## SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION IN EARLY CHILDHOOD:

A STUDY OF CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

## Problem

Our society can be described as sexist. Gershman (1973) has suggested that it forces individuals into molds that frequently deny men the qualities of sensitivity, tenderness and sentiment, and deny women the qualities of assertiveness, courage and perseverance. This could be harmful to both men and women. In contrast to our sexist society, an androgynous society is one that has no stereotyped behavioral differences between the roles of males and females, i.e., differences based on sex alone (Osofsky and Osofsky, 1972).

Androgynous people are free to be and do whatever their bodies, aptitudes and interests allow, instead of being limited by society's stereotypic expectations for their sex (Lee, 1976). Androgyny permits different behaviors in different situations. If the situation calls for sensitivity (a stereotypic feminine quality) the androgynous person, whether male or female, is free to react with sensitivity. If the situation calls for independent behavior (a stereotypic masculine quality) the androgynous person is free to respond in this manner (Brenton, 1966).

Androgynous children, that is, children free to express the best of what masculinity and femininity represent, might contribute to a more healthy society. Luce (1975) expressed the hope that the goals and practices in families and in schools could be changed to permit children
to develop according to their individual differences rather than according to prescribed roles. Bem (1976) expressed the belief that in an androgynous society the more negative exaggerations of masculinity and femininity would tend to be cancelled out. She developed the Bem SexRole Inventory, designed to identify an individual as masculine, feminine or androgynous, and she hoped that its use would
...encourage investigators in the areas of sex differences and sex roles to question the traditional assumption that it is the sex-typed individual who typifies mental health and to begin focusing on the behavioral and societal consequences of more flexible sex-role self-concepts. In a society where rigid sex-role differentiation has already outlived its utility, perhaps the androgynous person will come to define a more human standard of psychological health (Bem, 1974, pp. 161-162).

One possible solution to the problem of sex-role stereotyping that exists in our society is proposed by Rebecca, Hefner and Oleshansky (1976). They believe that life is in continual and dynamic flux. They have proposed that after the child has learned the sex-role standard and stereotypes as a means of entering the adult world, he can transcend the stereotypes and reorganize the behavioral possibilities into a personally relevant framework. Such adaption could occur at any of several levels in order to meet the needs of the situation, the role and the individual. They do not see androgyny as a stable psychological trait with an equal balance of male and female characteristics, as was proposed by Bem (1974).

Women in our culture have not been in power positions because the institutional structure does not support them, according to Bernard (1976). She believes that when women do have institutional support to be in power positions, individual differences rather than sex differences seem to determine their role assignment. Women who had one hoped to make themselves
felt without resorting to the use of power now believe that they must learn how to achieve power and how to use it, she observes. This change in attitude is an example of the type of adaptation which can occur in one's sex-role orientation to life as suggested by Rebecca, Hefner and O1eshansky (1976).

The present research is focused on the sex-role identification of young children and their parents. The critical years for the development of sex-role identification are the preschool years; and it is assumed that parents have a major influence on the child's development of sexrole identification. The present research is particularly concerned with the masculinity, femininity or androgyny of parents and how this relates to the masculinity, femininity or androgyny of preschool children. To the extent that this research yields information about the relationship between parents' sex-role identification and that of their children, it will increase our understanding of sex-role identification and this in turn may contribute to the solution of the problems which exist in our sexist society.

## Sex-Role Identification

Sex-role identification was explained by Bronfenbrenner (1960) in terms of behavior, motive and process. Identification as behavior implies that a child behaves in the manner of a model, and directly imitates the behavior of the model. For example, a boy may try to shave after he has seen his father shave. Identification as motive refers to the child's disposition to act like a model. The child imitates the qualities or traits that he sees in the model's behavior. For example, the boy who sees his father as being competitive will likewise behave in
a competitive manner. Identification as process refers to the developmental or defensive mechanisms which result from "the sequential interplay of forces internal and external which impel the child to take on the characteristics of the parent" (Bronfenbrenner, 1960, p. 22).

Biller and Borstelmann (1967) have defined sex-role identification in terms of orientation, preference and adoption. Sex-role orientation is formed earliest in life and is the least likely to change. It is the individual's perception of his own maleness or femaleness. Sex-role preference is formed next. It is the individual's desire to adhere to the cultural expectations for a given role. Perception of his father as powerful would be positively related to the masculinity of a boy' preference; however a boy could have a high masculine orientation but a low masculine preference. If father is frustrating or rejecting, a boy might seek to be more like mother. If mother is critical of father, this might create a conflict in the boy's orientation and preference development. Sex-role adoption refers to the child's manifestation of the socially accepted behavior belonging to the role that he prefers. Sex-role adoption is a product of imitation and therefore is influenced by situational factors. The family seems to have less influence on sex-role adoption than it does on orientation and preference. A boy with a feminine orientation might, as a defense, adopt exaggeratedly masculine behavior because of society's expectations. The critical years for sex-role adoption are the ages three through five (Biller, 1968).

Kagan (1964) refers to the culturally approved characteristics for males and females as the sex-role standard. For example, in our culture females are expected to be dependent, affective, passive and nurturant; whereas males are expected to be aggressive, dominant and independent.

Kagan refers to sex-role identification as the degree to which an individual regards himself as masculine or feminine in terms of the sex-role standard. A person who possesses the attributes of masculinity does not necessarily regard himself as highly masculine; however, he cannot regard himself as highly masculine if he does not possess any masculine attributes. Kagan assumes that the young child is clearly aware of sex roles; and that the child wants his actions, attitudes and affects to be congruent with the sex-role standard.

Silver (1973) used the term gender identification to indicate the degree to which a person regards another individual, not himself, as masculine or feminine. Correctly identifying the sex of another person is intimately related to the ability to identify one's own sex, and the term gender identity is frequently used to indicate a child's ability to identify his own sex. Also there are times that the term is given the same meaning as sex-role identification.

Evidence of sex-role identification in early childhood, regardless of the way in which the term is defined, is found in the behavior of the child. Lynn (1966) described the child as internalizing the role typical of a given sex in his culture and then unconsciously reacting with the characteristics of that role; thus the behavior expressed by the child indicated his sex-role identification.

## Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the masculinity and femininity of preschool children as measured by the Starkweather Masculinity-Femininity Test and the masculinity, femininity and androgyny of their parents as measured by the Bem Sex-Role

Inventory. Age differences and sex differences in the relationship between the children's masculinity-femininity and that of their parents were examined in an attempt to gain an increased understanding of sexrole identification.

## REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In considering sex-role identification, researchers have used many methods and have reached various conclusions. This chapter will review briefly the major instruments and methods that have been used to measure masculinity and femininity in both children and adults. The chapter will also include research findings relevant to sex-role identification.

## The Measurement of Masculinity-Femininity

## In Children

Children's masculinity-femininity has been measured by three methods: observations, interviews and projective techniques. Observing children was the only method of collecting data until ways were found of adjusting interview and projective techniques to a child's level of understanding.

## Observation and Behavioral Methods

Observation methods necessarily depend upon the judgments of the observers. In many studies several observers are used as a check against one another.

Brim (1958) developed a teacher rating scale. The scale consists of 58 items which were judged to be masculine (instrumental) or feminine (expressive) by adult judges. The scale was designed for use with five and six year old children.

Bandura, Ross and Ross (1963) studied children's masculinity-femininity by observing their social interactions with two adults. Following an initial observation of the adult-child interactions, the two adults behaved differently in the presence of the child, and a measure was made of the degree to which the child patterned his behavior after the adult models.

Sears, Rau and Alpert (1965) used an area usage score and an observer rating to observe children's masculine and feminine preferences. For the area usage score, areas used 65 percent of the time or more by one sex and 35 percent or less by the other were defined as sex-typed areas. The children were scored according to the time spent in these areas. For the observer rating, four observers rated each child using a five-point scale for boys ranging from a sissy (1) to entirely masculine (5), and a five-point scale for girls ranging from a tomboy (1) to a coquette (5). The average of these four ratings was used as each child's masculinity-femininity score.

Fagot and Patterson (1968) used observations of play preferences to find out whether sex-appropriate behaviors were present in preschool classes. They also observed the female teachers reinforcing feminine behaviors, and peers reinforcing like-sex peers. These observations contributed to a better understanding of the factors influencing the development of sex-role identification.

Interview Methods

Interview methods of measuring children's masculinity-femininity can be described as questionnaires modified for use with children. With these methods pictures and toys are used in order to allow the child to
indicate his preferences without writing and with little or no talking. The toys and pictures give the child something to handle while he is responding. Such tests are enjoyed by the children.

Rabban (1950) developed a toy preference test which has been adapted and used by other researchers (DeLucia, 1963; Sears, Rau and Alpert, 1965; Ward, 1968, 1969). The test consists of 16 toys, e.g., high chair, gun, dishes, firetruck, which were judged as masculine or feminine by children nine to eleven years old and by graduate students. The child chooses the toys he likes to play with, and his score is determined by the masculine or feminine rating of the toys he has chosen. In later studies pictures of the toys rather than the toys themselves have been used.

Fauls and Smith (1956) developed a pictures test which also has been used by other researchers (Sears, Rau and Alpert, 1965; Angril1i, 1960; Kohlberg and Zigler, 1967). The test consists of 12 paired pictures of play activities from which the child chooses the activities he prefers. There is a separate set of pictures for boys and for girls. A child's score is determined by the child's preference for masculine or feminine activities.

Starkweather (1973) developed a masculinity-femininity test for preschool children. It consists of a booklet of pictures, three pictures on each page, from which the child chooses the pictures that he prefers. He is given a copy of each picture that he chooses and these he keeps. The scoring of this test is based on the actual picture choices of children. Each picture is given a weighted score which indicates whether it was chosen most often by boys or by girls. This scoring procedure eliminates the adult judgment of masculinity and femininity and instead bases
the scoring on the demonstrated preferences of boys and girls.
Kohlberg and Zigler (1967) measured the sex-typed peer preferences of children ages four through eight. This test consists of the experimenter asking the child to name three children in school whom he likes, who are nice. Then the child is asked if he likes members of the opposite sex: "Do you like boys (girls)?" The scoring is based upon how many members of the opposite sex the child chooses and whether he says : he likes or dislikes members of the opposite sex. This test is a totally verbal interview method, difficult to use with preschoolers.

Silver (1973) devised an Aggression, Nurturance, Dependency Scàle (ANDS) to measure gender identity in children ages three through eight. The children labelled statements showing aggression, nurturance and dependency as being masculine or feminine. The test was totally verbal, i.e., there were no pictures or toys for the children to look at or handle as they talked. Perhaps it was for this reason that the test did not determine gender identification for three and four year old children.

Other questionnaires have been devised specifically for use with elementary school children (Biller and Zung, 1972; Stein, Pohly and Mueller, 1971; Helper and Quinlivan, 1973). These are totally verbal interviews, and primarily because of this, are not suitable for use with preschool children.

## Projective Techniques

Projective techniques consist of the presentation of unstructured material, such as ambiguous pictures, to stimulate the subject's responses. His responses reveal his characteristic traits, feelings, attitudes and behavior patterns.

Brown (1956) devised the It Scale to test preschoolers for masculinity and femininity, a test which has been used extensively (Mussen, 1959; Hartup and Zook, 1960; Mussen and Rutherford, 1963; Lynn, 1962; Hartup, 1962; Sears, Rau and Alpert, 1965; Inselburg and Burke, 1973). The test consists of a stick figure of a child (It) and pictures of toys and clothes. The child is asked to choose the toys and clothes that "It" would prefer. The assumption is that the child will project his own preferences into the choices he makes. Throughout the research with this instrument, many children, boys and girls alike, have chosen masculine items for the It figure, indicating that most children see the figure as a boy. This problem has prompted modifications of the instrument. For example, Fling and Manosevitz (1972) modified the test by using an Imaginary It, which the children did not see. With this and other modifications, the results were different from those of previous It Scale stud. ies. Because of variations in results, the use of the Brown It Scale as a measure of masculinity and femininity has been questioned.

The Draw-A-Person Test has been adapted and used by many researchers to determine a child's masculinity or femininity (Angrilli, 1960; Tolor and Tolor, 1974; Heinrich and Triebe, 1972). The test consists of asking the child to draw a person. The drawing of a girl is assumed to indicate feminine preference, and the drawing of a boy is assumed to indicate masculine preference. A major problem with this test is that it is difficult to differentiate the child's preference from what society values as important. Recently in research with older children, the results of this test have been interpreted as reflecting the changing values of society (Tolor and Tolor, 1974).

Another method of measuring the masculinity and femininity of young
children has been to observe the children in doll play (Biller, 1967; Mussen and Rutherford, 1963; Hartup, 1962; Sears, Rau and Alpert, 1965; Vroegh and Handrich, 1966). The assumption is that the child projects his masculine or feminine preference into the doll play by choosing the role he wishes to play.

## The Measurement of Masculinity-Femininity

In Adults

The measurement of masculinity-femininity in adults began as a byproduct of questionnaires on personality and interests. Men and women tended to score at opposite poles on certain items, and these items were selected as measures of masculinity-femininity. Constantinople (1976), in a review of the major tests of masculinity-femininity in adults, rejected masculinity-femininity as a bipolar trait, and expressed the belief that the sex differences on test items have no relationship to being a woman or a man. A sex-role inventory developed most recently "treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions, thereby making it possible to characterize a person as masculine, feminine or androgynous" (Bem, 1974, p. 155).

The Terman-Miles Attitude Interest Analysis Test (1936) was one of the earliest tests designed to measure masculinity-femininity in adults. The test includes seven exercises: Word Association, Ink Blot Association, Information, Interests, Introversion, Emotional and Ethical Attitudes and Opinions. The major purpose of the test is to highlight responses which discriminate between the sexes; and therefore, the items selected for inclusion in the exercises were those that yielded significant differences in responses of the sexes. The validity of the test was questioned by
its authors because of the absence of a clear definition of masculinity and femininity (Gonstantinople, 1976).

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank (1936) was designed to measure the vocational interests of men and women and included a masculinityfemininity scale. The assumption was that men and women would seek different careers. For the test as a whole, the author acknowledged that similarities vastly overshadowed differences between the sexes. Consequently, a woman would be scored masculine if she were interested in a masculine-type occupation (Gonstantinople, 1976).

The Guilford Masculinity (M) Scale was derived through factor analysis during Guilford's study of basic personality dimensions. The criterion for the $M$ Scale was not sex, and Guilford himself questioned whether the $M$-factor might represent a masculine ideal rather than a sexdifference factor or might be a measure of dominance or ascendance-submission (Guilford and Guilford, 1936). In spite of questions about the reliability of the M Scale and what it was measuring, it continued to be used, and, in 1949, was incorporated into Guilford and Zimmerman's Temperament Survey.

The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Hathaway and McKinley, 1943) contains a masculinity-femininity scale, which was designed to identify sexual inversion in males. Homosexuality was included in the definition of the construct (Constantinople, 1976). The use of this test as an instrument for measuring masculinity-femininity in the general population has been questioned (Gronbach, 1960).

The Gough Femininity Scale (1952) was designed to discriminate between males and females on the basis of stereotypic aspects of masculinity and femininity. As with other instruments, this scale was revised
after a few years of use. Gough's California Psychological Inventory (1966) was one such revision. This inventory is probably most appropriate for use with high school and college students because these were the groups involved in its construction (Constantinople, 1976).

Measures of masculinity and femininity in adults, other than questionnaires, include adjective checklists (Berdie, 1959; Heilbrun, 1964), a word association test (Goodenough, 1946), a semantic differential technique (Reece, 1964), a drawing completion test (Franck and Rosen, 1949), and the Draw A Person test (Brown, 1957). The assumption in these tests is that the items are less tainted by sex-role stereotypes than those in questionnaires, thereby producing a truer measure of masculinityfemininity (Constantinople, 1976). In some of these tests, items or possible responses are prejudged as masculine or feminine and the subjects' responses are scored accordingly. The drawing tests are projective techniques, and the assumption is that the subject expresses his own masculinity or femininity in his drawing.

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (1974) was designed to identify masculine, feminine and androgynous adults. The Inventory consists of 60 items, 20 of which are designated as masculine, 20 as feminine, and 20 as neutral. The masculine items are those which were judged to be more desirable in American society for a man than for a woman, and the feminine items are those which were judged to be more desirable for a woman than for a man. An individual taking the test rates himself on each of the items listed. A score for the masculine items and a score for the feminine items are obtained, and each person's test score is based on the difference between these two. A person is considered sex-typed if the difference between his masculinity and femininity scores is high, and he
is considered androgynous if the difference between these two scores is low. The 20 neutral items in the Inventory make up a Social Desirability scale, which serves as a neutral context for the Masculinity and Femininity scales. The inclusion of the neutral items, which balance those which are obviously masculine or obviously feminine, it is assumed, helps the subject rate himself more objectively. The responses to these neutral items are not included in the scoring. During the development of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, the Social Desirability scale was used to insure that the Inventory would not simply be tapping a general tendency to endorse socially desirable traits.

## Relevant Research Findings on

 Sex-Role IdentificationControversy exists over whether or not one should score high in his own sex-role identification, that is, whether one should fit the sexrole stereotype prescribed by society. Some research has shown high masculinity to be an advantage for boys and high femininity to be an advantage for girls. Vroegh (1968) found that masculine boys tend to be more extroverted, moderately more competent and socially adjusted than less masculine boys. She also found that feminine girls tend to be better adjusted socially, moderately more competent and introverted than less feminine girls. In contrast to these findings, Inselberg and Burke (1973) found that boys attained maximum adjustment at an intermediate level of masculinity rather than at the highest masculine level. Boys who were highest in masculinity during adolescence, as compared to the less masculine boys, scored lower in dominance, self-acceptance, and capacity for status as adults.

Parents are generally regarded as the child's most important models for sex-role identification. As children grow older, they become more like their parents, with the dominant parent having the greater influence on the child's sex-role preference (Hetherington, 1965). Preschool children more often imitate the parent who is the more powerful, especially if that parent is dispensing rewards. However, a child who has a single primary model will not imitate that model completely. He will imitate a few behaviors from other models and even initiate new behaviors (Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1963). The intimacy and intensity of the par-ent-child relationship is important in sex-role identification. Mussen and Rutherford (1963) believe that girls need a positive mother-daughter relationship. They need a mother who accepts herself, and they need a father who has a high degree of masculine interests and attitudes, and who encourages participation in appropriate sex-typed activities. On the other hand, boys' sex-role identification is not influenced by their relationship with their mothers, by the personality structure of the parents, or by parental encouragement of sex-typed activities. Angrilli (1960) found no significant relationship between psychosexual identity patterns of boys and those of their parents. In contrast to these findings, Fling and Manosevitz (1972) found that parents influence boys' sex-role identification by sanctions against inappropriate interests. Sears, Rau and Alpert (1965) found that femininity in both sexes has been encouraged by a non-permissive attitude toward sexual and aggressive behavior and by the use of physical punishment.

Biller (1970) reported research that found the father to be the primary transmitter of culturally determined conceptions of masculinityfemininity. Paternal nurturance influences the development of sex-role
identification in girls and boys. A girl's degree of femininity reflects her father's expectations; and a boy's masculine development is more often facilitated by warmth and affection from the father than by punitiveness (Sears, Rau and Alpert, 1965; Biller and Borstelmann, 1967). An argument for the influence of paternal nurturance is that a boy would tend to imitate his father because he loves and respects him. Even if the father were not highly masculine, a boy might tend to perceive him so and imitate this masculinity (Biller and Borstelmann, 1967). The boy's sex-role development is most influenced by the father when the father is dominant in the home (Hetherington, 1965; Biller, 1969). Father's behavior in the home and the degree that he is psychologically present have been found to be more important to the boy than the amount of time that the father is available, unless he is not available at all (Biller, 1968). In contrast to these findings, Radin (1972) found that male sex-role preference was not correlated with paternal nurturance.

The influence of mothers on the sex-role identification of their children depends a great deal upon how dominant or authoritarian the mothers are. Mothers have been found to exert more effort toward their daughters' than toward their sons' sex-role identification (Fling and Manosevitz, 1972). A dominant mother was found to contribute to feminine preferences in preschool girls, but to masculine preferences in fourth through sixth grade girls (Hartup, 1962; Biller and Zung, 1972). In boys ages four through eleven, a dominant mother was found to contribute to less masculine preferences (Hetherington, 1965). In contrast, Vroegh (1966) found that a dominant mother contributed to more masculine preferences in boys. Bach (1946) found that even the mother's opinion of the father can influence the boy's sex-role identification.

The most important determinant of parental influence on sex-role identification is the way in which the child perceives his parents. Emmerich (1959) found that girls perceive the mother as more powerful than the father but see themselves as less powerful than boys. He also found that boys perceive the mother as more nurturant, the father as more controlling. Mussen and Distler (1959) found that boys who were strongly masculine saw their fathers as powerful sources of both reward and punishment; they also saw their fathers as nurturant. Lynn (1962) found that feminine girls perceived more warmth in their mothers; less feminine girls attributed more warmth to their fathers. Biller and Zung (1972) found that fourth through sixth grade girls who were more masculine perceived their mothers as being too intrusive.

By the age of three a child usually has a distinct repertoire of sex-role behaviors, learned chiefly from his parents. However, in addition to parental influence there is the influence of teachers and peers. Both teachers and peers are likely to reinforce their own sex-role behaviors in the child. Fagot and Patterson (1969) found that feminine teachers' reinforcement of feminine behaviors did not affect boys' preference for masculine behaviors, probably because of peer reinforcement and reinforcement received at home. They even concluded that with the absence of one or both parents the child will acquire appropriate sexrole behaviors if he has a reasonable amount of contact with his peers.

Physique and intelligence are two other factors that may be related to sex-role identification. Biller (1968) found that broad boys were more masculine than thin boys. He also found that in preschool boys, high masculinity is correlated with high I.Q. Radin (1972) found a correlation with high I.Q. only in high feminine girls in the lower
socioeconomic class. Bem (1972) reviewed the literature and concluded that a high level of sex-appropriate behavior does not indicate higher intelligence, but rather that greater intellectual development seems to be associated with cross-sex-typing.

In our society, girls have been given freedom to adopt aspects of of the masculine role, whereas boys have not been given freedom to adopt aspects of the feminine role. This probably accounts for findings that girls were later in developing feminine sex-role preferences than were boys in developing masculine sex-role preferences (Hetherington, 1965; Kohlberg and Zigler, 1967). Brown ( 1957) also found that more than twice as many kindergarten girls as boys projected a preference for the parental role of the opposite sex. Stein, Pohly and Mueller (1971) found that elementary school girls who made the greatest effort on a masculine task scored highest on a questionnaire measure of masculine interests. These girls did not differ from other girls on a separate test of feminine interests. The masculine interests appear to broaden rather than limit the girls' preferences. One result of the latitude allowed girls in our society is that they have knowledge of masculine sex stereotypes as well as their own. The knowledge itself does not necessarily affect sex-role behavior, according to Vroegh (1975).

Research with elementary school children has shown that girls prefer the masculine role more frequently than boys prefer the feminine role. However, recent research has indicated that changes in the sex-role identification of girls are taking place. Heinrich and Triebe (1972) compiled the results of 19 Draw A Person Test studies taken over the past 25 years. These studies found that beginning at age 11 boys draw boys significantly more often than girls draw girls. More recently, however,

Tolor and Tolor (1974) found that girls aged 10 to 12 are more likely than previously to draw the female figure first in the Draw A Person Test. They found, however, that references made to either sex-role differences or similarities tended to reduce the chances of their drawing female figures. Thus we can see how slow is change and how tenuous is our hold on new beliefs.

## Implications for the Present Research

The sex-role identification of both children and adults has been studied by a variety of methods, including interviews, observations and projective techniques. The most appropriate instrument for use with the children in the present research is the Starkweather Masculinity-Femininity Test because it lets the children decide, by the pictures they choose, what is masculine and what is feminine. Their behavior shows their sex-role identification. The most appropriate instrument for the parents is the Bem Sex-Role Inventory because it treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions and also provides a way of identifying the androgynous person.

Research findings indicate that parents, teachers and peers, also physique and intelligence, all influence a child's sex-role identification. Parents are the primary models for the preschool child, and therefore this research is concerned with the relationship between the masculinity-femininity of preschool children and the masculinity-femininity of their parents; and it includes an examination of the relationship between the androgyny of the parents and the child's sex-role identification.

## CHAPTER III

## METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the masculinity and femininity of preschool children and the masculinity, femininity and androgyny of their parents in an attempt to gain an increased understanding of sex-role identification. This chapter includes a description of the children and parents who participated in the research, descriptions of the research instruments used and how they were administered, and information regarding the analysis of data.

## Subjects

The children who participated in this study were middle-class preschoolers from Tulsa and Stillwater, Oklahoma. There were 89 children in all, 41 boys and 48 girls. Their age range was from three years, no months to five years, nine months. The distribution of the children by age and sex is presented in Table I.

The parents of the children were asked to participate in the study by completing the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. For 74 of the children, both parents responded to the Inventory, and for the remaining 15 children, only the mother responded. The ages and sex of the children whose paremts responded to the Inventory are presented in Table II.

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN BY AGE AND SEX
( $\mathrm{N}=89$ )

|  | Boys | Gir1s | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Three-year olds <br> $(3: 0-3: 11)$ | 17 | 17 | 34 |
| Four-year-o1ds <br> $(4: 0-4: 11)$ | 18 | 21 | 39 |
| Five-year-o1ds <br> $(5: 0-5: 11)$ | 06 | 10 | 16 |
| Tota1 | 41 | 48 | 89 |

TABLE II
AGES OF SEX OF CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS RESPONDED TO THE BEM SEX-ROLE INVENTORY

$$
(\mathrm{N}=89)
$$

| Both Parents | Mother Only |
| :---: | :---: |
| Responded | Responded |

Three-year-olds

| Boys | 15 | 02 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Girls | 14 | 03 |
| Total | 29 | 05 |

Four-year-o1ds

| Boys | 16 | 02 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Girls | 18 | 03 |
| Total | 34 | 05 |

Five-year-olds

```
Boys 05 01
Girls
06
04
Total 11 05
```


## Research Instruments

## Bem Sex-Role Inventory

Parents were asked to participate in the present research and to give permission for their children to participate. For the bulk of the families, the parents were seen in a group during a parent meeting at the preschool which the children attended. During that meeting the purpose of the study was explained and the parents completed the Bem Inventory. For other families, the parents were given the Inventories, along with a letter of explanation (Appendix B), when they brought their children to preschool. They completed the Inventories at home.

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) consists of 60 items, 20 of which are designated as masculine, 20 as feminine and 20 as neutral. The masculine items (e.g. aggressive, independent, ambitious) are those which were judged, during the development of the Inventory, to be more desirable in American society for a man than for $a$ woman; and the feminine items (e.g. gentle, warm, yielding) are those which were judged to be more desirable for a woman than for a man. An individual taking the test rates himself on each of the items listed using a seven-point scale ranging from "never or almost never true" to "always or almost always true." Each person's test score is based on the difference between his score for the masculine items and his score for the feminine items. A person is considered sex-typed if the difference between his masculine and feminine score is high, and he is considered androgynous if the difference between these two scores is low. A complete description of the Inventory is presented in Appendix C.

## Starkweather Masculinity-Femininity Test

The starkweather Masculinity-Femininity Test (M-F Test) was administered to the children in this study. The test consists of two picture booklets of 20 pages each; one is Form-A and the other is Form-B. On each booklet page are three pictures from which the child chooses the picture he prefers. He is given a copy of each picture that he chooses, and these he keeps. Form-A is administered first, and then after an interval of approximately two weeks, Form-B is administered.

One method of scoring the M-F Test is based on the actual picture choices of the children participating in the study. Each picture is given a weighted score which indicates whether it was chosen more often by boys or by girls. The test score for each child is the sum of the weighted scores for the pictures he chooses. Each child's score from Form-A is compared with his score from Form-B to find his stability score, which indicates how stable the child is in his masculine or feminine picture preferences from one test to the next.

A second method of scoring involves the use of tables of picture scores and tables of percentile ranks calculated from the picture choices of approximately 200 children who participated in the development of the instrument. With these tables it is possible to calculate the M-F scores for an individual child from the tables of picture scores and to calculate his stability score from the tables of percentile ranks. This method of scoring is used in the present research and is described in detail in the description of the Starkweather Masculinity-Femininity Test which is presented in Appendix D.

## Analysis of Data

In the analysis of data, the Mann-Whitney $\underline{U}$ test and Chi-square were used to examine sex differences in the children's $M-F$ test scores. Spearman rank correlations and the Mann-Whitney $\underline{U}$ test were used in the analysis of relationships between the children's M-F test scores and the parents' Bem scores.

## GHAPTER IV

## RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the masculinity and femininity of preschool children and the masculinity, femininity and androgyny of their parents in an attempt to gain an increased understanding of sex-role identification. The research instruments used were the Starkweather Masculinity-Femininity Test for Preschool Children and the Bem Sex-Role Inventory.

Most of the parents enjoyed rating themselves on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory and finding out how their spouses rated themselves. They were interested in the results of the Bem Inventories and their child's M-F test. In order to show the parents these results, a letter was written to each family with a chart showing the relative position of the parents on the Bem Inventory and the relative position of their child on the M-F test. A copy of the letter to the parents is presented in Appendix B.

This chapter includes an analysis of the sex differences in children's M-F test scores and an analysis of the relationship between the children's M-F scores and parents' Bem scores. Descriptive data and test scores for individual children are presented in Tables XV and XVI, Appendix A.

## Distribution of Children's M-F Test Scores and Parents' Bem Scores

The distribution of children's M-F test scores and parents' Bem scores is presented in Tables III-VI. In each table scores are presented for the total group of children (all boys and all girls) and are also presented for older and younger children and for high-stability and lowstability children. The older children $(N=46)$ are those four years four months and older; and the younger children $(N=43)$ are those four years three months and younger. The high-stability children $(\mathrm{N}=43)$ are those with stability scores within the range of $00-12$, indicating that they were stable in their expressed masculinity-femininity in the two administrations of the M-F test. The low-stability children ( $\mathrm{N}=46$ ) are those with stability scores above 12, indicating that their expression of masculinity-femininity varied significantly from one administration of the M-F test to the next.

## Sex Differences in Children's M-F

 Test ScoresThe Mann-Whitney $\underline{U}$ test and Chi-square were used to examine sex differences in the children's M-F test scores. The majority of the boys scored lowmasculine (androgynous), and the majority of the girls scored high-feminine. This was particularly true of the high-stability children. On Form-A, the high-stability boys and girls had median scores of +044 and -152 respectively $(\underline{U}=72 ; \mathrm{p}<.0001)$. On Form-B, these boys and girls had median scores of +036 and $-145(\underline{U}=78.5 ; \mathrm{p}<.0002)$. These data are presented in Table VII.

The sex difference in the distribution of M-F test scores is also

TABLE III
DISTRIBUTION OF M-F TEST SCORES
FOR BOYS


TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF M-F TEST SCORES
FOR GIRLS

|  | N | M-F Test Scores |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Median | Range |
| Al1 Girls$(3: 0-5: 9)$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Form A | 48 | -090 | -238 to +104 |
| Form B | 48 | -097 | -251 to +075 |
| Stability* | 48 | 18 | 00 to 73 |
| O1der Girls$(4: 4-5: 9)$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Form A | 26 | -151 | -238 to +096 |
| Form B | 26 | -119 | -251 to +066 |
| Stability | 26 | 09 | 00 to 73 |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Younger Girls } \\ & (3: 0-4: 3) \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Form A | 22 | -050 | -233 to +104 |
| Form B | 22 | -074 | -200 to +075 |
| Stability | 22 | 22 | 01 to 56 |
| High-Stability Girls |  |  |  |
| Form A | 23 | -152 | -238 to +104 |
| Form B | 23 | -145 | -251 to +075 |
| Stability | 23 | 05 | 00 to 12 |
| Low-Stability Girls |  |  |  |
| Form A | 25 | -082 | -188 to -033 |
| Form B | 25 | -055 | -200 to +050 |
| Stability | 25 | 29 | 18 to 73 |

[^0]TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF BEM SEX-ROLE INVENTORY SCORES
FOR PARENTS OF BOYS


TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF BEM SEX-ROLE INVENTORY SCORES
FOR PARENTS OF GIRLS

|  | N | Bem Scores* |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Median | Range |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { A11 Girls } \\ & (3: 0-5: 9) \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Mothers | 48 | -0.40 | -3.20 to +1.80 |
| Fathers | 38 | +0.75 | -0.75 to +3.20 |
| Older Girls$(4: 4-5: 9)$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Mothers | 27 | -0.55 | -3.20 to +1.80 |
| Fathers | 20 | +0.55 | -0.75 to +2.30 |
| Younger Girls$(3: 0-4: 3)$ |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Mothers | 21 | -0.30 | -2.55 to +0.45 |
| Fathers | 18 | +0.75 | -0.15 to +3.20 |
| High-Stability Girls** |  |  |  |
| Mothers | 23 | -0.30 | -2.20 to +1.80 |
| Fathers | 17 | +0.75 | -0.75 to +2.60 |
| Low-Stability Girls |  |  |  |
| Mothers | 25 | -0.55 | -3.20 to +1.10 |
| Fathers | 21 | +0.80 | -0.15 to +3.20 |
| *In the present research, in order to provide consistency between children's scores and parents' scores, all positive scores are masculine and all negative scores are feminine. |  |  |  |
| \% $\%$ See footnote on |  |  |  |

evident in a comparison of the number of androgynous scores and the number of high-masculine and high-feminine scores. These data are presented in Table VIII. Among the high-stability children, 16 of the 20 boys had androgynous scores, and 18 of the 23 girls had high-feminine $\operatorname{scores}\left(X^{2}=14.38 ; p<.001\right)$.

The question was raised as to whether there were either sex or age differences in stability scores. Chi-square analysis showed no sex differences and no age differences for the boys; but for the girls there was a significant age difference. More older girls than younger girls showed high stability in their expressed masculinity-femininity. These data are presented in Table IX.

## Relationship Between Children's M-F Scores

 and Parents' Bem ScoresSpearman rank correlations were used to analyze the relationships between the $M-F$ test scores of boys and the Bem scores of their parents. These correlations are presented in Table $X$. There were no significant relationships between the boys' $M-F$ test scores and the Bem scores of mothers and fathers; however, for the older boys the correlation between Form-A scores and mothers' scores suggested a negative relationship, i.e., the more feminine the mother, the less masculine the boy (rho $=-0.374$; $\mathrm{p}=.100)$.

Spearman rank correlations were used to analyze the relationships between the $M-F$ test scores of girls and the Bem scores of their parents. These correlations are presented in Table XI. There were no significant relationships between the girls' $M-F$ test scores and the Bem scores of their fathers; however there were positive correlations between the

TABLE VII

## MDEIAN M-F TEST SCORES AND PERCENTILE RANKS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

|  | N | M-F Test Scores |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Mann-Whitney } \\ \text { U-Test } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Median Score | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Percentile } \\ \text { Rank } \end{gathered}$ | $\underline{\text { U }}$ | p |
| Form-A |  |  |  |  |  |
| All Boys | 41 | +076 | 67 | 564 | <. 0003 |
| All Girls | 48 | -090 | 34 |  |  |
| High-Stability |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys | 20 | +044 | 84 | 72 | <. 0001 |
| Girls | 23 | -152 | 16 |  |  |

Form-B

| All Boys | 41 | +047 | 67 | 689.5 | $<.01$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| All Girls | 48 | -097 | 46 |  |  |
| High-Stability |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys | 20 | +036 | 72 | $78.5<.0002$ |  |
| Girls | 23 | -145 | 22 |  |  |

TABLE VIII
CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF FORM-B M-F TEST SCORES OF HIGH-STABILITY BOYS AND GIRLS

|  | N | M-F Test Scores\% |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys | Androgynous | High M-F |  |
| Girls | 20 | 16 |  |
| $X^{2}=14.38 ; ~ p<.001$. | 05 | 18 |  |

*High-Masculine and high-feminine scores are those with percentile ranks within the range 01-50.
Androgynous scores are those with percentile ranks within the range 51-100.

TABLE IX

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS OF M-F TEST
STABILITY SCORES BY
AGE AND SEX

|  | N | $\frac{\text { Stabi }}{\text { Low }}$ | $\frac{\text { Scores }}{\text { High }}$ | $x^{2}$ | p |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys |  |  |  |  |  |
| Older | 20 | 09 | 11 | 0.562 | n.s. |
| Younger | 21 | 12 | 09 |  |  |
| Girls |  |  |  |  |  |
| O1der | 23 | 07 | 16 | 4.119 | <. 05 |
| Younger | 25 | 15 | 10 |  |  |
| O1der |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys | 20 | 09 | 11 | 1.024 | n.s. |
| Gir1s | 23 | 07 | 16 |  |  |
| Younger |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boys | 21 | 12 | 09 | 1.057 | n.s. |
| Girls | 25 | 15 | 10 |  |  |

girls' M-F test scores and the Bem scores of their mothers, i.e., the more feminine the mother, the more feminine the girl. This was particularly true for the older girls and the high-stability girls (For older girls: Form-A, rho $=+0.424, \mathrm{p}=.029$; Form-B, rho $=+0.367, \mathrm{p}=.062$. For high-stability girls: Form-A, rho $=+0.417, \mathrm{p}=.050$; Form-B, rho $=$ +0.524, $\mathrm{p}=.011$ ).

## High-Masculine, High-Feminine

 and Androgynous ParentsThe question was raised as to whether the M-F test scores of children whose parents are androgynous were different from the test scores of children whose mothers are high-feminine and whose fathers are highmasculine. For this analysis Form-B of the M-F test was used rather than Form-A because young children may be more free during the second test session than they are during the first.

The Mann-Whitney $\underline{U}$ test was used in the analysis of the children's Form-B test scores and stability scores in relation to the parents' Bem scores. No significant differences were found for either boys or girls. Children whose parents were androgynous had M-F scores similar to those of children whose mothers were high-feminine and whose fathers were highmasculine. These findings are presented in Table XII.

The question was raised as to whether a relationship might exist between the M-F test scores of high-stability children and the Bem scores of their parents. High-stability children were chosen because of the consistency of their expressed masculinity or femininity. It was assumed that an analysis of the relationship between these children's test scores and those of their parents would be more valid than an analysis which

TABLE X

SPEARMAN RANK CORRELATIONS* BETWEEN BEM SCORES FOR PARENTS AND M-F TEST SCORES FOR BOYS

*No correlations were significant.
$* *$ In the present research, in order to provide çonsistency between children's scores and parents' scores, all positive scores are masculine and all negative scores are feminine.

## TABLE XI

SPEARMAN RANK CORRELATIONS* BETWEEN BEM SCORES FOR PARENTS AND M-F TEST SCORES FOR GIRLS

*Except where shown, no correlations were significant.
**In the present research, in order to provide consistency between children's scores and parents' scores, all positive scores are masculine and all negative scores are feminine.
included the less stable children. The Mann-Whitney $\underline{U}$ test was used in this analysis, and fathers and mothers were considered separately. No significant differences were found; however, the findings suggest that it is possible that the girls with androgynous mothers may be more feminine than those with high-feminine mothers $(\underline{U}=33.5 ; \mathrm{p}>.10)$. These findings are presented in Table XIII.

## Sex Differences Among High-

## Stability Children

The question was raised as to whether there were sex differences in the M-F scores of high-stability children. To answer this question, boys and girls were grouped according to the Bem scores of their parents, and the Mann-Whitney $\underline{U}$ test was used to analyze for sex differences. In this analysis, it was necessary to use percentile ranks, rather than raw scores, in order to make the M-F test scores of boys and girls comparable. (A percentile rank of "one" indicates a high-masculine or a high-feminine score.)

Significant sex differences were found between the M-F scores of boys and girls with androgynous mothers and also between the scores of boys and girls with high-masculine fathers. For the mothers who were androgynous, the boys were low-masculine (median M-F. score $=+034$; percentile rank $=73$ ) and the girls were high-feminine (median M-F score $=$ -169; percentile rank $=14$ ) ( $\underline{U}=16 ; \mathrm{p}<.02$ ). For the fathers who were high-masculine, the same sex differences existed for the children. The boys were low-masculine (median M-F score $=+026$; percentile rank $=76$ ) and the girls were high-feminine (median M-F score $=-099$; percentile rank $=45)(\underline{U}=06 ; \mathrm{p}<.02)$. These data are presented in Table XIV.

DISTRIBUTION AND ANALYSIS OF M-F TEST SCORES FOR CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS ARE ANDROGYNOUS AND THOSE WHO ARE HIGH-MASCULINE AND HIGH-FEMININE


TABLE XIII

DISTRIBUTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE M-F TEST SCORES
OF HIGH STABILITY CHILDREN IN RELATION TO BEM SCORES OF PARENTS

|  | N | $\frac{\text { M-F Test Scores, Form B }}{\text { Median }}$ |  | Mann-Whitney$\qquad$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | U | $\underline{1}$ |
| Fathers of Boys |  |  |  |  |  |
| High-Masculine | 07 | +026 | -185 to +160 | 30.5 | n.s. |
| Androgynous | 10 | -002 | -185 to +144 |  |  |
| Mothers of Boys |  |  |  |  |  |
| High-Feminine | 09 | +010 | -185 to +160 | 37.5 | n.s. |
| Androgynous | 10 | +034 | -185 to +144 |  |  |
| Fathers of Girls |  |  |  |  |  |
| High-Masculine | 09 | -099 | -074 to -251 | 29 | n.s. |
| Androgynous | 07 | -112 | +075 to -251 |  |  |
| Mothers of Girls |  |  |  |  |  |
| High-Feminine | 09 | -112 | +075 to -185 | 33.5 | >. 10 |
| Androgynous | 12 | -169 | +066 to -251 |  |  |

DISTRIBUTION AND ANALYSIS OF SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE M-F TEST SCORES OF HIGHSTABILITY CHILDREN IN RELATION TO BEM SCORES OF PARENTS

|  | M-F Test Scores, Form-B |  |  |  |  |  | Mann-Whitney <br> U-test |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High-Stability Boys |  |  | High-Stability Gir1s |  |  |  |  |
|  | Percentile Ranks |  |  | Percentile Ranks |  |  |  |  |
|  | N | Median | Range | $\stackrel{N}{N}$ | Median | Range |  | p |
| Mothers |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| High-Feminine | 09 | 83 | 25-99 | 09 | 40 | 10-95 | 21.5 | 2. 10 |
| Androgynous | 10 | 73 | 28-99 | 12 | 14 | 01-95 | 16 | <. 02 |
| Fathers |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| High-Masculine |  | 76 | 25-99 | 09 | 45 | 01-57 | 06 | <. 02 |
| Androgynous | 10 | 88 | 28-99 | 07 | 40 | 01-95 | 24.5 | n.s. |

## Summary of Findings

1. The majority of boys scored low-masculine (androgynous) on the M-F test and the majority of girls scored high-feminine. This difference was significant and was particularly true of high-stability childdren.
2. There were no sex differences in stability scores, and there were no age differences in stability scores for boys; but for the girls there was a significant age difference. More older girls than younger girls showed high stability.
3. There were no significant relationships between boys' $M-F$ test scores and the Bem scores of their fathers and mothers.
4. There were no significant relationships between girls' M-F test scores and the Bem scores of their fathers. There was a positive relationship between girls' M-F test scores and the Bem scores of their mothers, i.e., the more feminine the mother, the more feminine the girl. This was particularly true for the older girls and for the high-stability girls.
5. There was no difference between the $\mathrm{M}-\mathrm{F}$ test scores of children whose parents were androgynous and the test scores of children whose mothers were high-feminine and whose fathers were high-masculine.
6. There were significant sex differences between the $M-F$ scores of boys and girls with androgynous mothers; the boys were low-masculine and the girls were high-feminine. This same sex difference existed for the children whose fathers were high-masculine.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the masculinity and femininity of preschool children and the masculinity, femininity and androgyny of their parents. Age differences and sex differences in the relationship between the children's masculi-nity-femininity and that of their parents were examined in an attempt to gain an increased understanding of sex-role identification.

The subjects who participated in this study were 48 girls and 41 boys, ranging in age from three years, no months to five years, nine months, and their parents. For 74 of the children both the mother and the father participated in the study; for the remaining 15, only the mothers participated.

Two research instruments, both developed to measure masculinityfemininity, were selected for use in this research. For the children, the Starkweather Masculinity-Femininity Test was used. It is a test in which the children are offered picture choices and each child actually constructs a picture booklet which he keeps. It is a test which children enjoy. A major advantage of the test is that it is designed so that the evaluation of what is masculine or what is feminine is based on the children's picture choices rather than on adult judgments. For the parents, the Bem Sex-Role Inventory was used. In this Inventory each parent rates himself on various masculine and feminine characteristics. The scoring
is designed to identify individuals as masculine, feminine or androgynous.

The data provided by the children's M-F test scores was analyzed for sex differences and age differences in $M-F$ scores and stability scores. The relationships between the children's M-F test scores and the parents' Bem scores were then analyzed. Spearman rank correlations, Chi-square and Mann-Whitney $\underline{U}$ test were used for these analyses.

The findings of this research were as follows: (1) The majority of boys scored low-masculine (androgynous) on the $\mathrm{M}-\mathrm{F}$ test and the majority of girls scored high-feminine. This difference was significant and was particularly true of high-stability children. (2) There were no sex differences in stability scores, and there were no age differences in stability scores for boys; but for the girls there was a significant age difference. More older girls than younger girls showed high stability. (3) There were no significant relationships between boys' M-F test scores and the Bem scores of their fathers and mothers. (4) There were no significant relationships between girls' M-F test scores and the Bem scores of their fathers. There was a positive relationship between girls' M-F test scores and the Bem scores of their mothers, i.e., the more feminine the mother, the more feminine the girl. This was particularly true for the older girls and for the high-stability girls. (5) There was no difference between the $M-F$ test scores of children whose parents were androgynous the the test scores of children whose mothers were high-feminine and whose fathers were high-masculine. (6) There were significant sex differences between the $M-F$ scores of boys and girls with androgynous mothers; the boys were low-masculine and the girls were high-feminine. This same sex difference existed for the children whose fathers were

## high-masculine.

## Discussion

In the present study, the boys tended to be low-masculine and the girls tended to be high-feminine. This is different from the findings of previous research, which has shown girls to be later in developing feminine sex-role preferences than boys are in developing masculine sexrole preferences (Hetherington, 1965; Kohlberg and Zigler, 1967; Brown, 1957). Among the parents it was the androgynous mothers and the highmasculine fathers particularly who had the low-masculine boys and highfeminine girls. One possible explanation of this relationship comes from Sears, Rau and Alpert (1965) who found that a non-permissive attitude toward sexual and aggressive behavior and the use of physical punishment by the parents encouraged feminine behavior.

Another possible explanation is that androgynous mothers are accepting of the sex-role preferences of their children and are giving boys the opportunity to express some feminine traits without fearing they will lose their masculinity. This may be a result of the increased emphasis on the non-sexist training of young children. However, non-sexist literature stresses that girls should be free to take part in activities and interests usually accepted as masculine. If non-sexist training had this influence, one might expect the young girls to be less feminine and the young boys to be more masculine. The reverse was true of the children in the present study. Perhaps instead of freeing girls to be less feminine, the non-sexist movement is freeing boys to be less masculine.

The high stability of expressed masculinity-femininity shown by
both boys and girls in this study is different from the findings of previous research. Davidson (1973) found that girls showed greater stability in M-F scores from test to retest than did boys. The high stability of the boys in the present study could be peculiar to the sample used. The low masculinity of these high-stable boys could show that boys identify with low masculinity at an early age and later shift to high masculinity when they are recognized as accepting the sex-role standard. The older girls' high stability was to be expected, since, as they become older, children's sex roles become more established.

Mothers continue to be strong role models for their daughters as shown in the present study by the high-feminine mothers with the highfeminine daughters. This finding agrees with the conclusion of Fling and Manosevitz (1972) that mothers exert more effort toward their daughters' than toward their sons' sex-role identification. Finding androgynous mothers with high-feminine daughters suggests that when girls are given more latitude, they still may choose the feminine role. With the high-feminine mothers or the androgynous mothers, the high femininity of the girls may be attributed to the girls' perceiving their mothers as warm (Lynn, 1962).

The high-masculine fathers with high-feminine duaghters in the present study agrees with research that has shown the father's expectations determining the daughter's role (Biller and Weiss, 1970). With highmasculine fathers as role models, the low masculinity of the boys could be due to (1) the father not being dominant in the home (Hetherington, 1965; Biller, 1969); (2) the boys' fear of not measuring up and not trying to be masculine; (3) the boys' fear of punishment from the dominant father; (4) paternal nurturance not producing male sex-role preference
(Radin, 1972). Perhaps the non-sexist emphasis in our society allows boys to feel free to reject the masculine stereotype, at this young age.

## Implications for Future Research

In future research, a larger sample of middle-class children could be used to find out if they scored differently from those in the present study. If more high-masculine boys were found, their relationship with their parents could be examined. This was not possible in this study because of the large number of low-masculine boys.

A sample of lower-class children could be compared with the middleclass sample to find differences between and within the socioeconomic classes. These results could shed light on the seemingly unusual differences in sex-role identification evident in the present study.

Mothers who have become a part of the Women's Liberation Movement could be tested with the Bem Sex-Role Inventory to find out whether they are androgynous, or whether more of them might be high-feminine.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE XV
DESCRIPTIVE DATA AND TEST SCORES OF INDIVIDUAL BOYS AND THEIR PARENTS

| Sex and Code No. | Age | Starkweather M-F Test |  |  |  |  | Bem Sex-Role Inventory* |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Formm |  | Forn-B |  | Stability Score | Androgyny Diffurence Score |  |
|  |  | Score | Rank | Score | Rank |  | Mothers | forthers |
| M-2345 | 3:0 | +215 | 06 | +067 | 57 | 51 | +0 45 | +1.45 |
| M-2318 | 3:2 | +073 | 68 | -013 | 91 | 23 | +1. 35 | ---- |
| M-2325 | 3:2 | +080 | 66 | +088 | 47 | 19 | -0 40 | +0 15 |
| M-2319 | 3:3 | -008 | 96 | +00? | 86 | 10 | -. 15 | $1+310$ |
| M-2395 | 3:3 | +011 | 93 | +052 | 66 | 27 | -1 35 | +0.20 |
| M-2125 | 3:4 | +098 | 55 | +058 | 63 | 08 | +0.95 | ----- |
| M-2338 | 3:5 | +157 | 30 | +141 | 29 | 01 | -0.80 | +0.30 |
| M-2330 | 3:5 | +037 | 87 | +026 | 76 | 11 | +0.25 | +1.35 |
| M-2394 | 3:5 | +095 | 57 | +093 | 45 | 12 | -0.20 | +0.53 |
| M-2334 | 3:6 | +081 | 65 | +162 | 24 | 41 | -0.30 | +0.80 |
| M-2390 | 3:6 | +171 | 23 | +111 | 39 | 16 | -1.25 | $+1.80$ |
| M-2389 | 3:6 | -007 | 96 | +062 | 60 | 36 | -2.30 | +1.40 |
| M-2388 | 3:7 | +103 | 54 | -004 | 90 | 36 | -1.05 | -0.10 |
| M-2322 | 3:10 | +147 | 37 | +070 | 56 | 19 | -1.25 | +1.10 |
| M-2384 | 3:10 | +050 | 80 | +041 | 69 | 11 | +0.50 | +0.75 |
| M-2383 | 3:10 | +073 | 68 | +052 | 66 | 02 | -0.55 | +0.20 |
| M-2341 | 3:11 | +033 | 88 | +020 | 79 | 09 | -2.15 | +1.85 |
| M-2295 | 4:1 | +076 | 67 | +078 | 52 | 15 | -1.90 | $\cdots$ |
| M-2337 | 4:1 | +099 | 55 | +166 | 23 | 32 | -0.65 | -0.05 |
| M-2293 | 4:3 | +094 | 57 | +047 | 67 | 10 | -0.55 | ----- |
| M-2375 | 4:3 | +160 | 28 | -059 | 96 | 68 | -1.05 | $\div 2.15$ |
| M-2326 | 4:4 | -085 | 98 | -039 | 95 | 03 | -1.40 | +0.60 |
| M-2373 | 4:4 | -003 | 96 | +093 | 45 | 51 | -0.40 | -0.10 |
| M-2372 | 4:4 | +057 | 74 | +010 | 83 | 09 | -1.00 | +0.45 |
| M-2132 | 4:5 | +110 | 51 | +016 | 80 | 29 | +0.65 | - |
| M-2336 | 4:6́ | +. 015 | 92 | -007 | 91 | 01 | -0.50 | +0.60 |
| M-2369 | 4:6 | +060 | 73 | -002 | 89 | 16 | -0.75 | +0.90 |
| M-2283 | 4:7 | +030 | 89 | -043 | 95 | 06 | -0.40 | -0.1.5 |
| M-2306 | 4:8 | -i-197 | 13 | +110 | 39 | 26 | -1.70 | -0.40 |
| M-236 5 | 4:8 | +139 | 40 | +144 | 28 | 12 | +0.65 | +0.15 |
|  | 4:8 |  |  | +095 | 45 | 15 | -0.60 | +0.05 |
| M-2340 | 4:9 | +085 | 64 | +012 | 82 | 18 | -0.15 | +0.10 |
| M-2361 | 4:9 | -007 | 96 | +021 | 78 | 18 | -0.30 | +0.60 |
| M-2360 | 4:9 | -013 | 96 | -040 | 95 | 01 | +0.70 | +0.10 |
| M-2291 | 4:11 | -099 | 99 | -185 | 99 | 00 | +0.75 | +0.35 |
| M-356 | 5:0 | +044 | $84_{i}$ | +036 | 72 | 12 | -1.40 | +1.50 |
| M- 3 31 | 5:1. | +127 | 43 | +201 | 12 | 31 | -1.20 | +2.75 |
| M-2170 | 5:3 | +137 | 41 | +275 | 01 | 40 | -0.05 | +1.95 |
| M-2129 | 5:4 | +010 | 93 | +013 | 82 | 11 | +0.40 | --.-- |
| $\mathrm{M}-228{ }^{\circ}$ | 5:5 | -016 | 96 | -139 | 99 | 03 | +0.10 | $+2.10$ |
| M-229* | 5:9 | +196 | 14 | +160 | 25 | 11 | -1.55 | +1.35 |

TABLE XVI
DESCRIPTIVE DATA AND TEST SCORES OF
INDIVIDUAL GIRLS AND THEIR PARENTS

| Sex and Code No. | Age | Starkweather M-F Test |  |  |  |  | Bem Sex-Role Inventory* |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Form-A |  | Form-B |  | Stability <br> Score | Androgyny Difference Score |  |
|  |  | Score | Rank | Score | Rank |  | Mothers | Fathers |
| F-2349 | 3:0 | -021 | 58 | +041 | 91 | 33 | +0.15 | +1.25 |
| F-2343 | 3:0 | -035 | 55 | -006 | 77 | 22 | -0.15 | +0.55 |
| F-2321 | 3:0 | -064 | 43 | -169 | 14 | 29 | -0.30 | +1.05 |
| F-2339 | 3:1 | -054 | 46 | -096 | 47 | 01 | -0.10 | +2.60 |
| F-2396 | 3:1 | -109 | 30 | -055 | 62 | 32 | -0.60 | +0.05 |
| F-2107 | 3:3 | -011 | 61 | +039 | 91 | 30 | -2.25 | ----- |
| F-2346 | 3:5 | -039 | 53 | -099 | 45 | 08 | -0.30 | +0.80 |
| F-2393 | 3:5 | -088 | 34 | -079 | 54 | 20 | +0.45 | 000 |
| F-2113 | 3:6 | -052 | 47 | -010 | 76 | 29 | -0.85 | ---.-- |
| F-2316 | 3:6 | -002 | 64 | +050 | 93 | 29 | -1.80 | -0.15 |
| F-2392 | 3:6 | -233 | 02 | -169 | 14 | 12 | -0.15 | +2.00 |
| F-2387 | 3:8 | -117 | 28 | -190 | 09 | 19 | +0.30 | +0.30 |
| F-2386 | 3:9 | -022 | 58 | +022 | 86 | 28 | +0.45 | +1.55 |
| F-2385 | 3:9 | +005 | 68 | -074 | 57 | 11 | -0.35 | +0.75 |
| F-2382 | 3:11 | -050 | 48 | -036 | 66 | 18 | -2.55 | +1.55 |
| F-2381 | 3:11 | -118 | 28 | +013 | 84 | 56 | -0.55 | +0.35 |
| F-2380 | 3:11 | -082 | 37 | -200 | 08 | 29 | -0.15 | ----- |
| F-2379 | 4:0 | -162 | 14 | -097 | 46 | 32 | -0.75 | +3.20 |
| F-2108 | 4:2 | -014 | 59 | -094 | 48 | 11 | +0.10 | ----- |
| F-2378 | 4:2 | -090 | 34 | -131 | 29 | 05 | -1.55 | +0.85 |
| F-2377 | 4:2 | -053 | 46 | +003 | 81 | 35 | -1.90 | +0.50 |
| F-2374 | 4:3 | +104 | 92 | +075 | 96 | 04 | -1.25 | +0.05 |
| F-2278 | 4:4 | -167 | 12 | -038 | 66 | 54 | -0.95 | -0.10 |
| F-2109 | 4:4 | -186 | 07 | -237 | 02 | 05 | +1.80 | ----- |
| F-2284 | 4:5 | -238 | 02 | -239 | 02 | 00 | +0.05 | ------ |
| F-2370 | 4:5 | -024 | 57 | -091 | 49 | 08 | -1.05 | +2.30 |
| F-2329 | 4:6 | -184 | 07 | -119 | 35 | 28 | -0.40 | +0.15 |
| F-2368 | 4:6 | -188 | 07 | -114 | 38 | 31 | +1.10 | $+2.00$ |
| F-2367 | 4:7 | +096 | 91 | +050 | 93 | 02 | -1.95 | 000 |
| F-2275 | 4:7 | -211 | 04 | -242 | 01 | 03 | -0.30 | +1.05 |
| F-2282 | 4:8 | -164 | 13 | -145 | 22 | 09 | -0.95 | +0.85 |
| F-2347 | 4:8 | -025 | 57 | -123 | 33 | 24 | -3.10 | +1.00 |
| F-2364 | 4:8 | -046 | 51 | -112 | 40 | 11 | -1.25 | -0.05 |
| F-2363 | 4:8 | -034 | 55 | -074 | 57 | 02 | -0.85 | +2.15 |
| F-2350 | 4:10 | -152 | 16 | -193 | 09 | 07 | +0.90 | -0.75 |
| F-2359 | 4:10 | -129 | 22 | -110 | 40 | 18 | -3.20 | +0.90 |
| F-2358 | 4:11 | -150 | 16 | -180 | 11 | 05 | -0.05 | -0.35 |
| F-2357 | 4:11 | -139 | 19 | +046 | 92 | 73 | -0.55 | +0.80 |
| F-2274 | 5:1 | -183 | 08 | -116 | 37 | 29 | -1.35 | +1.75 |
| F-2103 | 5:1 | -003 | 63 | +034 | 89 | 26 | +0.40 | ----- |
| F-2352 | 5:2 | -121 | 26 | -068 | 59 | 33 | +0.45 | 000 |
| F-2102 | 5:2 | -204 | 04 | -166 | 14 | 10 | -0.10 | ----- |
| F-2353 | 5:2 | +015 | 72 | -081 | 54 | 18 | -1.10 | +1.05 |
| F-2351 | 5:3 | +055 | 84 | +066 | 95 | 11 | -0.50 | 000 |
| F-2159 | 5:3 | -220 | 03 | -251 | 01 | 02 | -0.20 | +0. 55 |
| F-2116 | 5:5 | -173 | 10 | -185 | 10 | 00 | -0.85 | ------ |
| F-2277 | 5:8 | -151 | 16 | -167 | 14 | 02 | +0.60 | -0.05 |
| F-2285 | 5:9 | -158 | 15 | -147 | 21 | 06 | -1.10 | ------ |

APPENDIX B

Dear Parents,
As a personal favor to me, will you please fill out the enclosed forms and return them to me as soon as possible? This is a part of the information that I am gathering for my master's thesis. I am interested in learning through my research whether there is a relationship between parents' personality characteristics (masculinity-femininity) and young children's apparent masculine and feminine preferences. It is logical to expect such a relationship to exist.

The enclosed forms contain a list of 60 personality characteristics, and you are asked to indicate the extent to which each is typical of you. Some of these characterictics you will recognize as masculine, while others are feminine, and still others are neither masculine nor feminine. By your responses you will show where, on a masculinity-femininity continum, you place yourself insofar as these characterirtics are concerned.

Will you also please give consent for your child to take part in my research? For the children, I have booklets of pictures in which each child chooses the picture he likes and is then given a set of these pictures to keep. Some pictures are preferred more by boys (masculine pictures), and others are preferred more by girls (feminine pictures). Each child shows by his choices whether he likes the masculine and feminine pictures equally well or whether he has a real preference for one or the other.

Inasmuch as the children are given packets of pictures to keep, I do want every child to participate so that no one will be left out. I hope that you will let your child do so. This I will appreciate.

Please know that the information which you give me will be treated as confidential and will be shared with no one. If you wish, when my research has been completed, I will be happy to share the results with you.

Sincerely yours,<br>Deanna Homer

# Stillwater, Oklahoma 

 74074May 12, 1976

## Dear Parents:

At this time I want to thank you for your helpiul cooperation with my Masters' thesis research. As a result of the research, I have some data I would like to share with you.

The graph below shows you where your child's scores placed him on the masculinity-femininity scales for each of the two tests he was given. This scale includes the range of scores for our preschool only.

The mother's and father's scores are placed according to where they fell on the same masculinity-femininity range. From these placements, you can see the relationship between the way you rated yourself and the masculinity or femininity shown by your child at this time in his life. A large number of children have not established their masculin. ity or femininity at this early age. This is shown on the graph where the check marks are far apart.

Again I want to thank you for helping me with my research. Please contact me personally if you have any questions.

Sincerely yours,
Deanna Homer
DH/ds

MOTHER

FATHER

APPENDIX C

## BEM SEX-ROLE INVENTORY ${ }^{1}$

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) is a new sex-role inventory that treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions, thereby making it possible to characterize a person as masculine, feminine or androgynous as a function of the difference between his or her endorsement of masculine or feminine personality characteristics. It contains a number of features that distinguish it from other, commonly used, masculinity-femininity scales, for example, the Masculinity-Femininity scale of the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1957). First it includes both a Masculinity scale and a Femininity scale, each of which contains 20 personality characteristics. These characterisitis are listed in the first and second columns of Table 1, respectively. Second, because the BSRI was founded on a conception of the sex-typed person as someone who has internalized society's sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and women, these personality characteristics were selected as masculine or feminine on the basis of differential endorsement by males and females as most other inventories have done. That is, a characteristic qualified as masculine if it was judged to be more desirable in American society for a man than for a woman, and it qualified as feminine if it was judged to be more desirable for a woman than a man. Third, the BSRI characterizes a person as masculine, feminine, or androgynous as a function of the difference between his or her endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics. A person is thus sex-typed, whether masculine or feminine, to the extent that this difference score is high, and androgynous, to the extent that this difference score is low. Finally, the BSRI also includes a Social Desirability scale that is completely neutral with respect to sex. This scale now serves primarily to provide a neutral context for the Masculinity and Femininity scales, but it was utilized during the development of the BSRI to insure that the inventory would not simply be tapping a general tendency to endorse socially desirable traits. The 20 characteristics that make up this scale are listed in the third colomn of Table 1.

The BSRI asks a person to indicate on a 7-point scale how well each of the 60 masculine, feminine, and neutral personality characteristics describes himself. The scale ranges from 1 ("Never or almost never true") to 7 ("Always or almost always true") and is labeled at each point. On the basis of his responses, each person receives three major scores: a Masculinity score, a Femininity score and, most important, an Androgyny score. In addition, a Social Desirability score can also be computed.

[^1]
## Scoring

The Masculinity and Femininity scores indicate the extent to which a person endorses masculine and feminine personality characteristics as self-descriptive. Masculinity equals the mean selfrating for all endorsed masculine items, and Femininity equals the mean selfarating for all endorsed feminine items. Both can range from 1 to 7. It will be recalled that these two scores are logically independent. That is, the structure of the test does not constrain them in any way, and they are free to vary independently. The Androgyny score reflects the relative amounts of masculinity and femininity that the person includes in his or her self-description, and as such, it best characterizes the nature of the person's total sex role.

It should be noted that the greater the absolute value of the Androgyny score, the more the person is sex-typed or sex reversed, with high positive scores indicating femininity and high negative scores indicating masculinity. A "masculine" sex role thus represents not only the endorsement of masculine attributes but the simultaneous rejection of feminine attributes. Similarly, a "feminine" sex role represents not only the endorsement of feminine attributes, but the simultaneous rejection of masculine attributes. In contrast, the closer the Androgyny score is to zero, the more the person is androgynous. An "androgynous" sex role thus represents the equal endorsemtns of both masculine and feminine attributes.

TABLE 1
ITEMS ON THE MASCULINITY, FEMININITY, AND SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALES OF THE BSRI


Note: The number preceding each item reflects the position of each adjective as it actually appears on the Inventory.

BEM SEX-ROLE INVENTORY
DIRECTIONS AND SCORE SHEET

On the next page you will see a large number of personality characteristics. We would like you to use these characteristics to describe yourself. That is, we would like you to indicate, on a scale from 1 to 7, how true of you these various characteristics are. Please do not leave any characteristic unmarked.

Example: sly
Mark a 1 if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 2 if it is USUALLY NOT TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 3 if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE that you are sly.

Mark a 4 if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 5 if it is OFTEN TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 6 if it is USUALLY TRUE that you are sly.
Mark a 7 if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE that you are sly.

Thus, if you feel it is sometimes but infrequently true that you are "sly", never or almost never true that you are "malicious", always or almost always true that you are "irresponsible", and often true that you are "carefree", then you would rate these characteristics as follows:


DESCRIBE YOURSELF

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NEVER OR | USUALLY | SOMETIMES | $\frac{1}{\text { OCCASIONALLY }}$ | $\frac{1}{\text { OFTEN }}$ | USUALLY | $\xrightarrow{\text { ALWAYS }}$ |
| ALMOST | NOT | BUT | TRUE | TRUE | TRUE | OR |
| NEVER TRUE | TRUE | INFREQUENTLY |  |  | ALMOST |  |
|  |  | TRUE |  |  |  |  |



APPENDIX D

## STARKWEATHER MASCULINITY-FEMININITY TEST

FOR PRESCHOOL CHILDREN ${ }^{1}$<br>A Test of Sex-Role Identification<br>developed by<br>Elizabeth K. Starkweather<br>Oklahoma State University<br>Stillwater, Oklahoma

The Starkweather Masculinity-Femininity Test (M-F Test) measures the masculine and feminine preferences of preschool children. The test is designed so that the evaluation of what is masculine and what is feminine is based on the preferences of the children tested, and not on adult judgments of masculinity and femininity. The underlying assumption is that boy-behavior is masculine and girl-behavior is feminine regardless of any adult judgments to the contrary.

Two comparable forms of the Starkweather M-F Test have been developed, Form-A and Form-B. The materials for each form include a picture booklet of 20 pages and individually mounted pictures, identical to those in the booklet. The pages in the test booklet are of colored higloss paper, approximately $3^{\prime \prime} \times 8$ " in size. A variety of colors is available and no color is used for more than two pages in either test booklet. On each page there are three pictures (gummed seals) which are arbitrarily selected as masculine, feminine, and neutral. The placement of masculine and feminine pictures on each page is done for the purpose of maximizing the power of the test to discriminate between the preferences of boys and girls. The pictures themselves are commercially produced gummed seals and include a variety of objects such as animals, cars, babies, flowers, cowboys, and Mother Goose figures. The individually mounted pictures are placed on small pieces of hi-gloss paper, approximately $2^{\prime \prime} \times 3^{\prime \prime}$, the same color as the test booklet pages on which the pictures appear.

The administration of the two forms of the Starkweather M-F Test, as a test and a retest with an interval of approximately one week between the two, provides (1) two M-F Test scores, which indicate the extent to which a child's picture preferences are masculine or feminine, and (2) a stability score, which indicates the stability of a child's preferences from one test to the next and which is an index of the extent to which a child has identified with the sex-role suggested by his expressed masculinity or femininity.
$1_{\text {The }}$ Starkweather M-F Test was developed as part of a creativity research program supported by the Research Foundation at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Administration
The Starkweather M-F Test is designed for administration to individual children. Each child is introduced to the test by being told that he is going to make a picture booklet of his very own. He is then shown the first page of the test booklet and is asked, "Which one of these pictures do you want?" The child makes his selection and is then given an identical picture, one of the individually mounted pictures, as the first page of his own picture book. This procedure is repeated until the child has chosen one picture from each of the 20 pages in the test booklet.

The two forms of the M-F Test are administered during two separate sessions with the child. Form-A is always administered first, and then after an interval of approximately one week, Form-B is administered.

Scoring
The scoring of the Starkweather M-F Test is designed to eliminate the bias of adult judgments. Each picture in the test booklet is assigned a score, masculine or feminine in value, which is determined by the picture choices of the children tested. For example, a picture chosen by a majority of the boys and by few of the girls is weighted heavily as masculine. The M-F score for an individual child is calculated by adding the masculine and femine values of all the pictures that he has chosen.

The method of calculating the masculine and feminine values of individual pictures is illustrated in Figures 1 and 2. The page shown in Figure 1 is from an M-F Test booklet used in several studies in which an equal number of boys and girls participated. When this is the case, the score values assigned to the pictures are calculated by subtracting the number of girls from the number of boys who choose each picture. In a 1968 study, the pony, chosen by 63 boys and 23 girls, was assigned a masculine value of +40 ; and the baby, chosen by 15 boys and 46 girls, was assigned a feminine value of -31 . These assigned values were only for use in scoring the responses of the children who participated in the 1968 study. In a 1969 study, the assigned numerical values for these same pictures were smaller because fewer children participated in the study; nevertheless, the relative values remained the same, the pony was masculine (+20) and the baby was feminine (-17).


1968 Study
Pony
Butterfly
Baby
Boys $\quad(\mathrm{N}=90)$
63
12
15
Girls $\quad(N=90)$
23
21
46

Assigned Value
$+40$
-09
$-31$

| 1969 Study | Pony | Butterfly | Baby |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys $\quad(N=48)$ | 35 | 09 | 04 |
| Girls $\quad(N=48)$ | 15 | 12 | 21 |
|  | - | - | - |
| Assigned Value | +20 | -03 | -17 |

Figure 1. Method of calculating the masculine and feminine values for individual pictures in the Starkweather M-F Test.


| 1967 Study | Rooster |  | Chipmunk |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Boys $\quad(N=17)$ | 5 | 9 | 3 |
| Girls $(N=15)$ | 5 | 3 | 7 |
| Girls (weighted) | 5.67 | 3.40 | 7.93 |
| Assigned Value | -0.67 | -5.60 | -4.93 |

Figure 2. Method of calculating the masculine and feminine values for individual pictures in the Starkweather M-F Test when weighting of scores is necessary.

When an unequal number of boys and girls participate in a study, weighting is necessary in calculating the values to be assigned to the individual pictures. In Figure 2, a page from the M-F Test booklet used in a 1967 study is illustrated. In this study there were 17 boys and 15 girls. Weighing to correct for this inequality was achieved by multiplying the number of girls who chose each pictures by 1.133 (n.b., $17 \div 15=1.133$ ). The value assigned to each picture was then calculated by using the weighted number of girls and the actual number of boys who chose each picture.

The M-F Test score sheet for Child M-2059 (Figure 3) illustrates the way in which a child's picture choices are recorded and the way in which his M-F score is calculated from the assigned values of the pictures he has chosen. Child M-2059 was one of the high-masculine boys in a 1973 study in which 92 boys and 92 girls participated.

Name Child M-2059 No. M-2059 Date $10-25-72$ Birthrate 12-26-67 Age 4:10 Testing Place Village Center_Test Form A


Figure 3. Sample Score Sheet

Stability scores are calculated from the M-F scores obtained by each child. For each form of the test, the scores of boys and girls are ranked separately, and each child's M-F scores are then converted to ranks, one for Form-A and one for Form-B. The difference between these two ranks indicates the stability of the child's picture preferences from one test to the next and is his stability score. The two ranks, and not the two M-F scores, must be used in this calculation. The M-F scores for each form of the test are based on the assigned values of the pictures in that form, and therefore cannot be directly compared. Examples of stability scores are presented in Table I.

## Alternate Scoring Method

The scoring method described above can be used only when a relatively large group of boys and girls is being tested. In order to extend the usefulness of the test, an alternate method of scoring was developed. The alternate method simplifies the scoring and makes it possible to use the M-F Test with an individual child, with small groups of children, or with groups of one sex exclusively.

The M-F Test responses of 184 middle-class preschool children, 92 boys and 92 girls, were used in the development of tables which are needed in scoring the test responses of individual children. These tables include (1) a table of assigned picture values, and (2)tables showing the ranking of M-F scores, one table for boys and another for girls. The use of these tables in scoring any child's M-F Test responses will show his masculinity or femininity in relation to this group of 184 middle-class children, and any interpretation of test scores must take this into consideration.

The score values of individual pictures in both forms of the M-F Test are presented in Table II. These picture scores were calculated from the test responses of the 25 most stable high-masculine boys and the 25 most stable high-feminine girls, rather than from the responses of all 184 children. The assumption was that boys who were consistently high-masculine and girls who were consistently high-feminine would show the most discriminating and valid picture preferences.

The percentile ranks for M-F Test scores are presented in Table III for boys and in Table IV for girls. The scores range from the highest possible score (Rank 1) and the highest actual score (Rank 2) to the lowest actual score (Rank 99) and the lowest possible score (Rank 100). These tables are used for converting M-F Test scores to percentile ranks from which stability scores can be calculated.

A summary of the steps involved in the calculation of M-F scores, using the alternate scoring method, is as follows:(1) Use Table II to calculate the child's M-F scores from his picture choices. (2) Use Table III for boys and Table IV for girls to convert the M-F scores to percentile ranks. (3) Calculate the stability score, which is the difference between the two percentile ranks. High stability is indicated by a score of 00 to 12; and low stability is indicated by a score of 13 or more.

## TABLE I

EXAMPLES OF STABILITY SCORES CALCULATED FROM RESPONSES TO FORM-A AND FORM-B OF THE STARKWEATHER M-F TEST

|  | Form-A |  | Form-B |  | Stability |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Score | Rank* | Score | Rank* |  |
| Score |  |  |  |  |  |

*Each child's rank is his or her position in a group of 92 likesexed children.

## TABLE II

## SCORE VALUES FOR INDIVIDUAL PICTURES IN FORM-A AND FORM-B OF THE STARKWEATHER M-F TEST

| Form-A |  |  |  | Form-B |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Page | Pictures* |  |  | Page | Pictures |  |  |
| 1 | +11 | -17 | +06 | 1 | +08 | -09 | +01 |
| 2 | +08 | +03 | -11 | 2 | -13 | -01 | +14 |
| 3 | 00 | +14 | -14 | 3 | +01 | +13 | -14 |
| 4 | +16 | -04 | -12 | 4 | +17 | -01 | -16 |
| 5 | +02 | -19 | +17 | 5 | -04 | -13 | +17 |
| 6 | +02 | +05 | -07 | 6 | -04 | +14 | -10 |
| 7 | +14 | -19 | +05 | 7 | +16 | -13 | -03 |
| 8 | -11 | -05 | +16 | 8 | -04 | -12 | +16 |
| 9 | -08 | +05 | +03 | 9 | -07 | -06 | +13 |
| 10 | +16 | -01 | -15 | 10 | +08 | +03 | -11 |
| 11 | +09 | -17 | +08 | 11 | +08 | -22 | +14 |
| 12 | -18 | +13 | +05 | 12 | -06 | -02 | +08 |
| 13 | +12 | -08 | -04 | 13 | +15 | -20 | +05 |
| 14 | -06 | -02 | +08 | 14 | -08 | -11 | +19 |
| 15 | -16 | +18 | -02 | 15 | +04 | +11 | -15 |
| 16 | +15 | +04 | -19 | 16 | +14 | +01 | -15 |
| 17 | +02 | -13 | +11 | 17 | +03 | -18 | +15 |
| 18 | -11 | +22 | -11 | 18 | -10 | +15 | -05 |
| 19 | +17 | -10 | -07 | 19 | +18 | -12 | -06 |
| 20 | -14 | -01 | +15 | 20 | -13 | -07 | +20 |

*The score values for the three pictures on each page are presented here in the order in which the pictures themselves appear in the M-F Test booklets. For example, on Page 1 of Form-A, from left to right, the pictures are a deer, a baby, and an apple; and their respective values are $+11,-17$, and +06 .

## TABLE III

STARKWEATHER M-F TEST: CONVERSION TABLE OF PERCENTILE RANKS FOR BOYS

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Percentile } \\ & \text { Rank } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Form-A } \\ & \text { M-F Score } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Form-B } \\ & \text { M-F Score } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Percentile } \\ \text { Rank } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Form-A } \\ & \text { M-F Score } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Form-B } \\ & \text { M-F Score } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | +262 | +285 | 51 | +112 | +080 |
| 2 | +254 | +268 | 52 | +109 | +078 |
| 3 | +243 | +253 | 53 | +106 | +076 |
| 4 | +232 | +238 | 54 | +103 | +074 |
| 5 | +221 | +224 | 55 | +099 | +072 |
| 6 | +217 | +220 | 56 | +097 | +070 |
| 7 | +213 | +217 | 57 | +095 | +068 |
| 8 | +209 | +214 | 58 | +093 | +066 |
| 9 | +206 | +211 | 59 | +091 | +064 |
| 10 | +203 | +208 | 60 | +089 | +062 |
| 11 | +201 | +205 | 61 | +088 | +061 |
| 12 | +199 | +202 | 62 | +087 | +060 |
| 13 | +197 | +200 | 63 | +086 | +058 |
| 14 | +196 | +198 | 64 | +085 | +056 |
| 15 | +195 | +196 | 65 | +083 | +054 |
| 16 | +193 | +192 | 66 | +080 | +052 |
| 17 | +191 | +188 | 67 | +077 | +049 |
| 18 | +189 | +184 | 68 | +074 | +046 |
| 19 | +188 | +180 | 69 | +070 | +043 |
| 20 | +187 | +176 | 70 | +066 | +040 |
| 21 | +182 | +172 | 71 | +064 | +038 |
| 22 | +178 | +169 | 72 | +062 | +036 |
| 23 | +174 | +166 | 73 | +060 | +034 |
| 24 | +170 | +163 | 74 | +057 | +031 |
| 25 | +166 | +160 | 75 | +055 | +028 |
| 26 | +164 | +155 | 76 | +054 | +026 |
| 27 | +162 | +150 | 77 | +053 | +024 |
| 28 | +160 | +145 | 78 | +052 | +022 |
| 29 | +158 | +141 | 79 | +051 | +020 |
| 30 | +157 | +137 | 80 | +050 | +017 |
| 31 | +156 | +134 | 81 | +049 | +015 |
| 32 | +155 | +131 | 82 | +048 | +013 |
| 33 | +154 | +128 | 83 | +047 | +010 |
| 34 | +153 | +125 | 84 | +045 | +007 |
| 35 | +152 | +123 | 85 | +043 | +004 |
| 36 | +149 | +120 | 86 | +041 | +003 |
| 37 | +147 | +117 | 87 | +038 | +001 |
| 38 | +145 | +114 | 88 | +035 | -001 |
| 39 | +143 | +111 | 89 | +032 | -003 |
| 40 | +141 | +109 | 90 | +029 | -005 |
| 41 | +137 | +107 | 91 | +023 | -013 |
| 42 | +133 | +103 | 92 | +017 | -021 |
| 43 | +129 | +100 | 93 | +011 | -029 |
| 44 | +125 | +097 | 94 | +005 | -038 |
| 45 | +121 | +095 | 95 | -001 | -047 |
| 46 | +119 | +092 | 96 | -033 | -075 |
| 47 | +118 | +089 | 97 | -065 | -104 |
| 48 | +117 | +086 | 98 | -097 | -133 |
| 49 | +116 | +083 | 99 | -129 | -162 |
| 50 | +115 | +081 | 100 | -255 | -260 |

## TABLE IV

STARKWEATHER M-F TEST: CONVERSION TABLE OF PERCENTILE RANKS FOR GIRLS

| Percentile Rank | Form-A <br> M-F Score | Form-B <br> M-F Score | Percentile Rank | Form-A <br> M-F Score | Form-B <br> M-F Score |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | -225 | -260 | 51 | -046 | -088 |
| 2 | -241 | -241 | 52 | -044 | -086 |
| 3 | -227 | -234 | 53 | -041 | -084 |
| 4 | -213 | -228 | 54 | -038 | -081 |
| 5 | -199 | -222 | 55 | -035 | -078 |
| 6 | -193 | -215 | 56 | -031 | -076 |
| 7 | -188 | -208 | 57 | -027 | -074 |
| 8 | -183 | -201 | 58 | -023 | -072 |
| 9 | -178 | -195 | 59 | -018 | -070 |
| 10 | -173 | -189 | 60 | -013 | -067 |
| 11 | -170 | -184 | 61 | -011 | -062 |
| 12 | -167 | -179 | 62 | -008 | -057 |
| 13 | -165 | -174 | 63 | -005 | -052 |
| 14 | -163 | -169 | 64 | -002 | -046 |
| 15 | -161 | -164 | 65 | +001 | -040 |
| 16 | -155 | -161 | 66 | +002 | -038 |
| 17 | -149 | -158 | 67 | +004 | -035 |
| 18 | -144 | -156 | 68 | +006 | -032 |
| 19 | -139 | -154 | 69 | +008 | -029 |
| 20 | -134 | -152 | 70 | +010 | -026 |
| 21 | -1.32 | -149 | 71 | +014 | -024 |
| 22 | -130 | -146 | 72 | +018 | -022 |
| 23 | -128 | -143 | 73 | +022 | -019 |
| 24 | -126 | -141 | 74 | +026 | -016 |
| 25 | -124 | -139 | 75 | +030 | -013 |
| 26 | -122 | -137 | 76 | +032 | -010 |
| 27 | -120 | -135 | 77 | +034 | -007 |
| 28 | -118 | -133 | 78 | +036 | -004 |
| 29 | -116 | -131 | 79 | +039 | -001 |
| 30 | -115 | -130 | 80 | +042 | +002 |
| 31 | -108 | -128 | 81 | +046 | +005 |
| 32 | -102 | -126 | 82 | +050 | +008 |
| 33 | -096 | -124 | 83 | +054 | +011 |
| 34 | -090 | -122 | 84 | +058 | +014 |
| 35 | -084 | -120 | 85 | +062 | +018 |
| 36 | -083 | -118 | 86 | +067 | +022 |
| 37 | -082 | -116 | 87 | +073 | +026 |
| 38 | -081 | -114 | 88 | +079 | +030 |
| 39 | -080 | -113 | 89 | +085 | +034 |
| 40 | -079 | -112 | 90 | +091 | +038 |
| 41 | -074 | -109 | 91 | +099 | +043 |
| 42 | -069 | -107 | 92 | +107 | +048 |
| 43 | -064 | -105 | 93 | +115 | +054 |
| 44 | -060 | -103 | 94 | +123 | +060 |
| 45 | -056 | -101 | 95 | +131 | +066 |
| 46 | -054 | -098 | 96 | +135 | +080 |
| 47 | -052 | -096 | 97 | +139 | +094 |
| 48 | -050 | -094 | 98 | +143 | +109 |
| 49 | -049 | -092 | 99 | +147 | +124 |
| 50 | -048 | -090 | 100 | +262 | +285 |

Sex-Role Identification

When the masculinity or femininity expressed by a child is stable, that child has identified his particular sex-role. For example, the child who consistently shows low masculinity has identified his sexrole just as clearly as the child who consistently shows high masculinity. The role may change over a period of time, but the stability of the role at a given time implies something about the child's selfconcept and the security he finds in the role at that time. On the other hand, the child who is inconsistent in his expression of masculinity or femininity cannot have identified a sex-role in which he feels comfortable and secure.

The Starkweather M-F Test measures a child's sex-role identification in terms of expressed masculine or feminine preferences and the stability of these preferences from test to retest. This operational definition of sex-role identification can be illustrated by the test scores of specific children presented in Table I.

Child M-2059 was a child who had identified his sex-role as highmasculine. His M-F score of +224 on Form-A was high-masculine, as was his score of +268 on Form-B. The difference between his rank of 04 on Form-A and 01 on Form-B gave him a stability score of 03, indicating that he was stable in his high-masculine preferences from test to retest, or in other words, indicating high-masculine sex-role identification.

Child F-2046 was a child who had identified her sex-role as lowfeminine. Her M-F score of -026 on Form-A was low-feminine, as was her score of -053 on Form-B. The difference between her rank of 52 on Form-A and 58 on Form-B gave her a stability score of 06 , indicating that she was stable in her low-feminine preferences from test to retest, or in other words, indicating low-feminine sex-role identification.

Child M-2008 was a child who had not identified his sex-role. His score of +195 on Form-A was high-masculine and his score of +039 on Form-B was low-masculine. This lack of stability from test to retest was clearly indicated by his change in rank from 14 on Form-A to 65 on Form-B -- a change which resulted in a stability score of 51 and indicated a lack of sex-role identification.

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# VITA <br> Deanna Marie Homer <br> Candidate for the Degree of <br> Master of Science 

Thesis: SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION IN EARLY CHILDHOOD: A STUDY OF CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS

Major Field: Family Relations and Child Development
Biographical:
Personal Data: Born in Greenville, Pennsylvania, September 29, 1938, the daughter of Russell R. and Helen Boliver Britton. Married, 1960, to John T. Homer. Three children: John Frederick, born May 10, 1961; James Russell, born December 20, 1962; Lynne Marie, born November 4, 1967.

Education: Graduated from Greenville High School, Greenville, Pennsylvania, in June, 1956. Received a Bachelor of Arts in Social Science degree from Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania, in May, 1960. Completed requirements for the Master of Science degree in May, 1977.

Professional Experience: Fourth grade teacher at St. Alban's Country Day School, Roseville, California, 1964-1965; Head Start volunteer, 1965-1966; co-director of Roseville Cooperative Play Group, Roseville, California, 1966-1967; teacherdirector of Garden Child Development Center, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1969-1972; teacher of three year olds at Centreville Preschool Inc., Chantilly, Virginia, 1973-1974; presently teacher-director of First Methodist Preschool, Stillwater, Oklahoma, began as a teacher in November, 1974.

Professional Organizations: Omicron Nu , Oklahoma Association on Children Under Six, National Association for the Education of Young Children


[^0]:    *See footnote on Table III.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ This information is adapted from Bem, S.L. The measurement of psychological androgyny. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1974, 42 (2), 155-162.

