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PARENTAL SEX-TYPING AND ITS RELATION TO CHILD POPULARITY AND FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

By

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ABSTRACT

PARENTAL SEX-TYPING AND ITS RELATION TO CHILD POPULARITY AND FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

By

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This study investigated the relation between parental sex-typing and childrens' popularity and percentage of cross-sex friendship choices. On the basis of research involving Bem's concept of psychological androgyny and traits associated with child popularity, it was hypothesized that high parental androgyny would be associated with high child popularity and high cross-sex choice.

The participants were 243 third, fourth, and fifth grade children and their parents. The Bem Sex Role Inventory was used to assess parental sex-typing, yielding a Masculinity, a Femininity, and an Androgyny Difference score for each parent. Child popularity and cross-sex choice was measured with a sociometric technique.

Three significant interactions appeared; however, support for the hypotheses was minimal. Mothers' Androgyny was associated with: high and medium popularity for fifth graders, high and low percentage of cross-sex choice for girls, and a medium percentage for boys. Fathers' Femininity was associated with high cross-sex choice for girls and medium for boys.

Results for popularity were interpreted as reflecting developmental change in peer-culture values regarding sex-typed traits. To explain results for the variable of cross-sex choice a hypothesis considering parent-child gender and trait similarity was posited. Various alternative explanations, methodological criticisms, and suggestions for future research concerning androgyny and popularity were also discussed.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Although there are several competing theories to explain gender role development in children, the importance of the parents in this process is recognized by all of the major theorists (Bandura & Huston, 1961; Freud, 1933/1965; Kohlberg, 1966). These theories, however, are primarily concerned with the dynamics and mechanisms involved in gender role acquisition; they do not address the issue of the amount of parental gender role differentiation that is likely to foster good emotional adjustment in the child. Research in this area has generally dealt with variables such as power, dominance, and marital satisfaction as related to adjustment level of the child, but there has been considerably less assessment of parental gender role orientation, per se.

McCandless (1967), in summarizing research conducted in the '60's, concluded that father dominated as opposed to mother dominated families are more likely to have better adjusted children. Westley and Epstein (1969), in a study of emotionally healthy and disturbed adolescents found that the children most likely to be emotionally healthy came from families that were father-led and had a division of labor along sex-appropriate lines with some responsibilities shared between the mother and father. In this same study families in which traditional gender role responsibilities were reversed or rigidly adhered to without mutuality evidenced a higher percentage of disturbed children than families with more flexible role differentiation.

It appears to be a fairly consistent finding that various types of maternal ascendancy, e.g., authoritarianism, social power, or dominance, are related to a wide range of emotional disturbances in the child. Farina (1960) found that schizophrenics were more likely to have mother dominated homes than were normals, and that within the schizophrenic group this pattern of gender role reversal was positively correlated with severity of the disorder. A similar relationship was found in cases of nonpsychotic disturbances as well. Alkire (1972) contrasted the social power and role structure of families of disturbed and nondisturbed preadolescents and concluded that the disturbed children were more likely to have authoritarian, powerful mothers than were the nondisturbed children who were more often members of father dominated families.

The studies of dominance, authoritarianism, and family division of labor do not, however, directly assess the gender role rigidity and orientation of the parents. Also, there has been more emphasis on "pathological" vs. "normal" patterns than on the various gender role patterns operating within the normal population. The role patterns associated with the optimally adjusted child is another

area worth investigating.

If one were to generalize from the previous research on the gender role orientations of disturbed families it would seem that traditionally sex-typed parents would have the best adjusted children. However, such a generalization may be misleading for several reasons: 1) the maternal dominance which is evidenced in disturbed families may be qualitatively different from a similar pattern in a normal family, i.e., the function and development of female ascendancy may be influenced by entirely different variables; 2) previous research has polarized the masculine and feminine role orientations such that more of a feminine trait meant less of a masculine one. There is no place for the individual who is "psychologically androgynous" (Bem, 1974); 3) more flexible gender role definitions may be better accepted in the parent age population than when the cited research was conducted. Unconventionally sex-typed family environments may no longer be the outgrowth of "deviant" influences.

The focus of the present research is the gender role orientations and patterns of the parents of school children as they relate to the child's social peer-group adjustment and patterns of friendship. I hypothesized that the socially better adjusted children would have parents who are more flexible in gender role than children who were less popular with their peer group. If flexibility in gender role behavior means that the individual can exhibit

"masculine" or "feminine" behavior depending on the situation, and if we assume that the parent is a model that displays this adaptive style for the child, the research on peer group popularity appears to offer some support for the hypothesis. The personality characteristics associated with popularity during early and middle childhood include traits that reflect an integration of the best of masculine and feminine behaviors: sensitivity to the needs of others, moderate conformity, willingness to give and receive the overtures of others, friendliness, the absence of inappropriate dependency or aggression (Campbell & Yarrow, 1961; Moore, 1967; Mussen, 1973). This description of the "popular child" parallels the type of individual that Sandra Bem considers to be androgynous: "people whose sex role adaptability enables them to engage in situationally effective behavior without regard for its stereotype as masculine of feminine" (Bem, 1975, p. 643).

Measurement of Peer Adjustment

Social acceptability or popularity in children generally has been measured using some variation of the sociometric technique, originally developed by Moreno (1934), in which children choose classmates they prefer for a given activity. Gronlund (1959) notes that a great deal of research in the area of popularity and social adjustment uses "near sociometric" approaches such as asking the question "whom do you like best?" Although

these questions can provide valuable information they lack the clear-cut criteria of choice and implied action that distinguishes the sociometric technique; furthermore, the high reliability and validity that characterizes a wellconstructed sociometric test cannot be generalized to these approaches without independent empirical investigation. A recent study by Gottman (1975) offers some evidence for the comparability of actual and "near sociometric" techniques. They piloted several phrasings and concluded that asking children to name their best friends loaded as highly on the factor of friendship as the sociometric form of the question asking for playtime choices.

However, even if a true sociometric measure is used to assess social acceptability with peers, the limitations of the results must still be specified. On an individual basis a high sociometric score does not necessarily imply leadership ability or high personal adjustment, and conversely, low sociometric status may reflect characteristics that have little to do with emotional health, e.g., minority membership or highly individualistic needs and interests. Also, sociometric status is representative of the individual's place in the present, internal social structure and depending on the criteria, number of choices, and group composition, this status may or may not reflect a more broadly conceived "social acceptability" factor.

Previous research in sociometry offers concrete guidelines for the construction of a sociometric test that

assesses the broader, more stable dimension of social acceptability rather than fleeting, situation-specific popularity. Gronlund (1959) reports that the choice situation should ideally be one that the person is familiar with, will actually occur, and is concrete but not overly specific, e.g., "Whom would you like to work on a class project with?" is preferable to "Whom would you like to be stranded on a desert island with?" The value of using negative criteria to increase score discrimination has been shown to be minimal; its use has sometimes resulted in increased group resentment as well as heightened individuals' feelings of rejection. If the identification of actively rejected children is necessary, the choice situation should be set up to allow for but not require rejection (Northway, 1952).

The number and weighting of sociometric choices have also received considerable experimental attention. The most stable results are obtained when five choices are made, although there is no experimental evidence to justify any particular system of assigning differential weights to the choices (Gronlund, 1955). Children as young as those in the third grade are able to make five choices without difficulty using the simple choice method. Although there are more complex methods of response recording thought to yield more stable results, e.g., ranking or paired comparison, when five choices are allowed the simple choice method correlates highly with these more complex

and time-consuming approaches (Eng & French, 1948).

Reliability of results can be further increased by using multiple criteria and calculating a composite score. Moreno (1953) points out the desirability of using supplementary techniques including teacher observations, interviews, and "near sociometric" methods such as the "guess who" technique developed by Hartshorne, May, and Maller (1929).The high consistency and stability of an individual's sociometric status over differing situations, groups, and methods that is generally reported offers persuasive evidence for a general social acceptability factor. However, the satisfactory reliability and consistency of this factor does not entirely eliminate the necessity of examining the validity of sociometric measures of "social acceptability." The results of sociometric measurement are correlated with but not identical to actual behavior or teachers' judgments of popularity. These moderately high correlations offer support for the uniqueness and validity of sociometry as a technique that is tapping internal, desired social relations instead of of offering a duplicate measure of overt behavior. Although observational techniques are valuable in assessing peer acceptability, a child's companions may reflect constraints on free association such as residential proximity, ability groupings, or minority group social segregation.

The results of adult ratings and self-report measures of personal adjustment are also significantly related to

sociometric measures of adjustment. In general, it is the total adjustment pattern rather than specific traits or responses that differentiate highly chosen pupils from those who are infrequently chosen (Gronlund, 1959; Grossman & Wrighter, 1948).

The research reviewed above indicates that the sociometric technique is a reliable and valid approach for the purpose of this study of social acceptability among peers as it is related to parental sex-typing. The research in sociometry consistently and emphatically points out the need for careful construction of the instrument and offers concrete suggestions for administration, scoring, and interpretation. Guided by these results, the sociometric measure used in the present study included both sociometric questions and a "near sociometric" question. The sociometric questions asked for five choices and the "near sociometric" question left number of choices unspecified. As expected, the two measures were highly correlated and therefore, a composite score was calculated and used as the measure of each child's popularity.

Measurement of Parental Gender Role Orientation

In order to determine the relationship of childrens' popularity to parental androgyny a measure of parental gender role orientation was needed. The most reasonable instrument for this purpose is the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). This instrument treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions, thereby making it possible

to characterize a person as masculine, feminine, or "androgynous" depending on the difference between the endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics (Bem, 1974). A person's androgyny score was originally defined by Bem as the Student's t ratio for the difference between his or her endorsement of masculine and feminine traits. The Masculinity and Femininity Scales of the BSRI are both empirically and logically independent (average r = -.03); also, the Androgyny Score itself is reliable over a 4-week interval (average r = .93), internally consistent (average < = .86), and uncorrelated with the tendency to describe oneself in a socially desirable way (average $\underline{r} = -.06$). Bem classified an individual as androgynous if the t score fell between -1 and +1, and as sex-typed if the androgyny t ratio reached statistical significance. Although the development and validation of the inventory used a college student population the high face validity of the items argues for its applicability to other populations.

The Bem Scale has received considerable criticism for the scoring procedures, e.g., use of the \underline{t} ratio, the lack of differentiation between persons low on both Masculine and Feminine scales and those high on both scales. In order to partially alleviate the effect of this type of instrument error, Bem's scoring system was modified. (The modifications are described in the Method section.)

Despite difficulties in validation and scoring of the

BSRI, Bem's conceptualization of androgyny remains worthy of further investigation. If psychological androgyny truly represents a more adaptive standard of psychological health, then androgynous parents would tend to have flexible, socially adjusted children who are able to express both the masculine and feminine sides of their personalities. Although this study could not determine a causal relationship, the results give a general indication of the extent of sextyping still present in the parent age population as well as have implications for parent education programs. Hypotheses

(1) I predicted that high child popularity would be associated with highly androgynous parents. A low Androgyny Difference score is indicative of a high degree of androgyny, and a high Androgyny Difference score indicates a high degree of sex-typing. It was expected, therefore, that high child popularity would be associated with low parental Androgyny Difference scores. This relationship was expected for each parent irrespective of the sex and grade of the child. The gender role flexibility and adaptability which the androgynous parents model for the child are believed to be conducive to peer group popularity.

(2) I further hypothesized that a high percentage of cross-sex friendship choice in the child would be associated with highly androgynous parents, (i.e., low Androgyny Difference scores). I also expected that this would be true of both parents, irrespective of the sex and grade of the child. Gronlund (1951), in summarizing sociometric research, noted that the percentage of cross-sex choices at the elementary school level fell between 11 and 18%, although it varied depending on the sociometric criteria used and the degree to which boy-girl interaction was encouraged by the school. The amount of parental gender role flexibility may be a previously unrecognized variable which influences a child's percentage of cross-sex choice.

CHAPTER II METHOD

<u>Subjects</u>

Participants in this study were 243 Catholic school children in the third, fourth, and fifth grades and their parents. Six schools participated in the project, five from the Diocese of Lansing, and one from Chicago. In order to obtain this sample size a considerably larger group of parents was initially contacted, approximately 1,100. The parental response-and-permission rate averaged between 20-25%. Eight to ten-year olds were the subjects of this study because friendship patterns are fairly stable at this age and the degree of parental influence on behavior styles is greater than during the adolescent period.

The Pilot Study

The 43 participants at the school in Chicago served as a pilot sample. The results of the pilot were useful in estimating the number of schools needed to be contacted to obtain the desired sample size. The pilot study also provided an indication of the variability and continuity of scores to be expected and allowed for a testing of the data collection procedure. The procedures remained essentially the same for the Lansing sample; therefore, both

the Chicago pilot and the Lansing sample were analyzed together. There were no significant between-school differences on any of the variables of interest.

Materials and Procedures

After securing permission to conduct the study from the Office of Catholic Education, the principals and teachers, I visited the 27 third, fourth, and fifth grades. Each child was given an envelope to take home that contained the parents' cover letter with an attached permission slip and two copies of the Bem Sex Role Inventory. The BSRI included a demographic sheet that asked for name, address, sex, occupation, number of years of schooling, ages and sexes of children. The cover letter explained that the study was dealing with "parent characteristics in relation to childhood friendship patterns." It offered the parents an opportunity to contact me before the sociometric segment as well as an interpretive summary of the final results for those who participated along with their children. (Copies of the cover letter and the BSRI are included in Appendices A and B, respectively.)

After allowing sufficient time for the parents to contact me and return the questionnaires to the school, I or my undergraduate research assistant returned to the school to conduct the sociometric phase of the study. All the children were given an introduction to the study at a level they could understand. I also explained what the various roles of a psychologist are and the importance and purpose

of doing research. Those whose parents had consented were then asked to participate. The children were assured that there were no hidden selection criteria; the nonparticipating group was allowed a period of self-choice reading, an alternate activity chosen after consultation with the classroom teachers.

The three sociometric questions each appeared on a separate sheet of paper and were passed out and collected by either myself or my research assistant. The names of all the children in the classroom were randomized and printed on each sheet, along with the question and directions to mark choices with an X. The children were told that no one except myself would see their responses. (A copy of all the sociometric questions may be found in Appendix D.) Any questions before, during, and after the testing were answered openly and honestly.

The sociometric questions asked of the children were the following: 1) If you could choose any five children in the classroom to play with, whom would you choose?; 2) If you could choose any five children in the classroom to work on a project with, whom would you choose?; 3) Please put an X by the names of your best friends. (You may choose as many as you consider "best friends.") <u>Scoring</u>

The Sociometric Measure

Every child who participated received a score on each of the three sociometric questions. Each score was a

ratio of the sum of the number of choices received by the child to the total number of children in the classroom. The three sociometric questions were each positively correlated with a summed composite popularity score at the .01 level of significance. These correlations were calculated separately for boys and girls using the Pearson \underline{r} coefficient corrected for the presence of known elements in the composite score. Therefore, all statistical analyses performed on the sample used the composite popularity score rather than the scores from each of the sociometric questions.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory

The BSRI consists of 60 traits, 20 that previously had been rated by college students as masculine, 20 that had been rated as feminine, and 20 that had been rated as neutral. The parents were asked to rate themselves on all traits using a 7-point scale ranging from "never or almost never true" to "always or almost always true." As mentioned in the Introduction, both Bem's original and revised scoring systems have received valid criticism (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975; Strahan, 1975); therefore, the following method of scoring was employed to obviate some of the difficulties.

Each parent received a Masculinity score and a Femininity score based on the sum of the ratings for each trait of these two separate scales of the BSRI. In addition, an Androgyny Difference score was also calculated

for each parent. This score is simply the difference between the sums of the Masculinity and Femininity scale scores. A positive Androgyny Difference score was recorded if the difference was in the sex-typed direction, i.e., if Mother's Femininity score was greater than her Masculinity score, or if Father's Masculinity score was greater than his Femininity score. Conversely, if the difference between a parent's scale scores was in the non-sex-typed direction, a negative Androgyny Difference score was recorded.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

In order to examine the associations between the child variables, i.e., Popularity and Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice, and parental sex-typing, three scores were obtained from the BSRI for each parent: 1) a Femininity Scale Score; 2) a Masculinity Scale Score; and 3) an Androgyny Difference Score, (i.e., same-sex score minus other-sex score). The overall sample means for these variables are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Mean scores of mothers and fathers on each parent variable.

Parent Variable	Mothers	Fathers
Femininity Scale Score	102.87	92.38
Masculinity Scale Score	92.12	106.82
Androgyny Difference Score	10.78	14.45

Maximum and minimum values, means, and standard deviations for the parent variables for boys and girls separately may be found in Appendix F; distribution information on the child variables, parents' education level, and the number

of children in the family are also contained in this appendix. There were no significant between-school or between-classroom differences on the variables, therefore, schools and classrooms were combined for the final data analysis. One significant sex difference appeared: The Masculinity score for fathers of girls (109.20), was higher than that for fathers of boys (104.96), <u>F</u> (1, 192) = 4.96, $p < .05.^{1}$

Data Analysis

In order to test the effect of parental sex-typing on the child's composite popularity, separate 3 x 3 x 2 analyses of variance were performed for mothers' and fathers' Masculinity, Femininity, and Androgyny Difference scores. Child Popularity was trichotomized into High, Medium, and Low groups based on the total distribution of scores. The factors of the analyses were: Sex (Boy, Girl) x Grade (3, 4, 5) x Composite Popularity (H, M, L). The relationship between the parent variables and the child variable of Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice was similarly analyzed. Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice was trichotomized into High, Medium, and Low groups, thus the factors for this set of analyses were: Sex x Grade x Cross-Sex Choice Level. Appendix G lists the cut-off points and frequencies for the High, Medium, and Low groups for the Composite Popularity

¹This result may indicate a relation between paternal selfdescription and sex of child; however, because of the small number of findings overall, (4), this and the other results may have occurred by chance.

and Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice variables.

Hypotheses

The two major hypotheses tested were:

1) High child popularity will be associated with highly androgynous parents. A low Androgyny Difference score is indicative of a high degree of androgyny, and a high Androgyny Difference score indicates a high degree of sex-typing. It is expected, therefore, that high child popularity will be associated with low parental Androgyny Difference scores. This relationship is expected for each parent irrespective of the sex and grade of the child.

2) A high percentage of cross-sex friendship choice in the child will be associated with highly androgynous parents, (i.e., low Androgyny Difference scores). This relationship is also expected for each parent irrespective of the sex and grade of the child.

Overall the support for these specific hypotheses was minimal; however, there were some significant findings that are relevant in a more general way to the hypothesized outcomes. The significant results will be presented below, followed by an explanation of how these relate to the original hypotheses. For each of the 12 analyses of variance <u>F</u> tables are presented in Appendix E. Significant Results for the Parent Variables

1) Mothers' Androgyny Difference Score

a. Interaction between Grade and Popularity Level --

A significant grade x popularity level interaction effect was found for the Mothers' Androgyny Difference scores, <u>F</u> (4, 225) = 2.89, p <.05. A test for the source

Table 2. Means of the Mothers' Androgyny Difference scores for each grade and popularity level.

Popularity Level	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
Low	6.66	12.91	17.16
Medium	6.54	15.77	4.52
High	16.05	8.14	8.91

of the interaction revealed a simple main effect of Popularity Level for fifth graders, <u>F</u> (2, 81) = 3.18, p < .05.

Mothers' Androgyny Difference score was highest in the <u>low</u> popularity group for fifth graders. Mothers' Androgyny Difference scores for the <u>high</u> and <u>medium</u> popularity groups were considerably lower and closer to each other; the lowest Mothers' Androgyny Difference score was associated with the <u>medium</u> popularity group. Individual planned comparisons, as discussed in Winer (1971), were performed on each pair of adjacent means. The results of these comparisons indicated that Mothers' Androgyny Difference score for the <u>low</u> popularity group was significantly higher than that of the medium group, t(81) = 2.94, p<.01.

For fifth graders then, a <u>high</u> Mothers' Androgyny Difference score, indicating more traditional sex-typing, was associated with <u>low</u> popularity. The mothers of the <u>high</u> and <u>medium</u> popularity groups were more androgynous and less traditionally sex-typed. The Mothers' Androgyny Difference score was lowest for the medium popularity group.

b. Interaction between Sex of Child and Percentage of Cross-Sex Friendship Choice --

A significant Sex x Cross-Sex Choice Level interaction effect was found for the Mothers' Androgyny Difference score, <u>F</u> (2, 225) = 4.85, p <.01. Further investigation into the source of this interaction revealed a simple main effect of cross-sex choice level for boys, <u>F</u> (2, 117) = 6.89, p <.01.

The mothers of boys who made a <u>high</u> percentage of cross-sex friendship choices had the highest Androgyny Difference scores. These mothers were the least androgynous or the most traditionally sex-typed. Mothers of boys who made a <u>low</u> percentage of cross-sex choices were in the intermediate position, and mothers whose sons chose a <u>medium</u> percentage of cross-sex friends were the most androgynous or the least traditionally sex-typed. Individual planned comparisons between adjacent pairs of means revealed a significant difference between the medium and high groups, \underline{t} (117) = 4.14, p<.01, but not between the medium and low groups.

Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice Level	Girls	Boys	
Low	8.01	10.43	
Medium	18.27	4.27	
High	7.74	21.21	

Table 3. Means of the Mothers' Androgyny Difference scores for each sex and percentage of cross-sex choice level.

Although there were no other significant simple main effects, examination of Table 3 suggests that the pattern for girls is almost a mirror image of the one for boys. The reversal is especially noticeable for the <u>medium</u> and <u>high</u> groups. For girls, <u>high</u> percentage of cross-sex choice was associated with a relatively <u>low</u> Mothers' Androgyny Difference score whereas for boys <u>high</u> percentage of cross-sex choice was associated with <u>high</u> Mothers' Androgyny Difference score. For the <u>medium</u> percentage of crosssex choice group, girls' mothers had <u>high</u> Androgyny Difference scores and boys' mothers had <u>low</u> scores. A very small sex difference was evidenced for the group <u>low</u> on percentage of cross-sex choice.

Daughters of the more traditionally sex-typed mothers tended to make a <u>medium</u> amount of cross-sex choices, whereas sons of such mothers tended to make a <u>high</u> percentage. Daughters of the more androgynous mothers tended to be in the group <u>high</u> on percentage of cross-sex choice and sons tended to be in the medium group

2) <u>Fathers' Femininity - Sex x Grade x Cross-Sex Choice</u> <u>Interaction</u>

For the parent variable of Fathers' Femininity a significant three-way interaction of Sex of Child x Grade x Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice group was evidenced, <u>F</u> (4, 192) = 2.83, p <.05. Investigation of possible simple interaction effects for boys and girls revealed no significant interactions for either sex; however, examination of Table 4 shows the direction of the scores for both sexes.

Table 4. Means of Fathers' Femininity scores for each sex, grade, and percentage of cross-sex choice group.

Perce Cross	ntage of -Sex Choice	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
	Low	94.33	88.50	92.00
Girls	Medium	93.00	84.50	101.33
	High	92.00	94.71	93.63
	Low	92.61	90.71	93.41
Boys	Medium	90.00	98.75	86.25
	High	96.20	86.38	93.83

For both boys and girls, Fathers' Femininity scores of fourth graders showed the most variation. Fourth grade girls whose fathers were <u>high</u> on Femininity chose

a <u>high</u> percentage of cross-sex friends, and girls whose fathers were <u>low</u> on Femininity chose a <u>medium</u> percentage. The reverse was true for boys: those whose fathers were <u>high</u> on Femininity were in the <u>medium</u> percentage group and those whose fathers were <u>low</u> on Femininity were in the <u>high</u> percentage of cross-sex choice group.

Without evidence of a significant simple interaction further statistical analysis was not required; however, for each sex of fourth graders planned comparisons between adjacent pairs of means for Fathers' Femininity were performed. For the fourth grade girls the mean Fathers' Femininity score of the high percentage of crosssex choice group was significantly higher than the mean of the medium percentage group, t(27) = 6.81, p<.01. The low percentage group was not significantly different from the medium group. It appears, then, that for fourth grade girls a <u>high</u> Fathers' Femininity score was associated with choosing a high percentage of boys for friends, whereas a <u>low</u> Fathers' Femininity score was associated with a medium percentage of boys chosen as friends. Fathers of girls who chose a low percentage of boys as friends were in a relatively intermediate position on the Femininity scale.

For <u>fourth grade boys</u> there was a reversal of the results obtained for fourth grade girls regarding the <u>medium</u> and <u>high</u> percentage of cross-sex choice groups. Individual planned comparisons between adjacent pairs of means indicated
that the mean Fathers' Femininity score was significantly higher in the medium percentage group than in the <u>high</u> percentage group, \pm (49) = 3.06, p <.01. The tendency to choose girls as friends was greatest for boys whose fathers were <u>low</u> on Femininity. A <u>medium</u> percentage of girls were chosen as friends by boys whose fathers were <u>high</u> on Femininity and the lowest percentage of cross-sex choices were made by boys with fathers scoring in an intermediate position on Femininity.

Relevance_of the Significant Findings to the Hypotheses

Overall, the hypotheses were only minimally supported. However, three significant interactions that did appear are discussed below in terms of the original hypotheses. 1) Hypothesis of Composite Popularity

It was predicted that high child popularity would be associated with parental androgyny, irrespective of the sex of the child or parent. For <u>fifth graders</u> this hypothesis was supported to a limited degree. Mothers' Androgyny Difference scores were highest for the low popularity group, indicating that <u>low popularity was associated with traditional sex-typing. Medium popularity was associated</u> with the <u>most androgynous</u> mothers (those with the lowest Androgyny Difference scores), rather than high popularity as hypothesized. <u>High</u> popularity was associated with a relatively intermediate degree of maternal androgyny, and this group was not significantly different from the medium group. The only significant difference between the adjacent

means was between the <u>low</u> and <u>medium</u> groups, <u>t</u> (81) = 2.94, p \checkmark .01. It should be noted that among third graders the differences were counter to the hypothesis; high popularity was associated with mothers' traditionally feminine sex-typing.

2) Hypothesis of Percentage of Cross-Sex Friendship Choice

This hypothesis predicted that children who made a high percentage of cross-sex friendship choices would have parents who were androgynous or low on traditional sex-typing. Two of the six parent variables produced significant results related to this hypothesis.

a. Mothers' Androgyny

For <u>boys</u>, a high Mothers' Androgyny Difference score, i.e., high traditional sex-typing, was associated with choosing a <u>high</u> percentage of girls as friends. This finding is in the direction opposite to the stated hypothesis. Medium percentage of cross-sex choice was associated with the more androgynous mothers; Androgyny Difference scores of mothers of the <u>low</u> percentage group fell in an intermediate position.

The findings for <u>girls</u> did not reach an acceptable level of statistical significance; however, because of the apparent curvilinearity of the relation to Mothers' Androgyny Difference scores for both sexes and the mirror image reversal of these curves for boys and girls, these results are also worth considering in relation to the hypothesis. For <u>girls</u> either <u>low or high</u> on percentage of cross-sex choice, the mothers were relatively androgynous, as opposed to the hypothesis that only the mothers of the high percentage group would be androgynous. It appears that daughters of the more androgynous mothers had chosen either <u>a high or a low</u> percentage of boys as friends. Daughters who had chosen a medium percentage of boys as friends had mothers who were less androgynous (more sex-typed).

<u>Maternal androgyny</u> was associated with <u>medium</u> percentage of cross-sex choice <u>for boys</u> and both <u>low and high</u> percentage of cross-sex choice <u>for girls</u>. However, these results were statistically significant for boys only, F(2, 117) = 6.89, p < .01.

b. Fathers' Femininity

A relationship between the Masculinity and Femininity scale scores and the child variables was not specifically hypothesized; however, these variables were investigated separately because they are components of the Androgyny Difference score. Masculinity and Femininity scales have been used in the past for the measurement of sex-typing, androgyny being a recent conceptualization, so relationships involving these component variables were not to be totally disregarded. Because of the way the Androgyny Difference score is calculated and the distribution of the component scales, a man who is androgynous is likely to be more feminine and less masculine than a more sextyped man, although it is possible for all of the difference between a "sex-typed" and an "androgynous" person to be

attributable to only one of the component scales. Thus, scores on Fathers' Femininity can be considered indirectly related to the stated hypothesis.

The Sex x Grade x Cross-Sex Choice Level interaction was analyzed further by examining the results for each sex separately. For both boys and girls Fathers' Femininity was related to cross-sex choice level in the fourth grade only. Fathers of fourth grade girls who had chosen a high percentage of boys as friends were higher on Femininity than fathers of girls who had chosen a medium percentage of boys as friends, \underline{t} (27) = 6.81, p <.01. This finding partially supports the hypothesis to the degree that both androgyny and high Father Femininity are considered to be similar when compared to traditional sex-typing in the male. The Fathers' Androgyny Difference score did not produce any significant findings. This may be because the correlation of Fathers' Masculinity and Femininity scales was only -.26 and relatively evenly spread throughout the range, thus attenuating the possible relationship of Androgyny Difference to percentage of cross-sex choice for the fourth grade girls. Therefore, the hypothesis may be considered to gain support for fourth grade girls from one component of androgyny in fathers.

For <u>boys</u> the relationship between Fathers' Femininity and percentage of cross-sex choice was in the direction opposite to the hypothesis that high percentage of crosssex choice would be associated with androgyny in the parents.

Fathers of fourth grade boys who had chosen a <u>medium</u> percentage of girls as friends were higher on Femininity than fathers of boys who had chosen a <u>high</u> percentage of girls as friends, \pm (49) = 3.06, p <.01. Fathers of boys who had chosen a <u>low</u> percentage of cross-sex friends were in the intermediate position on Femininity.

If high Femininity in fathers is considered as a component of androgyny, it appears that these results do not support the hypothesis. The trend was for boys <u>high</u> on cross-sex choice to have fathers <u>low</u> on Femininity which is indicative of traditional sex-typing rather than androgyny.

CHAPTER IV

The Parent Variables

In order to provide a context for interpretation of the results of this study it is useful to consider the sample distributions of the gender role orientation variables. For mothers and fathers, the maximum and minimum values, means, and standard deviations for the variables of Masculinity, Femininity, Androgyny Difference, education, and number of children in the family are reported in Appendix F. A comparison between these scores and those of Bem's college student population is not possible because of the differences in scoring procedure. Bem originally reported her means in terms of Androgyny tratios and her revised scoring system was based on a median split classification of the scale scores; the present study used raw scores in order to obviate the statistical flaws in these scoring systems.

Although scale score means for Bem's and the present sample cannot be directly compared, the correlations between the Masculinity and Femininity scales for both samples can be examined. Bem (1975) reported that the Masculinity and Femininity scales were both logically and empirically

independent (average $\underline{r} = -.03$), however, for mothers in the present sample $\underline{r} = -.42$ and for fathers $\underline{r} = -.26$. These correlations are significant, (p<.01), indicating that as an individual's score on one scale increased the score on the other scale tended to decrease. The concept of androgyny hinges on the belief that a person can possess the same degree of both masculine and feminine traits, that the traits of both scales may vary independently. For this sample this did not prove to be the case; the Masculinity and Femininity scales were not empirically independent.

Inspite of the lack of independence relative to Bem's normative samples it should be noted that two of the three significant interactions were related to Mothers' Androgyny score. Although Mothers' Masculinity and Femininity scores were found to be negatively correlated (r = -.42), the degree to which the scale scores were different from each other (i.e., Androgyny Difference score), was related to both Composite Popularity and Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice of the children. Androgyny appears to be a concept worth investigating further with this and other populations to determine whether the empirical differences reflect on the logical basis of the concept for different groups. Perhaps populations other than college students actually do perceive sex-typed traits in a bi-polar fashion, e.g., that if you are very gently you are that much less assertive.

The religious composition of the sample also deserves consideration. The participating parents were lowermiddle and middle-class Catholics. who may tend to be more traditionally sex-typed than college students, although this assumption lacks empirical support at this time. Assuming that Catholic parents of grade school children tend to be more sex-typed than a college student population does not necessarily invalidate the BSRI as a useful instrument to test the hypotheses. Bem, in describing her scoring procedure, emphasized that the scores should be standardized considering the distribution of the population in question. Androgyny, then, can be viewed as a relative concept rather than as a specified degree of congruity between masculine and feminine traits. The Catholic parent population may or may not tend to be more sex-typed: they may or may not perceive masculinity and femininity in bi-polar terms; however, as a look at the maximum and minimum values for each variable in Appendix F shows, there is a considerable range of sex-typing. There are Catholic parents who are androgynoys, traditionally sex-typed, and untraditionally sex-typed, although the self-description of an androgynous Catholic parent is not necessarily similar to that of an androgynous college Their behaviors may also differ considerably. student. The Child Variables

The maximum and minimum values, means, and standard deviations for both of the child variables are given for

boys and girls separately in Appendix F. The cut-off points, number of choices, and frequency of boys and girls for the Low, Medium, and High groups are contained in Appendix G.

Results Related to Composite Popularity

Previous research has indicated that popularity among same-sex peers is generally associated with popularity among other-sex peers (Reese, 1962). Popularity among same-and-other sex friends was not separated for this study, but rather the general level of social acceptance by boys and girls was combined. Because the actual number of choices a child received depended on classroom size, the popularity score was calculated by summing the total choices received and dividing by the number in the class. Also, one of the sociometric questions left choice number unspecified; therefore, on a total of three questions a child may have made between 11 and 25 choices. It should be noted that there were only two isolates, i.e., children not receiving any choices, and that the maximum number of choices received by any child was 34. Popularity scores were calculated for only those children who willingly participated and whose parents completed both the BSRI and gave their permission for their child to be included. The popularity scores may be biased in a positive direction because of this sample selection. The children who were isolated or relatively unpopular may not have participated.

Composite popularity was chosen as a good reflection

of the child's general level of social adjustment. However, as mentioned in the Introduction, the converse is not true; low popularity does not necessarily reflect poor emotional health but may be the result of a variety of other factors such as highly individualistic interests, minority group status, or recent arrival in the school (Gronlund, 1959). Mussen (1970) notes that there is evidence that social class, intelligence, birth order, and physical attractiveness may also influence popularity, but it has not been clearly established whether or not these are causal factors or correlates of temperament and personality differences. In the present study these factors were not controlled for, which may be one explanation for the paucity of significant associations between parental gender role orientation and composite popularity.

Previous research has found a number of personality correlates related to peer popularity. Generally the more popular child has been characterized as sensitive to the needs of others, moderately conformist, willing to give and receive the overtures of others, friendly, and appropriately dependent and aggressive (Campbell & Yarrow, 1961; Moore, 1967; Mussen, 1973). If it is assumed that the child's personality will be similar to parents' selfdescriptions, it is reasonable that child popularity may be related to parental androgyny. The predicted overall effect did not appear; however, for Mothers' Androgyny there was a significant interaction between grade and

popularity level. For third graders, traditional maternal sex-typing was associated with high popularity whereas for fifth graders it was associated with low popularity. There was an increasing amount of traditional maternal sex-typing associated with low popularity as grade level rose. Highly popular third graders tended to have traditionally sex-typed mothers but the more popular fifth graders (medium and high popularity groups), were more likely to have androgynous mothers. If children learn an androgynous behavior style from their mothers it appears that it may impede popularity in the younger children (third grade) but facilitate social acceptance as the child grows older (fifth grade).

Although a causal link between maternal androgyny and child popularity cannot be assumed this result is congruent with the research done by Tuddenham (1951), in which he examined the qualities associated with popularity among children in grades one through five. Docile, "Little Lady" qualities became less associated with girls' popularity with increasing age, and by grade five a "tomboy" was as likely to be popular as the demure, submissive sweetheart. For boys, athletic competence, daring, and leadership continued to be the main traits associated with popularity at all levels studied; by grade five boys began to differentiate between submissive docility, which was fervently rejected, and quiet reserve which was more acceptable.

The results of the present study are congruent with

Tuddenham's findings. If younger children value sex-typed qualities in their peers, then children of a sex-typed mother would be more popular at this level, assuming a social learning theory of behavior acquisition. A traditionally sex-typed mother would be more likely to reinforec masculine traits in her son and model feminine role behavior for her daughter. As the children get older and the peer group places less value on sex-typed traits the children of the more androgynous mothers gain in popularity and the children of those who are traditionally sextyped decrease in status.

The results for the fourth grade are somewhat incongrous with this explanation in that the mothers of the medium popularity group were more sex-typed than those of the low popularity group. This may be due to the greater fluctuation in status which has been found to characterize those in the middle group in comparison to those in either high or low positions (Witryol & Thompson, 1953).

What implications do these changes in the value of sex-typed behavior in the peer culture have for the stability of a child's popularity? It appears that boys can always win acceptance for more sex-typed behavior, although the more androgynous or feminine qualities gain more acceptance with increasing age. The popularity of an individual boy might be relatively stable, with some of the boys who were initially rejected achieving more acceptance. For girls there is more continual change in values and a

considerable decline in the value of stereotypically feminine traits with increasing age. Popularity of the girls may tend to fluctuate more. Perhaps for the girl the androgynous role model becomes even more important as she reaches adolescence. Tryon (1939) found that for the girls the shift in the value of sex-typed traits from feminine to more masculine continued into adolescence. By age 15 extraversion, leadership, sportsmanship, and activity were the most valued, characteristics which earlier were more significant for boys. In order to maintain popularity over time girls must be flexible and be able to respond to a less clearly defined set of expectations. What better model would there be than an androgynous mother? Longitudinal studies are needed to investigate the stability of an individual child's popularity throughout the elementary school years.

The results support the first hypothesis to a limited extent. The initial prediction was that androgyny of fathers as well as mothers would be associated with popularity irrespective of sex and grade, but the results, interpreted in light of other findings, indicate that the relationship is more complex. The values of the peer culture which change with age must be considered. The findings also suggest that the mothers may have a greater influence on children at this age level.

The original hypothesis also did not predict a different pattern of influence of mothers' and fathers'

gender role orientations. There is a dearth of research on the relationship of gender role orientation to child popularity but the literature reviewed in the Introduction indicates that mothers' dominance leads to maladjustment of various kinds (Alkire, 1972; Farina, 1960; McCandless, 1967; Westley & Epstein, 1969). The finding that maternal androgyny is, at least for fifth graders, associated with higher popularity scores helps to delimit the implications of these previous studies. A mother who perceives herself as ascendant, assertive, active, or "masculine" in some sense. does not necessarily dominate in the marital relationship or lack nurturant, more gentle qualities. Although Mothers' Masculinity score was not associated with high popularity, the absence of an association to peer adjustment helps to vindicate the more "masculine" mothers from the charge that nontraditional gender role orientation leads to social or emotional maladjustment in the child.

The absence of a relationship between Mothers' Masculinity scores and sociometric status is not to say that nontraditional gender role orientations have no impact on the child's acquisition of his/her sex role identity or preferences. Investigations of this relationship, however, have found that the peer culture often has a greater influence on the child's sex-typed behavior than the parents' masculinity-femininity scores (Mussen & Rutherford, 1963). But in a larger sense, if children are functioning well in

their social environment the question of whether or not they are "appropriately sex-typed" lessens in importance. There is, however, the possibility that the children with more severe adjustment problems did not participate in this research and that a large proportion of these children have parents who are nontraditionally sex-typed.

Child-rearing attitudes among the traditional, nontraditional, and androgynous parents may be a mediating factor in determining adjustment. There is consistent evidence in the literature concerning child-rearing correlates of peer acceptance. Parents of "likable" boys infrequently used aggressive forms of punishment and expressed low demands for aggression (Winder & Rau, 1962). Cox (1966), cited in Mussen (1970) found that loving and casual parental attitudes, along with the absence of family tension, were associated with high peer status. It would be worthwhile in future research to examine child-rearing attitudes and the nature of the marital relationship as well as the gender role orientations of the parents. These factors have been investigated, but not in a single study. A less comprehensive but interesting extension of the present study would be to look at the gender role orientations of the parental dyad as related to popularity. This would help to eliminate the alternative explanation that the androgynous mothers in this sample were not dominant in their marriage relationships, i.e., that their husbands were very high on Masculinity and "in charge" of the

household. Also, the possible difference between selfperceived traits and actual role behaviors should not be overlooked in interpreting these results.

None of the Fathers' gender orientation variables was found to be associated with child popularity. Although this lack of results may have occurred because the mother generally spends more time with the child -- which gives her role greater influence -- it may also be that the fathers' influence is due to other factors. Mussen (1970) reported that child-rearing attitudes of the father were important predictors of the child's sociability, especially for sons. It seems, therefore, that Fathers' gender role orientation <u>per se</u> does not directly influence child popularity, although it may be a significant factor when both parents are considered together.

Results Related to Percentage of Cross-Sex Friendship Choice

Hartup (1970), in summarizing previous research on cross-sex friendship choice, reported that children prefer more same-sex friends to other-sex friends throughout childhood and adolescence. Gronlund (1951) found that the mean percentage of cross-sex choice for children at the elementary school level falls between 11 and 18%, depending on the sociometric criteria and the degree to which boygirl interaction is encouraged by the school. In the present sample the mean percentages were 12.8% for girls and 8.7% for boys; these percentages were not appreciably different in the third, fourth, or fifth grades. This 1978 sample

reported less cross-sex choice than most studies summarized by Gronlund in 1951! Even the high cross-sex choice group did not consist of children who chose the majority of their friends from among the other sex. In this group the average girl made only 33% of her friendship choices for boys; the average boy in this group made only 29% of his choices for girls. Only four children of the total of 243 chose over 50% of their friends from among the other sex and the maximum was 69%. A look at the low percentage of cross-sex choice is equally revealing of the sharp cleavage. Thirty-seven girls and 71 boys did not make a single crosssex choice. (See Appendix G.)

Why is there so little crossing of sex lines in childhood friendship, at this age particularly? Psychoanalytic theorists might consider this phenomenon as a defensive withdrawal from other-sex interests in an attempt to solidfy the repression of the Oedipal conflict. But this explanation fails to account for the cultures in which a latency period (in which direct sexual manifestations are diminished) does not exist as such (Malinowski, 1927). We are left with the thought that it must be due to cultural influences and restrictions. Because the sex cleavage is less in the pre-school years than in the elementary school years, the schools may be partially responsible for its exacerbation. The low percentage of cross-sex choice in the parochial school sample may be a result of more conservative parental attitudes or school policies such as

sex segregation for gym, health classes, and other activities.

There has been little research on correlates of crosssex friendship choice, aside from studies concerned with the effect of sex segregation in the schools and the influence of the sociometric criteria employed (Gronlund, 1951). The hypothesis that a high percentage of cross-sex choice would be associated with highly androgynous parents irrespective of sex and grade was not supported. There were, however, two significant interactions, one for Mothers' Androgyny and one for Fathers' Femininity. Mothers'_Androgyny in Relation to Cross-Sex Choice

The Sex x Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice interaction for Mothers' Androgyny showed a reverse effect for boys and girls in the high and medium percentage groups. For girls, nontraditional sex-typing (androgyny) was associated with both the <u>high and low</u> percentage groups whereas the medium group tended to have traditionally sex-typed (highly feminine) mothers. For boys it was the <u>medium</u> percentage group whose mothers were androgynous; those who made a high percentage of cross-sex choice tended to have traditionally sex-typed mothers.

The original hypothesis is partially supported for girls -- mothers of those who made a high percentage of cross-sex choice <u>were</u> androgynous, but mothers of the low percentage group were also androgynous. There are several alternative explanations for this unexpected result. One

is that the relationship with the father is a mediating variable. Perhaps a girl with an androgynous mother and a masculine father chose a high percentage of boys as friends because she is comfortable with masculine behavior; the girls with a more feminine father might learn to value and identify more with the feminine aspects of her parents and make all of her friendship choices from among the girls. (Most children in the low percentage group made no crosssex choices.) Examination of the gender role orientations of the parent dyad would provide evidence for this speculation.

Another possibility is that there is a mediating variable within the group of androgynous mothers which influenced daughters to choose either a low or high percentage of boys as friends. Perhaps the mothers' attitude toward men or the quality of the marital relationship is also a factor within the androgynous mother group.

A third speculation involves the nature of the girl's identification with her mother. The girl may identify with her mother on the basis of her personalized androgynous traits and seek those qualities in others, boys as well as girls, leading to a fairly high percentage of cross-sex choice (33%). Or the girl may identify with mother more on the basis of her gender and female role behaviors and seek out same-sex friends. It is also possible that the mothers of the high and low percentage groups differ in the degree to which the self-perceived androgynous traits

are expressed in actual behavior available for the daughter to model. The mothers of girls who are low in percentage of cross-sex choice may behave in a generally more traditionally sex-typed manner. Observation of mothers' behavior would help to determine the congruence between self-reported sex-typing and gender role enactment.

For girls who are medium on cross-sex choice the mothers are more traditionally sex-typed, more stereotypically feminine. On the average these girls chose a total of about three or four boys as friends. Perhaps highly sex-typed mothers encourage heterosexual interest in their daughters so that these girls chose several "boyfriends" while still preferring their own sex for most social interactions. A girl identifying with a highly feminine mother in terms of gender and feminine role behavior might seek out same-sex friends and also highly value the stereotypically feminine preoccupation of looking for boyfriends.

For boys, the sons of highly sex-typed mothers made the most choices for girls as friends and the <u>mothers of</u> <u>the medium percentage group were more androgynous</u>. Perhaps traditionally sex-typed mothers encourage heterosexual interest in their sons, reinforcing their interest in girls as friends. Or possibly boys value friends with qualities similar to their mothers. If mother is highly feminine, children with similar qualities will often be girls, leading the boys to make a high percentage of cross-sex choices. Sons of androgynous mothers may make a medium percentage of

choices for girls because they have learned to value feminine qualities in females and see females as similar to themselves in some ways. But because his parents are likely to be more similarly sex-typed, if mother is androgynous most friendship choices may then be made on the basis of gender similarity. Evidence to support this speculation could be obtained by examining the similarity of parents' gender role orientations and their attitudes toward their child's cross-sex friendships.

The mothers of boys low on cross-sex choice (usually making exclusively same-sex choices), were in an intermediate position on the Androgyny Difference scale. They were less androgynous than mothers of the medium group and more so than mothers of the high percentage group. Consistent with the speculation regarding high and medium groups, it can be hypothesized that the mothers at this intermediate level of sex-typing neither encourage heterosexual friendship nor are perceived by their sons as possessing traits similar to themselves or other males.

Fathers' Femininity in Relation to Cross-Sex Choice

A three-way interaction between sex, grade, and percentage of cross-sex choice was found for Fathers' Femininity. For third and fifth grade girls, the Fathers' Femininity scores showed only small differences in each of the three cross-sex choice groups, but in fourth grade the differences were striking. <u>Fourth grade daughters of</u> <u>fathers highest on Femininity had chosen a high percentage</u>

of boys as friends; daughters of fathers who were lower on Femininity (more traditionally sex-typed) made fewer choices for boys. If a girl has a more feminine father she may see him as similar to herself, identify more strongly with him and see men and boys generally as having more in common with herself; thus she would be comfortable choosing some boys as friends.

Girls whose fathers were low on Femininity made a medium percentage of cross-sex choice. It may be speculated that a father low on Femininity may encourage his daughter to have heterosexual interests as part of fulfilling the traditionally feminine role which he may expect from her. Low Femininity, (traditional sex-typing), in fathers may not affect the daughters' choices as strongly as a model she perceives as similar, either mother or a less sex-typed father.

An intermediate level of Femininity for fathers was associated with a low percentage of cross-sex choice in girls. Perhaps the daughters neither see their fathers as similar to themselves nor are the fathers highly sex-typed and especially encouraging of heterosexual friendship. These girls may then choose their own sex almost exclusively. The child's perception of the parents' similarity to him/herself on gender role orientation could be investigated in relation to this hypothesis.

For <u>boys</u> in each cross-sex choice group Fathers' Femininity scores were also similar in grades three and five

and highly divergent in grade four. There is, however, a reversal in the positions of the high and medium groups in comparison to the results for girls. Medium cross-sex choice was associated with relatively high Femininity and high cross-sex choice with low Femininity. A similar hypothesis to the one put forth for girls offers one possible explanation. Fathers lower on Femininity may provide the boys with a strong model of traditionally masculine behavior, more actively modeling distinctly heterosexual behavior, and encouraging this in their sons to a greater degree than more feminine fathers: this would lead the boy to choose a high percentage of girls as friends. The relatively most feminine fathers have modeled qualities that will often be found in females and the boy would likely value and seek out similar traits in others. The boy would then make at least some choices for girls as friends (the medium percentage group).

But why would boys of high Femininity fathers make a medium percentage of cross-sex choices, whereas girls of such fathers make a high percentage? For girls the feminine qualities are more socially acceptable and girls generally have more latitude in their sex-role behavior and attitudes, experiencing less social censure for deviation from tradition than boys (Mischel & Mischel, 1971). Boys of these more feminine fathers may notice that their fathers do not fit the cultural stereotype of masculinity. The son may feel the pressure to conform yet still value feminine qualities;

he might solve this dilemma by choosing most friends on the basis of gender similarity but still make a medium percentage of choices for girls.

The low cross-sex choice group, consisting mostly of boys who made exclusively same-sex choices, had fathers who were intermediate on Femininity in comparison to the high and medium groups. This group may make all choices on the basis of gender similarity. Feminine traits are not particularly salient in these fathers and perhaps they are not as highly encouraging of heterosexual friendship as the most sex-typed fathers.

The question of why the Fathers' Femininity scores were associated with cross-sex choice for fourth graders needs to be considered. This age may be the time when the peer culture values start to shift from the more sex-typed behaviors to the more neutral, less sex-stereotypic ones. In third grade the cultural expectations may be greater than parental influences. thus parental gender role orientation would make little difference. (Except Mothers' Androgyny which affects all grades.) In the fourth grade as the peer culture changes the children may look more to the family as a guide for deciding how to deal with the other sex. The results of Tuddenham (1951) cited above did not consider fourth graders but did find the difference in the peer sex-role values between third and fifth graders to be significant. Perhaps by fifth grade the peer values associated with choosing other-sex friends are clearer and

less influenced by parental models. Why Fathers' Femininity is particularly salient at this age is an open question. Femininity in men is the most negatively sanctioned of all the sex role-sex combinations and possibly this makes it the most outstanding source of influence for fourth grade children.

<u>Methodological Criticisms and Implications for Future</u> <u>Research</u>

Although there are several significant interactions associating parental gender role orientation with child popularity and percentage of cross-sex friendship choice, the overall paucity of significant findings and the minimal support for the original hypotheses should not be overlooked.

In part the relatively few effects for the parent variables may be due to the method of data collection and the nature of the sample studied. Specifically, the parents in this sample were Catholics, committed enough to their beliefs and their children to send them to a parochial school which involves considerable expense. In a more general sense, parents who respond to questionnaires about themselves are probably less defensive and more concerned about the psychological development of their children. Also, roughly about 10% of the children in each classroom declined to participate. The sample was relatively homogeneous, perhaps biased in a traditionally sex-typed direction on the parent variables and in a welladjusted direction for the child variables. With a more diverse sample stronger effects may have appeared.

The types of measures used to examine the associations among the variables are also subject to error. Although the sociometric technique is a valid one for measuring the child's general level of social adjustment, a comparison of this information with teacher ratings would have provided an adult perspective on adjustment level. Also, further investigation of the gender role orientation of the child, in conjunction with measures of social adjustment, would allow for a comprehensive examination of the effects of parental sex-typing.

The measurement of the parents' gender role orientation using the Bem scale suffers from several limitations. It is a self-report, paper-and-pencil instrument affected by response bias as well as the person's willingness and ability to report accurately on his/her characteristics. Also, the manner in which a trait is expressed in actual behavior may differ greatly even among people who theoretically possess the same amount of "assertiveness" or "passivity". Additional indices of parental gender role orientation could be employed in future research of this kind to obtain a comprehensive picture of the various facets within the individual. Particularly. the child's perception of his/her parents' gender role would be important to assess; this would improve the validity of the information acquired via self-report and consider the child as an active party in his/her own sex

role learning.

The Bem Sex Role Inventory and the concept of androgyny seem worthy of further research. The question of the empirical validity of the BSRI with nonstudent populations has not yet been adequately answered. However, two of the three significant interactions involved Mothers' Androgyny scores and these findings would not have appeared on more traditional Masculinity and Femininity scales.

It would be worthwhile in future research endeavors to compare the scores of the two parents as a dyadic influence on the child as well as the child's degree of influence on the parents; the child's influence on the parents is an often neglected yet important avenue of investigation. For example, Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1968) found that sex-role scores of parents can be influenced by their children. Parent-child influence is obviously not a one-way process!

There were results in the present study on both Mothers' Androgyny and Fathers' Femininity which were curvilinear for certain groups, indicating the possible presence of some mediating variables. Additional research in this area might also assess parents' child-rearing attitudes and marital adjustment in conjunction with assessment of the gender role orientation of the parental dyad.

In addition to some methodological issues, the lack of support for the hypotheses may have been partially due to oversimplification of the original predictions. Although

the age of the participants was within a narrow range, (eight - ten), the swiftness of developmental change and possible cohort differences argue for specificity in hypothesis formulation and more longitudinal research studies. Perhaps an ideal methodology for separating the effects of age and cohort is the "cross-sequential" approach suggested by Schaie (1965). This approach allows samples to be followed longitudinally while at the same time providing speedy access to cross-sectional information. Another worthwhile and more practical approach might be the use of longitudinal sequences suggested by Baltes (1968), which allows for a group to be studied over a period of time thought to be of developmental importance. Perhaps such a study of popularity in children from third through fifth grade would provide more information on the changes in the peer culture and the effect of these changes on individual children.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LETTER TO PARENTS

APPENDIX A

LETTER TO PARENTS

Dear Parents:

As we all know, parents have a great deal of influence on the development of a child's personality. Yet there is surprisingly little information on how specific traits of the parents, both mother and father, are related to their children's behavior with other children.

For my master's thesis research at Michigan State University, I am interested in studying how certain characteristics of parents relate to their child's choice of friends in the classroom. For example, does a child whose father is outgoing and whose mother is shy prefer to have a wide circle of casual friends or a smaller, closer-knit group of friends? I am also interested in finding out the extent to which children at the 3rd, 4th, and 5th grade levels choose members of the same or other sex as friends.

My proposed study of childhood friendship patterns has been approved by the Office of Catholic Education, the Psychology Department of Michigan State University, and by ______, the principal of ______School. However, in order to conduct this research I am asking your cooperation as individuals and as parents.

As individuals, your participation in this study involves filling out the enclosed questionnaire and sending it back to school with your child. (It is requested that both parents complete the questionnaires, if possible, without consulting with one another; it will take approximately 15 minutes to complete.) As a parent, your participation involves giving your permission for me to use the information your child may choose to give me. The children will all be asked to answer three questions on a sheet of paper about their friendship choices. The children will not see each other's answers and all children will be given the option not to participate. The total time of participation by the children will be about 15 minutes. All information on individual children and parents is confidential; I will be the only one to see the individual responses. If you do <u>not</u> wish your child's responses to be included in determining the results, please indicate this on the permission slip below. Feel free to call me at 332-5131 (evenings) if you have any questions about this study.

I appreciate your prompt consideration for cooperation in this study. After the study is completed and written up, the parents who have participated along with their children, and have provided their address, will be sent a summary of the findings but not information on individual children.

Please indicate your willingness to participate and your consent for your child's participation by completing the form(s) and returning them to school as soon as possible. Thank you!

Sincerely,

Nancy Egan

Yes, my child's responses may be included in the study des- cribed	No, I do <u>not</u> wish my child's responses to be included in determining the results.
Parent	
Child's Name	
I agree to participate in this study and have enclosed the completed questionnaire along with this slip.	
Yes	Yes
No	No
Mother	Father
APPENDIX B

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

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APPENDIX B

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

Full Na	m e (0	opt	tio	ona	1)				
Sex Nu					Number of years of schooling				
Occupation Number of children				Number of children					
Address (optional)					Boys' Ages				
)	<u></u>	Girls' Ages				
On ality c to desc scale f Please	On the following page, you will be shown a large number of person- ality characteristics. We would like you to use those 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	: 8.	ly							
	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		
				sl	y .				
	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 <u>ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS</u> 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:

Sly	3	Irresponsible	7
Malicious	1	Carefree	5

1

<u> </u>	3	4	5		6	7	
NEVER OR USUALLY ALMOST NOT NEVER TRUE TRUE	SOMETIM BUT INFREQUEN TRUE	ES OCCASION- ALLY TLY TRUE	OFTEN TRUE	USU TR	IALLY RUE A)	ALWAYS (ALMOST LWAYS TRUI	OR E
Self reliant		R elia bl e			Warm	T	
Yielding		Analytical			Solem	n	_
Helpful		Sympathetic			Willin	ng to	
Defends own beliefs		Jealous			stand	a	
Cheerful		Has leadersh abilities	ip		Tende	r	
Moody		Sensitive to	the		Friendly		
 Independent		needs of o	thers		Aggressive		
Shv		Truthful		Gullible			
Conecientious		Willing to take			Inefficient Acts as a leader		
Athletic		Understanding					
Affectionate	-+]	Secretive			Child	like	1
Theatrical		Makes decisions			Adapta	able	
Assertive		easily			Individual-		
Flatterable		Compassionate			istic		
Happy		Sincere			Does not use harsh language		
Strong personality	,	Self-sufficient			Unsys	tematic	
Loyal		Eager to soo hurt feeli	the ngs		Compe	titive	
Unpredictable		Conceited			Loves	children	
Forceful		Dominant			Tactf	ul	
Feminine		Soft-spoken			Ambit	ious	
		Likable			Gentl	e	
		Masculine			Conve	ntional	

APPENDIX C

SCORING KEY FOR BSRI

APPENDIX C

SCORING KEY FOR BSRI

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Self reliant	M	Reliable	N	Warm	F
Yielding	F	Analytical	М	Solemn	N
H el pful	N	Sympathetic	F	Willing to take	м
Defends own	м	Jealous	N	Tender	F
DELLES		Has leadership		icudei	•
Ch eer ful	F	abilities	M	Friendly	N
Moody	N	Sensitive to the needs of others	F	Agg ressive	M
Independent	М	The state state		Gullibl e	F
Shy	F	Willing to take	N	Inefficient	N
Conscientious	N	risks	Μ	Acts as a leader	М
Athletic	М	Understanding	F	Childlike	F
Affectionate	F	Secretive	N	Adaptable	N
Theatrical	N	Makes decisions easily	м	Individual-	
Assertive	М	0		istic	М
Flatterable	F	Compassionate	r	Does not use harsh language	F
Нарру	N	Self-sufficient	M	Unsystematic	N
Strong personality	М	Facar to coathe		Competitive	М
Loyal	F	hurt feelings	F	Loves children	F
Unpredictable	N	Conceite d	N	Tactful	N
Fo rce ful	М	Dominant	М	Ambitious	м
Feminine	F	Sof t-s pok en	F	Gentle	F
		Likable	N	Conventional	N
		Masculine	М		

APPENDIX D

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CHILDRENS' SOCIOMETRIC QUESTION FORMS

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APPENDIX D

CHILDRENS' SOCIOMETRIC QUESTION FORMS

(School) Your Name _____

(Grade)

Names of all the children in your classroom:

_____ _____

Please put an X by the names of your best friends. (You may choose as many as you consider "best friends.") If you have any questions, please raise your hand.

Childrens' Sociometric Question Form

Your Name _____

(School) (Grade)

Names of all the children in your classroom:

If you could choose any 5 children in the classroom to work on a project with, who would you choose?

Please put an X next to the names of the 5 children you choose.

(If you have any questions, please raise your hand.)

APPENDIX E

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SUMMARY TABLES OF ANALYSES OF VARIANCE

ANALYSES RELATING TO COMPOSITE POPULARITY

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	10.28	1	10.28	.08
Grade (B)	567.06	2	283.53	2.29
Popularity Level (C)	12.83	2	6.43	.05
AB	510.84	2	255.42	2.06
AC	612.10	2	306.05	2.47
BC	721.32	4	180.33	1.46
ABC	608.48	4	152.12	1.23
S/ABC	27866.80	225	123.85	
Total	30909.71	242		

Table E-1. Mothers' Femininity

Table E-2. Mothers' Masculinity

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	710.28	1	710.28	3.06
Grade (B)	202.22	2	101.11	.44
Popularity Level (C)	348.08	2	174.04	•75
AB	. 142.98	2	71.49	•31
AC	273.96	2	136.98	• 59
BC	1512.08	4	378.02	1.63
ABC	1458.00	4	364.50	1.57
S/ABC	52198.50	225	231.99	
Total	56846.10	242		

Table 1	E-3.	Mothers'	Androgyny
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Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	553.96	1	553.96	1.51
Grade (B)	611.80	2	305.90	.83
Popularity Level (C)	362.84	2	181.42	•49
AB	593.08	2	296.54	.81
AC	1644.08	2	822.04	2.24
BC	4257.48	4	1064.37	2.89*
ABC	1152.80	4	288.20	.78
S/ABC	82733.30	225	367.70	
Total	91909.34	242		

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	174.28	1	174.28	1.38
Grade (B)	385.74	2	192.87	1.52
Popularity Level (C)	183.98	2	91.99	•73
AB	95.06	2	47.53	•38
AC	132.62	2	67.81	•54
BC	286.48	4	71.62	• 57
ABC	133.72	4	33.43	.26
S/ABC	24247.68	192	126.68	
Total	25642.56	209		

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	9 61.18	1	961.18	4.96*
Grade (B)	1140.34	2	570.17	2.94
Popularity Level (C)	468.34	2	234.17	1.21
AB	397.70	2	198.85	1.03
AC	683.50	2	341.75	1.76
BC	712.56	4	178.14	•92
ABC	1107.08	4	276.77	1.43
S/ABC	37207.68	192	193.79	
Total	42678.38	209		

Table E-5. Fathers' Masculinity

Table E-6. Fathers' Androgyny

	ul	MS	F
316.89	1	316.89	.91
469.78	2	234.89	.67
347.66	2	173.83	• 50
578.46	2	289.23	.83
922.22	2	461.11	1.32
1022.36	4	255.59	•73
1558.60	4	389.65	1.12
67025.28	192	349.09	
72241.25	209		
	316.89 469.78 347.66 578.46 922.22 1022.36 1558.60 67025.28 72241.25	316.89 1 469.78 2 347.66 2 578.46 2 922.22 2 1022.36 4 1558.60 4 67025.28 192 72241.25 209	316.89 1 316.89 469.78 2 234.89 347.66 2 173.83 578.46 2 289.23 922.22 2 461.11 1022.36 4 255.59 1558.60 4 389.65 67025.28 192 349.09 72241.25 209

ANALYSES RELATING TO PERCENTAGE OF CROSS-SEX CHOICE

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	155.55	1	155.55	1.25
Grade (B)	281.72	2	140.86	1.13
Cross-Sex Choice Level (C)	117.02	2	58.51	•47
AB	16.72	2	8.36	.07
AC	740.28	2	370.14	2.98
BC	588.80	4	147.20	1.18
ABC	436.48	4	109.12	.88
S/ABC	27986.40	225	124.38	
Total	30322.97	242		

Table E-7. Mothers' Femininity

Table E-8. Mothers' Masculinity

SS	df	MS	F
282.80	1	282.80	1.19
147.72	2	73.86	•31
55.48	2	27.74	.12
191.06	2	95.53	.40
1157.14	2	578.57	2.44
66.08	4	16.52	.07
799.92	4	199.98	.84
53355.40	225	237.14	
56055.60	242		
	SS 282.80 147.72 55.48 191.06 1157.14 66.08 799.92 53355.40 56055.60	SS df 282.80 1 147.72 2 55.48 2 191.06 2 1157.14 2 66.08 4 799.92 4 53355.40 225 56055.60 242	SSdfMS282.801282.80147.72273.8655.48227.74191.06295.531157.142578.5766.08416.52799.924199.9853355.40225237.1456055.60242

Table	E-9.	Mothers'	Androgyny	
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Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	18.11	1	18.11	.05
Grade (B)	763.50	2	381.75	1.02
Cross-Sex Choice Level (C)	296.42	2	148.21	•40
AB	170.12	2	85.06	•23
AC	3625.10	2	1812.55	4.85*
BC	447.04	4	111.76	•30
ABC	704.80	4	176.20	•47
S/ABC	84048.90	225	373.55	
Total	90073.99	242		

Table E	-10.	Fathers'	Femininity
---------	------	----------	------------

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	38.03	1	38.03	.31
Grade (B)	253.38	2	126.69	1.05
Cross-Sex Choice Level (C)	87.36	2	43.68	•36
AB	41.26	2	20.63	.17
AC	215.22	2	107.61	•89
BC	85.88	4	21.47	.18
ABC	1371.12	4	342.78	2.83*
S/ABC	23554.56	192	122.68	
Total	25646.81	209		

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	1309.80	1	1309.80	6.43*
Grade (B)	690.64	2	345.32	1.69
Cross-Sex Choice Level (C)	72.34	2	36.17	.18
AB	121.56	2	60.78	•30
AC	1230.94	2	615.47	3.02
BC	65.72	4	16.43	.08
ABC	92.84	4	23.21	.11
S/ABC	39110.40	192	203.70	
Total	42694.24	209		

Table E-ll. Fathers' Masculinity

Table E-12. Fathers' Androgyny

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Child (A)	901.44	1	901.44	2.57
Grade (B)	978.04	2	489.02	1.39
Cross-Sex Choice Level (C)	186.42	2	93.21	•27
AB	33.16	2	16.58	.05
AC	2066.46	2	1033.23	2.94
BC	12.56	4	3.14	.01
ABC	1938.40	4	484.60	1.38
S/ABC	67388.16	192	350.98	
Total	73504.64	209		

APPENDIX F

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DISTRIBUTION INFORMATION FOR EACH VARIABLE

APPENDIX F

DISTRIBUTION INFORMATION FOR EACH VARIABLE

		FEMININITY BSRI		
		Mother	Father	
MINIMUM	GIRLS:	60.00	64.00	
VALUE	BOYS:	60.00	66.00	
MAXIMUM	GIRLS:	124.00	120.00	
VALUE	BOYS:	126.00	124.00	
MEAN	GIRLS:	103.10	93.30	
	BOYS:	102.65	91.62	
STANDARD	GIRLS:	11.10	11.65	
DEVIATION	BOYS:	11.21	10.58	

		MASCULINITY BSRI		
		Mother	Father	
MINIMUM	GIRLS:	53.00	71.00	
VALUE	BOYS:	51.00	53.00	
MAXIMUM	GIRLS:	137.00	135.00	
VALUE	BOYS:	124.00	132.00	
MEAN	GIRLS:	93.92	109.20	
	BOYS:	90.41	104.86	
STANDARD	GIRLS:	15.32	13.99	
DEVIATION	BOYS:	14.89	14.31	

		ANDROGYNY BSR I		
		Mother	Father	
MINIMUM	GIRLS:	-51.00	-21.00	
VALUE	BOYS:	-57.00	-67.00	
MAXIMUM	GIRLS:	60.00	60.00	
VALUE	BOYS:	51.00	67.00	
MEAN	GIRLS:	9.21	15.91	
	BOYS:	12.28	13.24	
STANDARD	GIRLS:	18.45	17.86	
DEVIATION	BOYS:	19.97	19.25	

		EDUCA <u>Mother</u>	ATION <u>Father</u>	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
MINIMUM	GIRLS:	10.00	8.00	1.00
VALUE	BOYS:	6.00	7.00	1.00
MAXIMUM	GIRLS:	20.00	20.00	13.00
VALUE	BOYS:	18.00	23.00	12.00
MEAN	GIRLS:	13.62	14.47	3.62
	BOYS:	13.18	14.21	3.59
STANDARD	GIRLS:	1.89	2.90	2.15
DEVIATION	BOYS:	1.97	3.12	1.89

		COMPOSITE POPULARITY	PERCENTAGE OF CROSS-SEX CHOICE
MINIMUM	GIRLS:	.000	.000
VALUE	BOYS:	.000	.000
MAXIMUM	GIRLS:	1.500	.692(69.2%)
VALUE	BOYS:	1.375	.529(52.9%)
MEAN	GIRLS:	.561	.128(12.8%)
	BOYS:	.572	.087(8.7%)
STANDARD	GIRLS:	•309	.157
DEVIATION	BOYS:	•307	.127

APPENDIX G

CUT-OFF POINTS AND FREQUENCIES FOR THE CHILD VARIABLES

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CUT-OFF POINTS AND FREQUENCIES

FOR THE CHILD VARIABLES

TABLE G-1. Frequency and number of times boys and girls were chosen for each composite popularity group.

Composite Popularity ^a	Number of	Frequency		
	Times Chosen	GILLIS	Boys	
$Low = .0041^{C}$	0 - 13	36	45	
Med. = .411720	12 - 25	42	43	
Hi = .721 - 1.50	23 - 34	34	43	
	Total	112	131	

^aPopularity score equals the number of times chosen divided by the number of children in the classroom.

^bEach child made between 11 and 25 choices, mean = 15. Maximum possible choices for each group depended on the size of classroom, therefore, the "number of times chosen" overlaps for each group.

^CThere were two isolates, i.e., Popularity Score = .00: One was a boy, and one a girl.

Table G-2.	Frequency	and	numbe	er of	choices	made	by bo	ys
	and girls	in	each p	ercer	itage of	cross	s-sex	choice
	group.							

Percentage of Cross-Sex Choice	Number of Choices Made ^a	Frequency Girls Boys		
Low = .0009	0 - 2.25 ^b	44	76	
Med. = .1017	2.5 - 4.25	36	28	
Hi = .18 - 1.00	4.5 - 25 [°]	32	27	
	Total	112	131	

^aMaximum number of choices made for each group calculated using the ceiling choice number of 25.

^bMost children in this group made no cross-sex choices; 37 girls and 71 boys did not choose any cross-sex children as friends.

^COnly 4 children made over 50% cross-sex choices, 3 girls and 1 boy; the maximum percentage of cross-sex choice was 69%.

