that since the culture assigns greater freedom, power and value to the male role and thus automatically devalues the female role, the typical woman feels or rather regards herself as less adequate and more fearful than most men.

Very much like toys, certain personality characteristics are also associated with feminine and masculine roles in the U.S. Culture. The correlated trio of variables like dependency, passivity

and conformity is considered feminine while aggression and independence are considered to be masculine (Kagan 1964). Many studies have reported greater dependency, conformity and social passivity for females than males at all ages (Beller and Turner 1964, Grutchfield 1955, Hovland and Janis 1959, Kagan and Moss 1962, Sanford 1943, Sears 1953, McCandless, Bilous and Bennett 1961, Lindzey and Goldberg 1953 and Siegel et al 1959).

Nurturant and affiliative behaviors are also generally regarded as being more appropriate for females than for males (Goodenough 1957, Hildreth 1945, Honzik 1951, Lansky et al 1961, Terman and Miles 1936, Whitehouse 1949, and Winker 1949). These were investigations of overt behavior and story telling responses which revealed more frequent occurrence of affiliative and nurturant behavior among girls than among boys.

According to Bennett and Cohen (1955), Jenkins and Russell (1958), and Parsons (1955), there are certain covert attributes associated with maleness and femaleness in the American culture. The female should have the ability to gratify a love subject, the ability to arouse sexual desire in a man, the desire to be a wife and mother, the correlated desire to give nurturance to one's child and a love object and the capacity for emotion. The male should have the ability to gratify a love object, should have a pragmatic attitude, should be able to suppress fear and should have the capacity to control emotion in times of stress. Results obtained from clinical studies of adults (Bieber, et al. (1962) and from self ratings by adults (Bennett and Cohen 1959) agree with the above statements.

Although the given list of masculine and feminine covert attributes may look unrealistic to adults, data on children indicate, in spite of the adult assumption that sex-role standards are changing at a rapid rate, that children continue to believe that aggression, dominance and independence are more appropriate for males and that passivity, nurturance and affect are more appropriate for females (Parsons 1948, Hartley 1960). Women also see themselves as more nurturant than men (Bennett and Cohen 1959), and hence, adults and children are in agreement on this point. In Kagan's words :-

The circle is complete with both children and adults expecting and receiving more dependence, passivity and nurturance from females and more aggression from males. (Kagan 1964, P. 140).

Some other sets of sex-typed responses include the development of skill and interest in gross motor and mechanical tasks for boys (Kagan and Moss 1962, Tyler 1947) and an interest in clothes, dolls and babies for girls (Honzik 1951, Tyler 1947).

During the adolescent and early adult years, some refined derivatives of these sex-typed patterns are added to sex-role standards (Kagan 1964). For females, these include submissiveness with males, inhibition of overt signs of sexual desire and cultivation of domestic skills (Douvan and Kaye 1957, Harris 1959). For males, independence, inter-personal dominance with men and women, initiation of sexual behavior, sexual competence and conquests and acquisition of money and power are critical sex-typed requirements (Bennett and Cohen, 1959, Child, Potter and Leven 1946, Douvan and Kaye 1957, Harris 1959, Jenkins and Russell 1958, Kagan and Moss 1962, Tuddenham 1951, Walters, Pearce and Dahms 1957).

Kagan and Jackson's data (1963) support a different view that in the "normal" family of today roles of husband and wife are more likely to be analogous than they are to be differentiated. This thought is also expressed by Brown (1958), who attributes this coming together of the male and female roles to the cultural change within the American society.

Heilbrun (1964) tried to explore Erickson's theory of ego-identity (Paier, 1965) by relating a masculinity femininity measure to perceive social role consistency (which is one criterion of identity). Male adolescents whose behaviors tended to conform to cultural stereotypes of masculinity showed higher "role consistency" than did less masculine males. This finding was consistent with the hypothesis that social reward for conformity should strengthen interpersonal habits whereas social punishment for non-conformity should have a weakening effect and thus reduce role consistency. In the same study it was found that females who were either high or low feminine were more consistent than girls who were only moderately feminine. Combining elements of both the traditional feminine and "modern" masculine roles was considered contributory to lower role consistency for the latter group.

In childhood, rigid demands are made of boys to demonstrate dominance, skill, strength and daring (Kagan and Moss 1962). A boy must deny his need for being comforted and shown concern and he must not cry when he is lonely or abused. He must face up to aggression even when he is badly frightened. He must accept every invitation to participate in every activity even though he is the least skilled of the group. Such persistent courage is not easy to

master up and each failure signifies to the boy that he is inadequate in his masculinity in that he cannot come up to the cultural expectations.

A girl slips easily from a dependent child to a dependent adult because she is not held to the same standard of emotional self control as is a boy nor is she penalized for avoiding challenge. She must inhibit physical aggressiveness, however, and pay attention to deportment and the proportion of time she spends playing exclusively with boys.

Brown (1958), is concerned about the age at which the child becomes aware of the essential meanings of "masculine" and "feminine". According to him this age seems to be (in the case of approximately two thirds to three-fourths of the children) about three years. Seward (1946) and Gessell (1925) also think children can make this basic distinction by age three. Evidence suggests that sex-role differentiation is a gradual process probably beginning in the second year and becoming definitely established by three years of age (Sears, McCoby and Levin, 1957, Seward 1946).

During the fifth year most children make a clear distinction between the more obvious biological cues of maleness and femaleness and the psychological cues of masculinity and femininity (Brown 1956, 1957, Pauls and Smith 1956, Lowe 1957, Rabban 1950). As in the other aspects of psychological development, there are also individual differences in the way children perceive differences between masculinity and femininity. Brown (1958) concludes that preschool children become fully aware of the fact that basically

the world is divided into two groups, male and female and depending upon belongingness in one group or the other, behavior patterns are expected and behavior is to be guided accordingly.

So much for awareness of differences between the sexes. Actual sex-appropriate behavior and the beginning of its development have been explored by some researchers. It has been found that by age three, most children are beginning to develop sex-appropriate roles (Emmerich 1959, Hartup and Zook, 1960, Hartup, Moore, and Sager 1962). By nursery school age both boys and girls tend to imitate and to identify with the like sex parent more frequently than they do with the opposite sex parent.

Strength of affiliation and identification also have been given some research attention. Rosenthal (1962) has concluded, after a review of various lines of evidence, that identification with same sex family members is stronger in females than in males. Brown (1956), DeLucia (1963) and Rabban (1950) have found that boys tend to be ahead of girls in sex-role development. This finding seems to be in contrast with Rosenthal's (1962) statement of strong identification of females, rather than males, to their like sex parent. From three years onward boys are more clearly aware of their sex-role than girls. Young boys were found to choose masculine items (on preference tests) more frequently and consistently than females of the same age chose feminine items (Brown 1957, Hartup and Zook 1960). This acceleration in sex-role learning continues throughout the elementary school years, with boys becoming progressively more masculine each year.

It has been concluded that the process of sex-role learning is more complex for girls. The pattern they follow in their sex-role development explains the situation to an extent. They appear to reach their peak of femininity at approximately five years of age and then proceed to maintain this level, or even decrease in femininity during the early elementary years (Brown 1956, 1957, DeLucia 1963, Hartup and Zook 1960).

Sears (1953) found in ~~her~~ study of doll play that girls chose the mother doll significantly more frequently than boys chose the masculine doll. But the boys chose the father doll more than the girls did. Generally, it is assumed that antecedent conditions of warmth are related to the preference for a parent's role (Sears 1953). It was found in support of the above assumption, that boys take up the mother's role most strongly under conditions of her being much higher in warmth than the father. She also was higher in sex-permissiveness, in restriction of the boy's activities out of the home and in being critical in her evaluations of her spouse.

Parsons (1947) and Gorer (1948) formulated the theory that girls acquire their sex role earlier and more readily than do boys. Brown (1956) discusses this proposal as being in contrast with his findings. He found that 20 of his 68 female subjects showed marked preference for femininity. The others were, in varying degrees, removed from clearcut feminine preference. On the other hand, a clear-cut majority of boys revealed a decided preference for the masculine role. There is a large and significant difference between the number

of boys showing preference for masculinity and number of girls showing preference for femininity. Brown wonders if realizing a difference between sex-role preference and sex-role identification may explain the situation more clearly. Girls may be identified with feminine models but may still prefer masculine items while boys are "compulsively masculine" (Parsons 1947, Gorer 1948) thus showing exaggerated tendencies in the direction of masculine items. Being well identified and secure, rather than being confused, may allow the girls to choose more masculine items than boys would dare to choose feminine items (Brown 1956). Several other studies and their results (Brown 1957, Hall 1960, Handy 1954, Hartup and Zook 1960, Hogan 1957, Kowe 1957) support the finding that boys express a much stronger preference for the masculine role than girls do for the feminine role. The cause underlying this circumstance may be the compulsiveness the boys feel toward being masculine (Brown 1956).

Lansky and McKay (1963) report that a number of researchers have questioned the results of the above six studies on methodological grounds, claiming that the It figure of the IT Scale appears to be seen as a male figure rather than neutral by most of the children. Lansky (Lansky and McKay 1963) tested this methodological point by hiding the It figure card in an envelope and then administering the test according to standard directions. His hypothesis was that boys have greater preference for the masculine role than girls do for the feminine role. The data confirmed the hypothesis but did not support the view that the It figure is seen as male by most children of this age. (Lefkowitz (1962) reported the contrasting finding that upon being given a choice, girls preferred the feminine role as much

83

as boys did the masculine role. He also felt that the majority of school boys and girls see the It figure as masculine, in spite of non-significant results in that direction. Brown (1962) and Lefkowitz (1962) agree that only more research will clarify whether the problem is one of methodological origin or of differential preference of own sex-role among girls and boys.

Heilbrun (1965a) carried out a study to test the extent of similarity between children and their same-sex parents. The hypotheses of the study were :-

- (a) Same sex parent similarity is greater for females than for males.
- (b) Personal adjustment is positively related to the son's similarity to his father but negatively related to the daughter's similarity to her mother (Heilbrun 1965 a, P. 186).

The rationale behind the first hypothesis was that females who have mothers as a more available model and as a culturally reinforced model should show greater differential similarity with their mothers than son should with their less-available father-models. Results revealed that the difference in similarity scores between well adjusted males and well-adjusted females is significant ($t = 2.31$, $p .05$), and that the males showed greater differentiation than did females. In the same well adjusted groups, the females showed no difference in their similarity to their mothers and to their fathers. On the other hand, the mean similarity scores for the maladjusted group showed opposing patterns for male and for female subjects. Whereas adjusted males described themselves as more similar to their fathers, maladjusted males tended to endorse behavior more like that

of their mothers. The sex of child-by-adjustment interaction for similarity scores is reliable ($t = 2.33$, $p = .05$), but it is clear that the large shift for males is primarily responsible. The difference in similarity scores for the two male adjustment levels alone is highly significant ($T = 2.71$, $p = .01$), whereas the ~~between~~ between the level of comparison for females is clearly non-significant ($t = .50$, $p = .60$). Heilbrun (1965) summarized his findings by stating that the female has a greater same-sex identification (parental identification) than the male but has less of a differential with respect to between-parent identification. In an earlier study, Crook (1937) found that the girl may be more similar to her father than the boy to his mother.

In another study, Heilbrun (1965.), tried to study the modeling hypothesis directly. He predicted that sex-role distinction between males and females would be maximal given an identification with a high masculine father. Heilbrun (1965.) has also considered the interactional theory proposed by Parsons (1955, 1958) and strongly supported by Johnson (1963), but hypothesized that the modeling theory would be sufficient to account for sex-role development even granting the validity of Parsons' basic assumptions and principles (of greater sex-role differentiation for the father and instrumental expressive qualities as the essence of masculinity femininity). The results were based upon the behavioral self-descriptions of 279 normal college students. Of the behaviors distinguishing males and females identified with each parent type, the following percentages were judged to be appropriately sex-typed: (1) high masculine father - 88 percent (2) high feminine mother - 58 percent, (3) low feminine

mother - 47 percent and (4) low masculine father - 45 percent.

by above figures.

Heilbrun states that his hypothesis is supported. However, it is difficult to determine whether the responsible factor was the modeling or was the interactional process working in the development of the subjects. It could be due to the instrumentality of the high masculine father that the highest percentage of the appropriately sex-typed subjects were identified with him. It is possible that rewarding interaction with the father also brings about a certain degree of affiliation and identification with him in the case of both boys and girls.

Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) point to the parent-child dependency relationship as a major requisite to parental identification. This relationship also serves to motivate role practice through which the child comes to adopt the attributes of the parent model. Sears, Maccoby and Levin also believe that females are more dependent than males after the age of five. Until then, there may not be much difference between the dependency relationship of the two sexes with their parents (Sears, Maccoby and Levin 1957). From these data, Heilbrun (1956) assumes that among college students, females ought to be more dependent than males. In his 1964 study, Heilbrun had asked college subjects to judge if their fathers or mothers were more "autonomous" or more "deferent" (two indications of dependency). He found that 70 percent of the mothers were judged to be more deferent than the fathers and 67 percent of the fathers were judged to be more autonomous than the mothers. In a different study Heilbrun (1964) had asked college students to rate their parents for degree of

nurturance and found that females attributed for greater nurturance to their parents than did males. Thus parental nurturance conducive to child dependency is manifested more toward girls than toward boys. This supports the hypothesis of the instrumental father's differentiating his behavior for the children of different sexes.

Because the father is more nurturant to the girls than he is to the boys, girls tend to attribute greater combined nurturance to their parents than do boys. In Mussen and Rutherford's study (1963) there was no evidence that high masculinity of fathers, femininity of mothers, and parental self-acceptance or encouragement of their sons' participation in masculine activities had any significant effect on the boys' masculinization. On the other hand, a warm mother-daughter relationship affected the girl's feminization. Also the mothers of highly feminine girls, when compared with mothers of low feminine girls, were found to be significantly more accepting of themselves but neither more feminine nor more encouraging of femininity about the daughter's participation in feminine activities. It also was found that the fathers of the highly feminine girls, when compared with the fathers of low feminine girls, tended to be more masculine in their own interests and orientations, which further supports the concept that it is the instrumental father who helps most in developing sex-appropriate behavior of girls.

Johnson (1963) presents empirical evidence in support of the hypothesis that the father differentiates his role toward his opposite-sexed children whereas the mother does not. Brodbeck (1954)

used a sample of 10 to 14 year old children in rural Illinois community to investigate the influence of each of the parents on the moral standards of their boys and girls. The father has a greater influence on the conscience of his son than ^{mother} of his father. Thus, mother's influence is not sex-typed at all throughout the adolescent years. Goodenough (1957) found that fathers are much concerned about appropriate sex-typing in their children as compared to the mothers. The fathers were also actively and personally involved in the sex typing of the children while the mothers are aware of sex typing but did not actively implement it.

[] Sears (1953) reports an unexpected finding from her doll-play study of aggression. She found that pre-school boys showed most aggression toward the father doll while the girls depicted the father doll as receiving the least aggression of any of the other dolls. The finding supports the idea that the father is more controlling, punishing and demanding of boys than of girls and hence more aggression was shown toward him by boys than by girls. The study showed no difference in the amount of aggression shown by boys and by girls toward the mother doll. Bronfenbrenner (1961) studied 200 adolescents to explore the development of "leadership" and "responsibility". He reports about sex differences in parental behavior :-

..... generally speaking it is the father who is especially to treat children of the two sexes differently girls receive more affection, attention and praise than boys especially from their fathers.... whereas boys are subjected to greater pressure and discipline, again mainly from their fathers (Bronfenbrenner, 1961, p. 249).

Tasch (1952) and Aberle and Neagle (1952) report evidence that fathers are more concerned about developing performance relevant characteristics in their sons and that they are much less concerned about and more appreciative of their daughters. Sears, Maccoby and Levin state that "a good many mothers did not have very strong attitudes about differentiating the roles of boys and girls", (1957, p. 406) and that there are "surprisingly few dimensions on which the sexes were treated differently" by the mothers.

Johnson (1963) used five potency words from Osgood's semantic differential (Osgood and Tannenbaum, 1957) as a crude measure of instrumental-expressive dimension, assuming that low potency ratings were indicative of a more expressive role. Males' self ratings were significantly higher than females' self ratings on the potency words. Both males and females rated their mothers much lower than their fathers on the potency factors. While there was no difference between male and female ratings of their mothers on the potency factor, the males rated their fathers as higher on this factor than females did. Johnson (1963) interprets these findings to mean that males and females perceive their mothers to be equally expressive toward themselves than males perceive them to be. Osgood (1957) also states, in his summary of studies using the semantic differential, that normal men identify more with their fathers than with their mothers and more with both parents than do neurotic men, and that they also see their father as nearer the ideal. Normal women identify as much with their fathers as with their mothers. The distinction between normal and neurotic women with respect to parental identification was not found to be clear.

Helper (1955) found that a high degree of self-concept modeling after the father is associated with high adjustment in the boys, while in the girls' group, a high degree of self-concept modeling is not associated with adjustment. Gray (1959) studied children from fifth through eighth grade and she concludes :-

Boys who perceive themselves as more like their fathers than their mothers are perceived more favourably by their peers. With girls, to the extent that relationship exists, it is in the direction of girls who see themselves as more like their mothers being seen less favourably by theirs peers. (Gray, 1959 p. 104).

Sopchak (1952) asked college students to respond to the MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) as themselves, as they thought their mothers would respond and as they thought their fathers would respond. He found that it was both men's and women's failure to identify with the father rather than their failure to identify with the mother which was associated with trends toward abnormality. The relation between abnormality in women and lack of identification with the father is strongest with respect to the M-F Scale (The masculinity-femininity scale) on the MMPI. Sopchak states:

Women who possess tendencies toward abnormality show a lack of identification with the fathers which is significant at the .01 level in the case of the masculinity scale only ... This finding is difficult to interpret since it indicates that MASCULINE WOMEN IDENTIFY LESS WITH THEIR FATHERS THAN FEMININE WOMEN. (Sopchak, 1952, p. 164).

The finding that feminine women identify more with their fathers than do masculine women is exactly opposite to the modeling hypothesis. It supports the interactional hypothesis in that fathers are capable of fostering femininity in their daughters if their

80

daughters identify with them, but if daughters do not identify with their fathers, their sex-role development may be inappropriate. Winch (1951), in a sociological study of college males and females through using questionnaires, found that attachment to the mother in males was related to slow courtship progress but attachment to the fathers in females was not so related. In a later study, Winch (1951) refined his measure of attachment and found that women who were most closely attached to their fathers tended, on the average, to be most advance in their courtship progress.

In her dissertation study, Johnson (1955) ranked 200 seniors in a women's college in the South on an instrumental expressive scale based on their responses to a series of role conflict situations. On the basis of another questionnaire given to the same group concerning the attitudes of their parents toward them (subjects were "only" girls from broken homes) it was found that more girls had fathers rather than mothers who would be disturbed "at the thought of their growing up and living away from home". This relation reaches statistical significance when restricted to those cases in which both parents are described as "strongly" or almost "equally" dating. A marked (nonsignificant) trend also was found in the case of expressive girls to be more likely than instrumental girls to answer "father" in response to the question, "which parent do you feel is most closely attached to you"?

Johnson (1963) also studied sophomores from homes rated either "extremely instrument" or "extremely expressive". The expressive women described their fathers as very attentive and protective in their behavior toward them whereas the instrumental

women tended to describe their fathers as "distant", "critical" and "cold". Mussen and Distler (1959) used young children for their subjects and the II scale for young children was their instrument. They found that the high and low masculine groups were not significantly different on any of the variables related to their mothers but were significantly different on variables related to their fathers. The fathers of high masculinity boys were also depicted as high on "nurturance" and "punishment" by the boys during doll play sessions. This finding is in line with the basic principles of the "power" theory of identification, wherein the interacting agent has to be both nurturant and powerful.

Parent-child relationship and its influence on sex-role behavior:

Heilbrun (1962) found maladjusted college males to be significantly less father-identified than adjusted males. He found the maladjusted females to be more identified with the mothers but he concluded that the finding was not reliable. Another study by Heilbrun (1964) consisted of the subjects' rating their parents' masculinity-femininity on fifteen behavioral characteristics, (based on the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule) to find the model attributes of the parents. To get the degree of nurturance, parent-child interaction scales were specially developed for the study. The eight modes of nurturance on the scale were :-

1. Affection I (Degree of nurturance felt for the S).
2. Affection II (Degree of nurturance physically expressed to the S).
3. Approval of S and his behavior.
4. Sharing of personal feelings and experiences.

5. Concrete giving to S (material gifts, money etc.)
6. Encouragement of S meeting responsibilities and pursuing personal interests.
7. Trust placed in S.
8. Sense of security felt by S in relation with parents.

To measure role consistency, a method identical to Block's (1961) was used. Twenty self descriptive adjectives were presented in a set order to the S and he was requested to rank them from most to least descriptive of himself in interpersonal situations.

The social value-social behavior consistency score was derived from two measures. To obtain these measures, first, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS) was administered under standard conditions. Secondly, after having taken EPPS the subjects were asked to rate each of the measured traits on the EPPS on a nine point scale, from highly socially undesirable to highly socially desirable.

The findings suggested both importance of the parental model attributes and of the nurturance variables in behavior consistency, but the relations were often curvilinear and tended to differ with respect to the sex of the child and to the trait measured.

Heilbrun and Fromme (1965) studied "Parental identification of Late Adolescents". It was found that adjusted males identify with more masculine father models but this changes to a greater identification with less masculine fathers as more seriously maladjusted subjects are considered. Well adjusted female adolescents identify

most with low-feminine mothers but maladjusted female adolescents did not show the opposite and hence the pattern is not supported. 98

Behavioral self descriptions of 279 college students supported the prediction that sex-role distinctions between males and females are maximal in the case of identification with a high masculine father (Heilbrun 1965b).

In a study of the subjects' similarity to his same sex parent (Heilbrun, 1965a), 139 male and 141 female volunteers from undergraduate classes (of which 73 males and 74 females were applicants for personal adjustment counseling at the university counseling centre) participated as subjects. A 300 - item adjective checklist (Gough and Heilbrun 1965) under self-descriptive instructions was administered to the subjects. Their adjective endorsements were scored for fifteen Murray-type needs (e.g. dominance, aggression abasement etc) on previously validated scales. Next, in statement form, the subject was given summary behaviors included in each description were more characteristic of his father or his mother. The subject's fifteen personality scores and the parental judgements were used jointly to provide an index of parent-child similarity. It was found that the female has a greater same-sex parental identification than the male but has less of a differential between-parent identification.

Mowrer (1965b) and Sears (1957) believe that a nurturant relationship between a parent and a child is a factor enhancing and facilitating identification. Barry, Bacon and Child's research (1957) revealed that in addition to the American culture, there are several other cultures in which the general orientation is predominately masculine. The women in these cultures are pressured toward

nurturance, obedience and responsibility. Kagen (1965) and Kagen and Lemkin (1960) found that children perceive their mothers as being more nurturant than their fathers. In contrast the fathers are viewed as more punitive, dominant, fear arousing and competent than the mothers. 94

However, boys and girls seem to view the situation differently. For boys, the father's nurturance and to a lesser degree, his punitiveness appear to be of major importance (Mussen and Distler, 1959, Mussen and Rutherford 1963). The more interaction a boy has with a powerful male figure, the greater will be his chances of assimilation of the masculine role. If a father is absent from the home for a considerable length of time, the boy's sex-role learning is disrupted (Lynn and Sawrey 1959, Hetherington 1966). Very little has been revealed by research about the relation between the sex-typing behavior of a boy and his perception of his own mother. There is some evidence that maternal dominance disrupts the formation of a boy's appropriate sex-role preferences and produces a lower father-son similarity (Hetherington, 1965).

Heilbrun and Orr, (1966) found in a study of maternal child-rearing history, that college males who rated their mothers as "rejecting" were less stable and less positive in their levels of aspiration in a discrimination task and less stable in their betting on a gambling task than subjects rating their mothers as "accepting". Mussen and Rutherford (1963) found no evidence of relationship between the boy's masculinization and factors such as high masculinity of father, high femininity of mother, parental

self-acceptance, or encouragement of the son's participation in masculine activities. Lefkowitz (1962) found that boy's sex-role learning is facilitated by nurturance in mothers. Young boys who strongly identify with the male role perceive their fathers as more rewarding and nurturant than do their weakly identified peers (Mussen and Distler, 1961). Lefkowitz (1962) also found that boys inappropriate in their sex-role preference more often drew a picture of an opposite-sex figure as their first response to Draw-a-man test, than non-deviant (in sex-role preference) children did. ¹⁹⁶¹ ~~1962~~ ^{Sears}

(1953) studied role playing behavior of children and found that delayed role playing occurs in children whose homes appear to be lacking in warmth and high in restriction of activities which may bother the parents.

Girls' sex-role learning also is dependent on a warm and gratifying relationship with the mother (Mussen and Rutherford, 1963). Girls also behave in a more feminine manner if their mothers possess a considerable degree of self confidence and if their fathers encourage their participation in feminine activities. Interestingly enough maternal encouragement of a girl's participation in feminine activities was unrelated to femininity in girls (Mussen and Rutherford 1963). Also, fathers of highly feminine girls tend to be more masculine in their own interests and orientations.

Frye, South and Vagus (1965) found that children tend to have orientations similar to those of parents (in terms of "self" and "other" orientations) except for the case of the extremely self-oriented parent. In the American culture, although the mother's

orientations are expected to have a greater influence on young children's orientations, the fathers, except for self-oriented fathers, have a positive influence too. A positive relationship also was found to exist between the mother's and the father's orientations. Centers and Centers (1963) conducted an interview survey to find out if Riesman's "inner-directed" and "other-directed" social character types perpetuate their traits in their offsprings. The subjects were 649 adults. One of the interesting findings that is relevant in terms of parent-child relationship was that the "other-directed" persons favored permissiveness in child rearing. 98

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S U M M A R Y :

1. The area of sex-role identification particularly in pre-school years is a relatively new area that has been given research attention in the last fifteen to twenty years. There are very few instruments which measure the sex role development variables. This could be a reason for contradictory findings in this area. This may not remain so until better instruments are developed by intensive research studies.

2. Age and sex trends, differences between social class seem to be related to the area of sex role development.

3. In the area of parent child relationships following factors seem to be related (a) reinforcement patterns (b) Parents own sex role behavior (c) affiliative and nurturant attitudes in the parents.

4. The child's ordinal position and the number and sex of siblings may also have some bearing on his sex role identification.

So far no definitive conclusions can be offered as research work in this area has not provided enough information.

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