

SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION IN A SELECTED
GROUP OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN AT TWO AGE LEVELS

by

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INTRODUCTION

This study was an inquiry into a segment of the total socialization and acculturation processes of the young child in the middle class. It attempted to measure to what degree a selected group of young children had identified themselves with their appropriate sex-roles, and how much they reflected the influences of the society in which they lived as it affected their acceptance of the appropriate sex-role. It also sought to ascertain and measure some of the differences in the amount of sex-role identification shown in a younger preschool group as compared to an older preschool group in order to throw some light on the very early processes of social sex-role identification from the age of two years and six months, to the age of five years. The subjects were chosen from a select group; therefore the results of this study might not be applicable to the middle-class population in general.

According to Rabban (18) middle-class children at the age of four years have identified with, but have not clarified their sex-roles. Middle-class culture has brought boys and girls so close together in behavior, that clarification takes longer than in the lower class. Parsons (17), pp. 604-605, observed in his studies of cultural differences, "Our society is conspicuous for the extent to which children of both sexes are in many fundamental respects treated alike."

In this particular period of social history, adult sex-roles are being re-defined, and the child is undoubtedly affected

from infancy by his parent's confused expectations for him; expectations which are often too stringent or too relaxed. Considering the current social revolution, the secondary portion of this study was concerned with the expectations of the parents for their child's behavior as it supported or contradicted the observed sex-role identification of the child.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Professional interest in this problem area has increased during the past 10 years. Sociologists and psychologists alike have been investigating social sex-role identification of all ages and groups of people, and its interaction with overall personality development. A few studies have dealt with very young children, but not as many as the importance of the younger age warrants, since in the very early stages of the socialization process sex-role identification may be present, and in reality is the basis for many of the future social roles of the individual.

Social Role

The learning aspect of social role is set forth by Cottrell (5), p. 617, as "the internally consistent series of conditioned responses by one member of a social situation which represents the stimulus pattern for a similarly internally consistent series of conditioned responses of the others in that situation." He then broadens role learning as being a function of the social culture by the statement.... "Dealing with human behavior in

terms of roles, therefore, requires that any item of behavior must always be placed in some specific self-other context. There are cultural roles and unique roles."

Baldwin (1), p. 215, supports the social determination of role as, "the set of rules of behavior that governs the behavior of a person who occupies a certain position in the social structure.Generally a role requires some behavior patterns, encourages others, leaves some freedom, and discourages or forbids still other behavior." He emphasizes the social pressures on the individual that help structure his roles.

It can be implied, then, that sex-role encompasses that group of behavior patterns that are ascribed to and accepted by an individual because he is a member of a certain sex, taking into consideration that individual's social position, age and sub-cultural group. The role of an individual includes what he is supposed to do, as well as what he does. The modal masculine personality and the modal feminine personality are the sex-role standards of the present culture, representing what adults are supposed to do because they are members of a certain sex, and also setting future goals for children. Baldwin (1), pp. 236-237, described the steps of acquiring social roles by the statement,

There are three prerequisites to compliance (to social roles). First, understanding of social rules and roles must develop during childhood. Secondly, the needs underlying a motivation to comply must exist. These needs may be fear of punishment, a need to acquiesce to wishes of other people, or a sense of duty....these needs gradually appear during childhood. The third requirement is the ability to control impulses.

The acceptance of roles requires, therefore, much the same kind of maturity as the acceptance of rules."

Sex-Role Identification

Identification is commonly described as a learning process in which the individual accepts a pattern of behavior as his pattern, and becomes so much a part of that mode of behavior as to be inseparable from it, although the terms for describing this process vary from one school of thought to another. Concerning sex-role identification, there is agreement among psychologists that parental influences and parent-child relationships at the preschool level largely determine the personality development of the individual and also his social sex-role identification as an adult. Sears, et al, (20) have shown that in families where the father is absent the male child is slower to develop male sex-role traits than in families where the father is present, a finding predictable from the fact that there is no father whose role the child wishes to take.

Since the time of Freud, the concept of parental identification on the part of the child has been employed as a major explanatory principle in interpreting general personality development, sex-appropriate behavior, and abnormalities of personality. Identification is assumed to have taken place when there are similarities between the child and parent; similarities of personality, emotional reactions, dress, characteristics and interests.

Davis (6), p. 347, in an analysis of the socialization of the child based on his many sociological studies of middle- and lower-class children, sums up the learning aspect and the determinants of sex identification with the statement,

....the child's learning of that behavior which is appropriate to his age and sexual status is motivated not only by social inatigation, but also by the emotional interactions between him and his parents and siblings. The history of the affective identification and hostilities (with parents and siblings) determines the ease with which the age-sex behavior and evaluation are acquired.

In his analysis of the socialization of the child, Davis (6), p. 350, further elaborates on the influences affecting the child's learning of his sex-role with the following statement,

There is evidence in clinical and exploratory studies of children to suggest that the child's imitation of a sex-role is functionally related to (1) his early genital training, (2) his learning of the out-marriage rule of the family, and (3) the relative strength of his cross-sex and same-sex identification with his parents.

Ferguson's (9), pp. 584-585, findings corroborate Davis' views on the learning and developmental nature of sex-role identification in that,

The data were consistent with the hypothesis that pleasant and desirable childhood experiences enabling the child to accept appropriate models of the culture patterns he is to adopt, lead to the acquisition of the 'normal' behavior patterns, among these being femininity in women and masculinity in men.

One can conclude then, that the child will follow, and identify with, those patterns of behavior that his parents provide for him as dictated by their interpretation of the cultural requirements for sex-role behavior of the child of a certain age and sex. Also the relationships between the parent and child,

and the child's siblings, can either reinforce or set up barriers to the child's learning of the appropriate sex-role. Identification with the appropriate sex is facilitated by an emotionally comfortable environment, and one in which not too many early demands in sex training are made on the child.

Sex-role identification is a gradual, biologically reinforced process and is assumed to have taken place when the child assimilates the characteristic habits, attitudes, and interests of the like-sex parent, and develops into an adult who plays the accepted feminine or masculine role for the culture.

The Middle Class, A Determinant of Sex-Role

The culture of the middle class--the largest social class--as described by Rainwater (19) is one in which there is a relatively high degree of economic security and security from physical attack, although verbal attack is common, and relationships with other people including spouses are more or less continuous.

The middle-class individual lives in a generally well-controlled and orderly environment which is usually neat and clean. There is emphasis on order and predictability of day-to-day events. Moral values are high, intellectual values are high, and values of self-reliance and initiative are correspondingly high. The middle-class individual is "master of his environment and the functioning of integrated groups is important to his adjustment in his environment."

Middle-Class Child Training

In Davis' (6), p. 352, summary analysis of the socialization of the child, he indicates the importance of class values in child training in the following paragraph:

A child's social learning takes place chiefly in the environment of his family, his family's social clique, and his own social clique. The family's training of the child is dependent largely on the social class and cultural subgroup that the family is in, as a result the child learns those things that his cultural group believes and practices, including the social sex-role for his age-sex group....The class training of the child ranges all the way from the control of the manner and ritual by which he eats his food, to the control of his choice of playmates and of his educational and occupational goals, the times and places for his recreation, the chores required of him by his family, the rooms and artifacts in the house in which he lives, the wearing of certain clothes at certain times, the amount of studying required of him, the economic controls of which he is subject by his parents, and his conception of right and wrong--all according to the social class of the child.

According to Davis and Havighurst (7) the middle-class family imposes barriers to the expression of physical drives like feeding activities, elimination, and sexual practices earlier than other classes and that these drives are blocked more consistently from an early age on through childhood. Middle-class parents are generally strict in their supervision of how the child lives his life. He must learn to accept restraint from his parents and the community in the direct expression of primary organic satisfaction or he incurs the censorship of his family and friends.

In spite of the stricter attitudes of the middle class toward sexual expression, Rainwater (19) found in a study in which he compared the personality development of middle- and lower-class adolescents that middle-class children masturbate more frequently

and continue longer in life than do lower-class children who are not subject to such high moral standards. It would seem that, as with thumb sucking, the middle-class child has greater need for this kind of self-indulgence as an escape from being a proper child. The middle-class parent, then, encourages substitute satisfactions instead of the more direct primary organic satisfactions. They plan activities for their children that substitute "wholesome" energy outlets for physical aggressiveness and asexual aggression. Verbal action is also substituted for physical action as a way of relating to others and of getting rid of feelings.

In Baldwin's (1) opinion, the middle class is one of the most severe cultures; it indulges children less than almost all others and puts heavier requirements on them. It is apparent, then, that the class influence on child training is of great importance in determining the personalities and social roles of the child, and thereby the adult roles.

Sex Differences

There has been much controversy in the past as to the relative weight of physiological differences and psychological differences in the determination of the characteristic social differences between the sexes. Heredity is assuredly a factor in that the biological functions of the sexes in part dictate the social roles of adults. At the child's level, however, there is not a great deal of difference in physical and social potential.

Some researchers say that there is a biological basis for social roles, and others say that there is none.

Davis (6), p. 350, in discussing the social roles of children, stated, "The sexual role and personality are trained by the family and school....For most of these sex-appropriate behaviors there is certainly no biological basis of sex-linked traits."

As long ago as 1903, Thompson (Robbin (18), pp. 88-89), in her observations of preschool children concluded,

...psychological differences of sex seem to be largely due, not to differences of average capacity, not to differences in types of mental activity, but to differences in the social influences brought to bear on the developing individual from early infancy to adult years.

Terman and Miles (Robbin (18) did not agree with the foregoing authorities in their findings on sex differences in adults. They wrote,

The emotional equipment is fundamentally different. Women are timid, more fastidious and aesthetically sensitive, more emotional in general and more expressive of the emotions. Men manifest greater self-assertion and aggression, more hardness and fearlessness, more roughness of manner, language and sentiments.

These traits are both psychological and social in nature, but the inference is that the differences are inherent.

Koch (12), pp. 11 and 36, in her study of five and six year olds, supports Terman and Miles in their findings with the statement,

The simple sex differences revealed by our study--greater activeness and aggressiveness in boys--are in line with American sex stereotypes and with differences reported by many other investigators....The boys, when compared to girls were more active, showed more anger, teased more, and were more quarrelsome and insistent on their rights, offered

more alibis, and were more exhibitionistic....What is interesting is that so early in life these sex differences are clear. Undoubtedly both biological and cultural influences are responsible for these patterns, but with what weights we, of course, do not know.

Bonney (2) found very little difference in social and personal traits between the sexes in his study of 10-year-old children. He did find, however, that girls were better adjusted and "more grown up." Linton's (13) findings support those of Bonney only at a more advanced age. He observed that pre-pubertal boys and girls differ little if at all in their physiologically determined potentialities for work or social participation.

Miles (14), p. 699, after reviewing the literature on genetic sex differences in 1935, summarized her findings in the following statement,

Psychological development generally correlates fundamentally with bodily constitution and physiological function, but it also shows differences more readily attributable to social influence. In this respect the psychological aspects of personality differ characteristically in plasticity of development from the physiological, and morphological and the sexual cytological....In the morphological-physiological structure there is a fundamental underlying human constitution modified in growth by male-determining mechanisms or female-determining mechanisms that are also constitutional. In the social-psychological world there is an underlying social male heredity and a social female heredity the apparently profound effect of which cannot be measured. Presumably the social traditions have grown up from origins in constitutional biological necessity, but they have seemingly become more elaborated in their development so that it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to separate the essentially constitutional elements from the social elaborations.

Researchers then, do not agree that there are clear-cut sex differences in masculine and feminine inherent capacity. There are sex differences exhibited very early in a child's life, but

the roles of heredity and socialization are intermixed in such a way as to produce these apparent differences in psychological and social traits, some of which are not attributable to physiological reasons.

Ordinal Position

The part that ordinal position plays in determining sex-role identification is less apparent, and not too much material is available. There is significance for us in Koch's (12), p. 48, study of 128 five- and six-year-old children in which she summarized her findings concerning the relationship between the child's sex, ordinal position, and the sibling's sex as follows,

....the children from opposite-sex sibling pairs, as compared with those whose siblings were of the same sex were judged to be more self-confident, inclined to recover more speedily from emotional upset, cheerful, kind, healthy, curious, tenacious, friendly to adults and children, and less wavering in decision. Children with older brothers or younger sisters received higher ratings in popularity, self-confidence, and tendency to seek attention from adults. The first-born in opposite-sex pairs were rated higher in jealousy, exhibitionism and leadership.

From this, inference can be made that the sex of siblings influences personalities of the children growing up in certain circumstances of ordinal position and self-sex, however, no inference can be made from this that ordinal position as such influences sex-role learning.

Koch (12) found also, in her study of five and six year olds, that first-borns are more tense, anxious, and defensive. The important findings from Koch's (12), p. 45, study, from the standpoint of sex-role learnings, are embodied in the following

statement in which she reported,

...in the case of five and six year olds with younger siblings, they are at this age just coming into full appreciation of their sex status, the younger sibling is at home most of the time and received much parental attention and fondling. This state of affairs should favor the stimulation of jealousy, especially when the difference in the treatment of the siblings is greater (opposite sex pairs).

The second-born child, then, tends to be reared more permissively than the first. This is partially due to a more secure feeling of competence in child rearing on the part of the parents.

Koch also found that second-born males tended to be more effeminate than first-born males, leading to the postulation that first-born sons are held to higher standards of performance in masculine pursuits and learnings, than are second-born sons.

Koch (12), pp. 40-42, reported,

It is our opinion that the differential in the protection and restriction experienced by first and second-borns is greater among males than females. If this is correct, we would expect greater difference in behavior between first and second-born males.

If one stands off a bit and views the total picture, it appears that children in opposite sex pairs are more self-reliant, direct, expansive or stimulated, possibly better adjusted socially--than are children with siblings of the same sex. It seems not unlikely that a sibling of the same sex is more threatening and/or less stimulating than one of the opposite sex.

If opposite-sex siblings have the effect of providing an environmental factor that stimulates a child to better social adjustment, as well as self-reliance, leadership and more emotional stability, than an opposite-sex sibling might also stimulate a child to earlier and greater achievement of sex-role

identification, by virtue of the assumption that sex-role is a social role.

Paula and Smith (8), p. 113, in their study of sex-role learning in five-year-olds observed that only children more often choose sexually appropriate activities than do children with one or more older like-sex siblings. This substantiates their hypothesis that older children of like-sex do not aid in teaching sex-roles. They stated that there was,

No significant difference in perceived parental preferences for sex-appropriate play (on the part of the children) by only children and children with siblings. Both groups appear to perceive their parents' clear preferences for sex-appropriate activities, but only children more frequently choose appropriate activities.

Here again, in agreement with Koch, Paula and Smith (8) found that parents are more anxious about and strict with a first child, and more lenient with the second, resulting in the first child's greater striving for achievement.

Murphy (15), p. 363, summarized 50 studies on ordinal position with the statement,

Study of the summary will show why the objective fact of ordinal position in the family, without regard to its meaning to the child, to the siblings, and to the parents, is sure to yield meager psychological results. The question whether the child feels accepted and loved; his emotional relation with his parents; the competition or support which brothers and sisters bring him; and the specific pressures or areas of freedom and stimulus that come along with one position in the family or another are problems more important than the objective fact of ordinal position.

Thus, it seems that there is no conclusive evidence to support the theories of the effects of ordinal position differences on the personality development of children, but the studies

concerned with ordinal position in relation to the sex of the siblings have bearing on the problem determining sex-role identification in young children. Particularly in the case of the younger siblings in the family, there seems to be a tendency (8), (12), for these children to take on more slowly the overt behavior of their appropriate sex when their older sibling is of the same sex. Younger like-sex siblings are aware of the role they occupy and will some day acquire in its entirety, but at the same time they do not feel the compulsion that older like-sex siblings feel in reflecting the close observance of the sex-role requirements.

Unusual Family Patterns

Family patterns are directly related to and dependent on social class. In his studies of middle- and lower-class children, Davis (6) observed that where children are pressed into the appropriate sex-role too early or too completely, the strength of the sex drive is lessened through severity or abruptness in parental controlling of the sexual impulses. This seems partly to determine the child's adjustment in his sex-role. Davis (6), p. 346, found that "social instigations and goals (vocalization, smiles, caresses) are integrated into the motivational pattern of the child as early as the infantile level. If the physical drives are more apparent at this age, they become increasingly obscured as weaning, cleanliness, and genital training are internalized."

Thus, family patterns of affection, speaking, and training have an effect on the child very early. It seems also that parents who are not secure in their own sex-roles are likely to over-emphasize sexual and other physical controls upon the child, forcing him into role patterns that he would not naturally take at an early age.

Discipline patterns in the family also effect the child's identification with the like-sex parent. If the opposite-sex parent gives more positive reinforcement and offers greater acceptance, the child is apt to develop inappropriate sex-typing characteristics, according to Davis (6). When the like-sex parent inflicts constant punishment, the child may avoid imitation of that parent. Also when the opposite-sex parent is the more powerful in the family balance of power, the child may imitate that parent.

In the event that the child chooses the opposite-sex parent as a model, the sex-typing he acquires will not receive reinforcement in later life, making the individual subject to conflict between his own assumed sex-role and the sex-role prescribed by society for his sex. The sex-role which is first defined by the early family training of the child, is in successful cases (identification with the same-sex parent) greatly strengthened by the sex-typing controls to which he will be subjected later in life, predominantly during adolescence.

In conclusion, unusual family patterns of parent-child relationships introduce variations into the socialization and

sex-role identification of the child in the middle-class culture. In most instances middle-class cultural training emphasizes appropriate sex-typing, but some family patterns of training sometimes make it easier for the child to assume some characteristics of the opposite-sex parent rather than his own-sex parent.

Recent Research in Sex-Role Identification

Brown (4), p. 197, in a recent study on masculinity-femininity development in young children, challenges researchers with the following statement,

The practical need for data in this area comes from the increasing recognition by workers in clinical psychology and psychiatry that difficulties or distortions in sex-role adjustment appear to be functionally related to the occurrence of personality maladjustments and certain forms of emotional disorders. This suggests a direct link between childhood learning and development in sex-role behavior and adult personality disturbances.

Pauls and Smith (8), p. 114, found that five-year-old boys' choice of play activities agreed more closely with their perceived paternal preferences for these same play activities than with the actual paternal preferences as indicated on the questionnaire. They wrote, "The child would seem to have a structural concept of his role (as he perceives his father's interpretation of that role) and he acts within the boundaries of that concept in making sexually loaded choices."

Similarly, they found that five-year-old girls' choice of play activities agreed more closely with their perceived maternal preferences, than with actual maternal preferences.

Significantly, they observed clear sex-role identification in five-year-olds as concluded from choices in activity and their responses to the questions of what does mother (and father) want the boy (girl) to do? They observed, "The general question regarding whether or not parents teach sex roles may be answered with the statement that the child perceives his parents as establishing limits of expectations concerning behavior for the child's sex-group."

Parten (16) observed in her study of the play habits of 34 preschool children, that two-thirds of the play groups were of two children, both of one sex. From age two through four and one-half, unisexual play groups increased from 61.5 per cent to 70 per cent of all play groups. She found that even at the earliest ages boys played most with boys and girls with girls.

In Koch's (11), p. 105, study of 178 preschool children, she found that even at two years of age, children are inclined to favor playmates of their own sex with more attention and contacts than they do playmates of the opposite sex. "One would assume from this that by two years of age, identification has taken place."

In Koch's (12), p. 41, later study of five- and six-year-old children and the personality correlations of sex, sibling positions and sex of siblings she writes,

We are inclined to place somewhat more weight on playmate influence and sex distance which is but one expression of the general tendency on the part of people to value the classes to which they recognize themselves as belonging and

to reject or devalue contrasting classes to which they do not belong. One of the earliest self classifications made by children is that according to sex.

In Brown's (4) recent study of masculinity-femininity development in children, he observed that boys showed a predominantly masculine role preference at the kindergarten and first grade levels. The girls in his study did not show as clear-cut femininity. At the kindergarten level they showed a "mixed" role pattern about equally masculine and feminine. From the first through fourth grade levels, girls indicated a stronger masculine than feminine trend.

Brown's (4) findings concerning sex preference by boys and girls under the fifth grade show that 71 to 90 per cent of all boys would rather be boys, but only 23 to 30 per cent of all girls would rather be girls.

At the kindergarten level, Brown (4) observed that more than twice as many girls as boys projected a preference for the parental role of the opposite sex. He goes on to say that expressed preference per se, for the role of the opposite sex may or may not be based on identification with that role. A girl's preference for the masculine role in childhood, according to Brown, does not necessarily indicate sex-role inversion. He explains this phenomena as being due to the fact that in our culture "girls are allowed and encouraged to participate in tasks and activities that are typical of boys."

Rabban's (18) study of 300 children between the ages of two and one-half and eight years in two social groups, (lower class)

and middle class) in which he investigated the age of, and degree of sex-role identification of boys and girls at all ages by a toy choice technique, produced several significant results:

1. Middle-class girls lagged behind middle-class boys in sex-appropriate choices from the age of five years on. He found no significant difference in toy choices between the different ages of girls until age five. Also middle-class children in general lagged behind the lower-class children in sex-role identification.

2. Significant differences between ages of middle-class boys appeared between five and six years.

3. The three-year-old children as a group did not have a completely clear conception of themselves as boys or girls, nor of dolls as male or female, and did not make sex-appropriate toy choices.

4. By six and eight years of age, working-class boys and girls and middle-class boys made sex-appropriate choices. Middle-class girls did not make clearly sex-appropriate choices until the eighth year.

5. At age three, 11 of 15 middle-class boys indicated a preference for the opposite-sex parental role, while seven of 15 middle-class girls indicated a preference for the opposite-sex parental role.

6. At age four, 13 of the 15 in both the boys' middle-class group and girls' middle-class group indicated a preference for the self-sex parental role, indicating that in one years time

most of the children identified with their like-sex parents more clearly.

Rabban's (18) findings substantiate those of other sociological researchers on the slowness with which girls clearly identify with their own sex-role. He attributes this to the higher esteem for the male role in our culture and to the permissive attitude toward girls' participation in boyish play and activities.

The slowness of middle-class boys, compared to lower-class boys, in clearly identifying with their own sex-role is explained by Rabban as a result of the father not being at home with the family a great deal in the middle-class culture. The young boys do not participate in their fathers' work, nor observe it as do girls in their mothers' work.

Rabban (18) goes on to offer an explanation of why middle-class girls as a group at no time fully conform to the socially expected sex-appropriate behavior pattern in his study. The reasons he tenders are that middle-class children are treated about the same regardless of sex, that middle-class girls are reluctant to let go of such male symbols as wearing overalls, that middle-class girls do not have to help with housework, and that our culture is tolerant of tomboyish girls and even admires them for boyish interests. He feels the largest looming reason is the "avenue keen envy of the superior male status in the culture, and the resulting dissatisfaction among middle- and upper-class mothers with the role they are called upon to fulfill."

Rabban (18) finally, questions whether there is a new definition of what is appropriate or inappropriate behavior for middle-class girls.

Brim (3) re-analyzed Koch's (12) data concerning the relationship between the child's sex, his ordinal position and the sex of the sibling of five- and six-year-old children, and reported that the data substantiate the hypothesis that through interaction and taking the role of the other, the cross-sex siblings would acquire more traits of the opposite-sex than would the same-sex siblings. He found from Koch's data that older girls with younger brothers had more masculinity traits and fewer low masculinity traits, than did older girls with younger sisters. Also, younger girls with older brothers had substantially more masculinity traits than younger girls with older sisters. He wrote,

The acquisition of male traits did not seem to reduce the number of femininity traits of the girls with brothers. The acquisition of such traits added to their behavioral repertoire....Our basic hypothesis is that interaction between two persons leads to assimilation of roles, to the incorporation of elements of the role of the other into the 'actor's' role.

Brim's re-analysis adds credence to Koch's findings on the higher degree of personality development observable in cross-sex siblings. It would lead one to conclude that cross-sex sibling pairs, by assimilating some sex traits from each other and providing a more stimulating environment for each other, develop more highly differentiated and leadership-type personalities.

Summary of Review of Literature

The following conclusions were derived from the foregoing discussion of the literature:

1. The family is the culture-mediating agency from which the child learns the expected behavior for his age-sex group.
2. The child identifies with his like-sex parent as a means of gaining appropriate-sex characteristics.
3. Social-sex differences may or may not be inherent. Most investigators agree that social behavior is largely culturally determined.
4. Ordinal position and sex of siblings place the child in an advantageous position or not, in developing a broader personality and assimilating cross-sex traits.
5. Unusual family patterns sometimes force children into opposite-sex roles which later must be replaced by self-sex social characteristics.
6. The age between three and four years is the crucial age for sex-role identification for middle-class children.

Definition of Terms for this Study

Sex-role was used as meaning the role of the individual as indicated by the culture in which he lives, for his age-sex group. In middle-class America the modal feminine and masculine roles are accepted as the standard for this study.

Identification was used as meaning the assimilation or acquisition of the behavior and characteristics of another as the

mode of behavior and characteristics for oneself.

THE PROBLEM

Reasons for the Study

The foremost reason for this study was a result of the paucity of literature found on the subject of sex-role identification in preschool children. It was felt that a research study in this area, and of the very young age group, would be of value in adding data to the now existing small body of data on sex-role identification, and in addition would be of value to nursery school teachers, and social and psychological workers with preschool children, in helping them to better understand children's personalities and to guide them more effectively. It was also felt that the study would be of value sociologically in illuminating the cultural expectations for young children in a middle-class, midwestern community in several areas of behavior other than sex-role behavior. Wherever possible the data from this study was compared to data from Rabban's study of sex-role identification in young children.

Finally, the investigator had a special interest in carrying through a study of this nature in view of the importance of the emotional health of children and the necessity of providing each child with the optimum conditions for healthful emotional growth from the earliest years.

Statement of the Problem

The questions to be answered were: (1) to what extent have a selected group of young children, aged two and one-half to five years, identified with the appropriate sex-roles? (2) are there differences in the age at which boys and girls begin identifying with the appropriate sex-role, or reach a relatively complete identification with the appropriate sex-role? (3) how much difference is there in sex-role identification between children, two and one-half to three years old, and children, four and one-half to five years old? (4) what are the expectations for sex-appropriate behavior for young children in selected middle-class families and how do these expectations influence the children?

Subjects

The highly select sample consisted of a group of 20 children and their mothers. Fifteen of the 20 children were enrolled in the Kansas State College Child Development Laboratory, one child had a brother in the Kansas State College Child Development Laboratory, and the remaining four were children of professional families in the city of Manhattan, Kansas.

Of the 20 children (Table 1), 10 were boys and 10 were girls, and each group of 10 was divided equally into two age levels. The sample, therefore, was composed of four distinct categories of children--five boys between the age of two and one-half and three years, and five girls between the age of two and one-half

Table 1. Number and agea of the selected children by sex.

Children	2½ to 3 year old groups :			: 4½ to 5 year old groups :			: : : : : :
	(year and months) : 2-6:2-9:2-10:2-11	:Sub : :Mean: :Age:	(year and months) : 4-6:4-8:4-9:4-10:4-11	:Sub : :Mean: :Age:	:Sub : :Mean: :Age:	:Sub : :Mean: :Age:	
Boys	1 1 2 1	5 2-9 1 1 2 1	0 5 4-8 10				
Girls	1 0 2 2	5 2-9 1 1 1 0	2 5 4-7 10				
TOTAL	2 1 4 3	10 -- 2 2 3 1	2 10 -- 2 10 --				

and three years; five boys between the age of four and one-half and five years, and five girls between the age of four and one-half and five years.

Hypotheses to be Tested

1. There is a significant difference in the degree of sex-role identification (1) between boys and girls in the four and one-half to five year old age level, (2) between girls, four and one-half to five years of age, and girls, two and one-half to three years of age, and (3) between boys, four and one-half to five years of age, and boys, two and one-half to three years of age.

2. There is no significant difference in the degree of sex-role identification of boys and girls two and one-half to three years of age.

3. There is a significant positive correlation (1) between the toy choices of the older group of boys and their mothers, and (2) between the older group of girls and their mothers.

4. There is no significant correlation (1) between the toy choices of the younger group of boys and their mothers, and (2) between the younger group of girls and their mothers.

Assumptions

1. That children, aged two and one-half to three years, are mature enough to cooperate with the interviewer.

2. That the attitudes and expectations of the parents

influence childrens' interpretations of their sex-roles very early.

3. That the group of toys used in this study are sex-typed, as ascertained by Rabban.

THE PROCEDURE

The Toys

The decision to use toys as the test medium for sex-differentiation in this study was the result of the apparent success with which they were used by Rabban (18) in his study of sex-role identification in young children in two social classes. Rabban carried out research on the validity of a group of 20 toys to find if they were really sex-typed, and found that a group of 178 males and 203 females relegated the toys into the two groups, girls' toys and boys' toys. Some toys were 100 per cent, or almost 100 per cent, designated as being for girls only or for boys only (Rabban (18), p. 111). He then selected 16 toys, eight girls' toys and eight boys' toys, with the highest percentage of selection scores, and further selected, as nearly as possible, matching colors, size and manipulative interest in each set of eight.

For purposes of this study, toys were selected as nearly as possible to duplicate those selected by Rabban so that they would be valid sex differentiators. With two exceptions this was accomplished. Where Rabban used the cement mixer truck and the baby buggy, a steam shovel truck and a baby stroller, respectively, were substituted. Plates I and II show the final selection of toys

that were used in this study, and Table 2 indicates the characteristics of the toys including the sizes, colors, and manipulative interest to the children. It was felt that the validity of the two groups of eight would in no way be altered by the substitutions. This point will be borne out later.

The Child's Test

The most important information to be derived from the child's test was the first six toy choices from the group of 16.

In addition to obtaining data on the child's choice of toys, and thereby gaining information on the amount of social-sex conditioning he had been subject to, it was felt that information was needed on how much the child was aware of his own sex, and to identify members of his own sex and the opposite sex. To accomplish this end, a set of six pictures was included in the test which consisted of one adult male, one adult female, one decidedly male child, one decidedly female child, one girlish boy, and one boyish girl. These pictures were black line drawings on white and were very simply drawn. Plates III to V, show the pictures used in the child's test.

The remaining portion of the child's test was a question as to the child's future parental role wishes. This question was included on the assumption that the child would designate the parental role that he would really rather take, thus differentiating the older group from the younger group more clearly. (See Child's Score Sheet, Appendix p. 113).

EXPLANATION OF PLATE I

The group of eight boys' toys used in
the child's interview.

PLATE I



EXPLANATION OF PLATE II

The group of eight girls' toys used in
the child's interview.

PLATE II



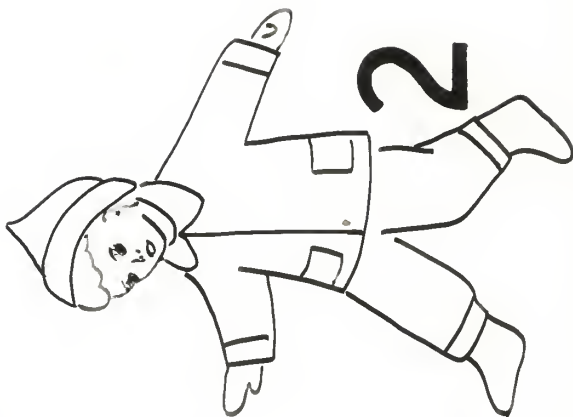
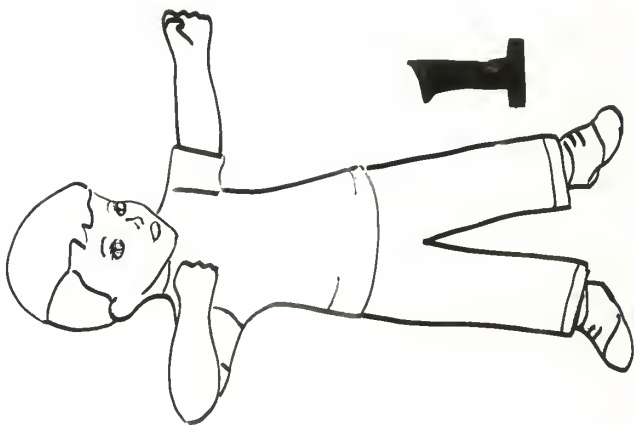
Table 2. Color, size and manipulative interest of sixteen selected toys.

Toys	Color	Size	Manipulative Interest
<u>Girls</u>			
High chair	Pink and yellow	25" high	Tray on hinges
Stroller	Red canvas	Handle 23" high	Wheeled, canopy top on hinges
Crib	Blue	17" high, 12" x 19"	1 side raises and lowers to the mattress
Beads	Pink	size	Pop beads
Dishes	Yellow, gray, blue, pink	20" string - 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ " cups	- -
Purse	Black patent	4" plates - 3" x 3" x $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Lid opens, clasp
Doll	Pink rubber with pink dress and shoes	Set of four	Clothes removable
Bathinette	White with red design on top	14" rubber body	Arms, legs molded
		21" high, 13" x 20" size	Lid raises and lowers straps with buckle on top
<u>Boys</u>			
Gun	Silver	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long	Trigger and "click"
Steam roller	Red, black, gray	9" long, 5" high	Wheeled
Dump truck	Red, yellow	19" long, 8" high	Wheeled, dump mechanism
Racer	Red, silver	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long, 2-3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high	Wheeled
Fire truck	Red	22" long, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high	Wheeled, removable ladder, fire plugs and fire hose
Crane	Red, yellow	20" long, 14" high (top of beam)	Wheeled mechanism to operate
Soldiers	1 blue, 2 gray	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high	- -
Knife	White and silver	3" long	Blade opens out

EXPLANATION OF PLATE III

Black and white line drawings 1 (masculine boy) and 2 (girlish boy) used in the child's interview.

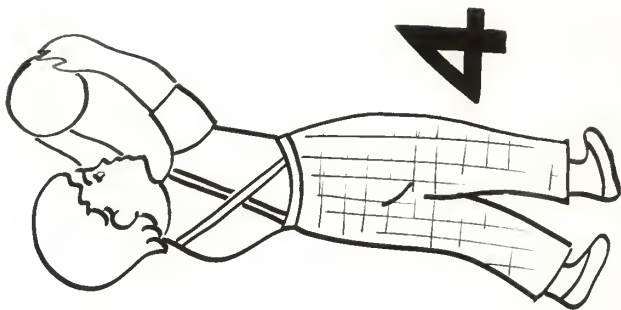
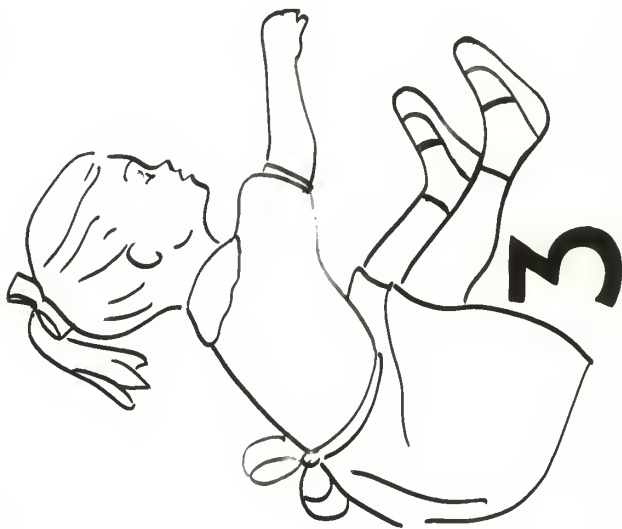
PLATE III



EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV

Black and white line drawings 3 (feminine girl) and 4 (boyish girl) used in the child's interview.

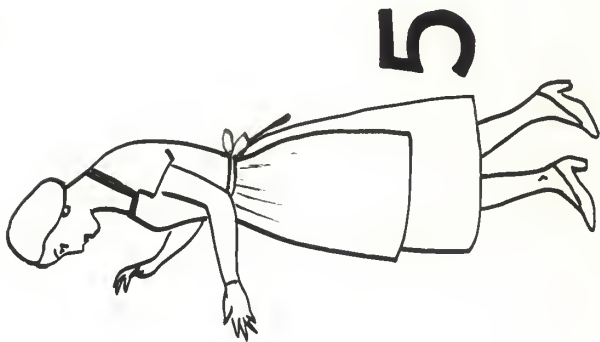
PLATE IV



EXPLANATION OF PLATE V

Black and white line drawings 5 (mother)
and 6 (father) used in the child's interview.

PLATE V



The Mother's Schedule

To obtain information about parental preference on choice of toys for the young boy or girl, the same group of 16 toys for boys and girls was presented to the mother of each child for the purpose of comparing the child's choices and the mother's choices.

Other information solicited from the mother included the husband's occupation, educational level of husband and wife, source of income, family composition, and ages and sex of siblings of the child in the sample. This type of information seemed important from the standpoint of structuring as clear a picture as possible of the subject's home environment and family's social-economic level. The preponderant portion of the mother's schedule was made up of questions concerning the attitude of the parents toward the selected child, and the behavioral expectations for that child in the home. The areas of social behavior into which the questions fall are the following: (1) play associations of the child, (2) kinds of acceptable behavior, (3) amount of family responsibility, (4) aggression and submission in the child, (5) emotional expression, (6) mobility at home and away from home, and (7) parental acceptance of the child. In addition there was one question on the child's story and television preferences, and one question on the child's preference for one or the other parent.

The Interview

The interviews were arranged by telephone from two to four days in advance by the interviewer who talked directly to the child's

mother, telling her the purpose of the interview and that there would be a box of toys for the child to see and play with. In this way, it was hoped that the child would be anticipating the visit by the interviewer and perhaps be ready to cooperate very soon after her arrival. The interviews were timed to avoid upsetting the regular eating and sleeping schedules of the child, and to be convenient for the mother. The reception in all of the homes was most satisfactory, and cooperation by the children was surprisingly complete.

When the interviewer arrived for the interview, she carried the boxed toys into the house, and after visiting with the mother and the child for a few minutes to put them both at ease and to further explain the purpose and procedure of the interview, she asked the child to come and sit down and look at some pictures (the set of six black and white line drawings). The interviewer asked the child to tell her about the pictures, saying, "Is this a picture of a boy or a girl?" The child's answer was circled on the Child's Score Sheet opposite the appropriate picture number. After going through all the pictures, the child was shown a picture of a girl (number 3) and a picture of a boy, (number 1) and asked which one looked most like him. If the child hesitated more than a minute, other pictures were shown to him (numbers 2 and 4). In only one interview was it necessary to eliminate the pictures that the child said did not look like him in order to arrive at the one that did.

The interviewer next asked the child if he would like to be a mommy or a daddy when he grew up. The child's answer was checked

in the appropriate blank on the Child's Score Sheet.

At this point in the interview, the child was invited to play a game and go into the kitchen and hide his eyes while the interviewer arranged a surprise for him. The toys were then placed on the floor in a semi-circle in a planned sequence that was used in each interview. (Fig. 1 illustrates the standard toy arrangement and the position of the interviewer and child in relation to the toys.)

The interviewer called the child back into the room after she had given the mother her toy choice score sheet along with instructions for filling it out, and had requested her to sit quietly and not pay any attention to the child while she was working on the score sheet. Many of the mothers left the room and those who stayed in no way instructed the child or overtly influenced him in any way.

The child was then asked to come over by the interviewer and look at all of the toys which the interviewer pointed out to him one by one. Then the question was asked, "Which toy would you really like to have to play with the very most? Go and get it and bring it over here by me and we'll put it on the floor right here."

After the child complied and the first choice was entered on the score sheet, the next question was, "Now, which toy would you like to have to play with next, from all the toys that are left? Go and get it and bring it over here by me and I'll put it with the other one."

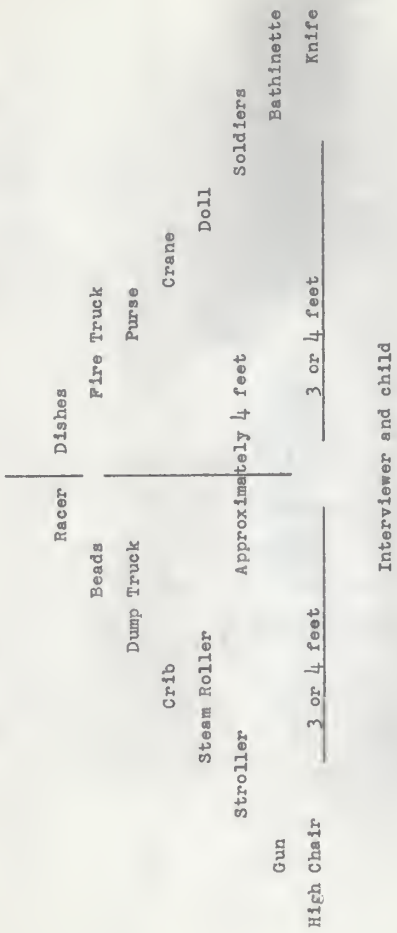


Fig. 1. Arrangement of toys in the interview.

After the child chose the second toy, it was noted on the score sheet and the questioning resumed. After six choices were made the child was invited to play with all of the toys in any way he wished while the interviewer asked his mother questions. While the mother's interview was in progress, the toys that the child played with were noted and recorded on the bottom of the Child's Score Sheet.

The questions on the Mother's Schedule were asked in the order that they appeared. The interviewer approached the questioning in an interested and warm, but objective way, and assumed from the beginning that all of the questions would be answered. When the mothers digressed, they were allowed to talk for awhile, and occasionally both the interviewer and the mother would get away from the subject. This was anticipated at the outset and whenever it happened it was accepted as a natural consequence of a good rapport situation.

The average amount of time required for an entire interview from the time of arrival until time of departure was one hour. The child's portion, as a rule, took only 10 minutes.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TWENTY FAMILIES

Social Class of Families

All of the families were middle class as determined by Warner's (22) Index of Status Characteristica Scale, based on ratings of the father's occupation, the family's income source, the type of house, and the dwelling area. In 16 of the 20

families (Table 3) the father was in the highest possible occupational level. Of this group of professionals, eight were college professors, two were psychologists, two were medical doctors, one was a minister, one was a certified public accountant, one was a lawyer, and one was a dentist. Of the remaining four fathers, three were in business and one was a high school teacher.

As to source of income, 17 of the 20 fathers were on salaries. The other three received profits and fees.

One family lived in a very good house, 14 lived in above-average houses and eight lived in average houses.

Three families lived in higher-than-average dwelling areas, 14 lived in above-average dwelling areas, and three lived in average dwelling areas.

In the sample of 20 families, the final indexes ranged from 26 to 36. Therefore, these families would, according to Werner, be considered as being in the upper-middle class, and they would be representative of the better families in the community.

Educational Level of Families

The average number of years of education acquired by the parents in the sample of 20 families, was 18.75 years for the husband, and 15.4 years for the wife. Four of the husbands had Ph.D.'s, nine had M.S. degrees, one had a degree in dentistry, one had a degree in law, and three had B.S. degrees or less than four years of college.

Of the wives, one was a candidate for a Ph.D. degree, one had

Table 3. Distribution of twenty families on Warner's Index of Status Characteristics Scale.

Occupation	Income Source	Housing	Dwelling Areas	Index Range of				
Professional	Profits	Very Good	Above Average	ISC Scale				
16	3	1	11	8	3	14	3	26-36

en M.S. degree, one had done a year's work beyond s B.S., end of the remaining 17 wives, 10 had B.S. degrees.

Family Composition

Table 4 shows the distribution of the sex of children in the 20 families and the ordinal position of each child. Sixteen of the children had older siblings, six had both older and younger siblings and one child had no siblings.

The selected children occupied ordinal positions from one through five in their families, and the average number of children per family was 2.9.

THE DATA

The Children's Toy Choice Data

The first important information that resulted from the children's test sessions concerned the validity of the selected group of 16 toys as real differentiators of sex. Table 5 indicates the sex-typing validity of the toys. Each boys' toy, with the exception of the knife, was chosen by at least one-half of the boys. Likewise, every girls' toy with the exception of the bathinette was chosen by at least one-half of the girls. The Exact Probability Distribution Test (10) was applied to the number totals of the choices by boys and girls for each toy and the probability entered on the table. A 50-50 chance of a toy's being chosen by either boys or girls is represented by a probability level of .50, and a probability level of .05 or less is considered significant. As the

Table 4. Family composition of twenty families.

Family Code No.	Sex	Ordinal Position of Subject	Number of Older Sibs	Number of Younger Sibs	Total Number of Children in Family
-----------------	-----	-----------------------------	----------------------	------------------------	------------------------------------

2½ to 3 years

1	M	5	3	1	1	6
2	M	4	1	2		4
3	M	2		1		2
4	M	4	1	2		4
5	M	1			1	2
6	F	1				1
7	F	3		2		3
8	F	2		1	1	3
9	F	3	1	1		3
10	F	2	1		1	3

4½ to 5 years

11	M	1			1	2
12	M	2		1	1	3
13	M	2	1		1	3
14	M	2		1	1	3
15	M	4	2	1		4
16	F	2		1		2
17	F	2		1		2
18	F	2	1			2
19	F	1			1	2
20	F	4	2	1		4

Total children in 20 families

58

Table 5. Sex distribution of children's toy choices.

Toy	Number of Choices		: Probability of Chance : Distribution ¹
	Boys N = 10	: Girls N = 10	
High Chair	1	6	.054*
Gun	5	2	.164
Stroller	0	5	.031*
Steam Roller	5	2	.164
Crib	2	7	.070
Dump Truck	7	2	.070
Beads	1	6	.054*
Racer	6	2	.109
Dishes	3	6	.164
Fire Truck	7	1	.031*
Purse	3	5	.217
Crane	10	3	.034*
Doll	3	6	.164
Soldiers	5	1	.093
Bathinette	1	4	.156
Knife	1	1	.50

*Significant at the .05 level

¹H. C. Fryer, Elements of Statistics, New York: Wiley, 1954, p. 254.

table shows, eight of the probability figures are below .09, and all but the one for the dishes are low.

In Rabban's (18) study of sex-role identification in young children in which he used the same toys with two exceptions, he found significant (at the .05 level) chi-square values indicating that the toys were sex-typed, and that they provided a valid test of sex preference and consequent sex-typing.

The data in Table 6 show the age differences in toy choices for each toy and the exact probability of each toy's having been chosen by chance by either of the two age groups. Only two toys, the stroller and the dishes, have the probability of not having been equally chosen by the two age groups. The younger children showed a significant preference for the dishes, and the older children preferred the stroller. The bathinette was preferred, but not significantly, by the older children. The rest of the toys can be considered as having been about equally popular in both age groups, which means that the selection of 16 toys provided the same test situation for both age groups. In the test, a younger child and an older child both had an equal chance opportunity to choose their first six real choices from the total array of 16 toys.

The scores for each toy, calculated from the number of times each toy was chosen by the children in each of the four age-sex groups and the order in which the toys were chosen, are entered in Table 7 under the columns marked "Points". The rank orders, which are based on the total points received by each toy from the most

Table 6. Age distribution of children's toy choices.

Toy	Number of Choices		Probability of Chance Distribution ¹
	Age 2½ to 3	Age 4½ to 5	
High Chair	3	4	.273
Gun	4	3	.273
Stroller	0	5	.031*
Steam Roller	4	4	.271
Crib	5	4	.246
Dump Truck	4	5	.246
Beads	3	4	.273
Racer	5	3	.217
Dishes	8	2	.043*
Fire Truck	5	3	.217
Purse	3	5	.217
Crane	7	6	.209
Doll	4	5	.246
Soldiers	4	2	.234
Bathinette	1	4	.156
Knife	1	1	.50

*Significant at the .05 level

¹H. C. Fryer, Elements of Statistics, New York: Wiley, 1954, p. 254.

Table 7. Total points and ranks given to sixteen toys as chosen by four groups of young children.

Toy	Boys 2½ to 3 years: N = 5		Girls 2½ to 3 years: N = 5		Boys 4 to 5 years: N = 5		Girls 4 to 5 years: N = 5	
	Points	Rank	Points	Rank	Points	Rank	Points	Rank
High Chair	3	11.5	12	3	0	15	14	1.5
Gun	9	4.5	4	13.5	9	5	4	10
Stroller	0	14.5	0	16	0	15	13	3.5
Steam Roller	9	4.5	6	6.5	13	3.5	6	8.5
Crib	4	10	5	10	0	15	13	3.5
Dump Truck	7	6.5	4	13.5	13	3.5	3	11
Beads	0	14.5	10	4.5	1	12	10	6
Racer	7	6.5	10	4.5	8	6	0	14.5
Dishes	5	8.5	13	1.5	5	8	6	8.5
Fire Truck	17	2	2	15	18	2	0	14.5
Purse	3	11.5	5	10	4	9	8	7
Crane	25	1	5	10	23	1	2	12
Doll	5	8.5	13	1.5	6	7	12	5
Soldiers	11	3	5	10	3	10	0	14.5
Bathinette	0	14.5	5	10	1	12	14	1.5
Knife	0	14.5	6	6.5	1	12	0	14.5
No. Chosen	12 toys		15 toys		13 toys		12 toys	

popular to the least popular are entered for each age-sex group in the columns marked "Rank."

The scores were obtained by assigning a different value to each order of choice and weighting the order of choice by multiplying it with the assigned value. The value scale is as follows:

Order of Choice	Assigned Value (points)
1	6
2	5
3	4
4	3
5	2
6	1

A toy receiving one third choice and one fifth choice would receive a total of six points.

Several interesting facts concerning the group differences in toy choice are apparent from investigation of Table 7. The four highest ranks given to toys chosen by each age-sex group indicated the parallel interests of the two groups of boys, and the changed interests of the older girls compared to the younger girls.

The boys, two and one-half to three years of age, chose as their first four toy choices; (1) the crane, (2) the fire truck, (3) the soldiers, and (4) the gun and the steam roller (tied for the rank). The girls, two and one-half to three years of age, chose as their first four toy choices; (1-2) the dishea and the doll (tied for the ranks), (3) the high chair, and (4) the beads and the racer (tied for the rank). The boys, four and one-half to five years of age, ranked their first four toy choices in the following way; (1) the crane, (2) the fire truck, (3 and 4) the steam roller

end dump truck (tied for the rank). The girls, four and one-half to five years of age, ranked their first four toy choices in the following way; (1 and 2) the high chair and bathinette (tied for the rank), and (3 and 4) the stroller and crib (tied for the rank).

The data show that the fire truck, crane, and steam roller were among the first four choices for both groups of boys. The high chair was the only toy in common in the first four choices by the two groups of girls. The younger group of girls was the only one to give a non-appropriate-sex toy a high rank, as illustrated by the racer which tied for fourth place.

The older group of boys and the older group of girls almost consistently chose self-sex-typed toys as indicated by the scores for each toy in Table 7. For example, the high chair rated high in the girls' group and low in the boys' group, the gun rated high in the boys' group and low in the girls' group, and so on through the list with the exception of the steam roller, doll, and dishes. The girls gave the steam roller more points than any other boys' toy and the boys give the dishes and the doll more points than any other girls' toy. The doll ranked seventh, and the dishes ranked eighth in the older boys' group.

The boys, two and one-half to three years of age, rated the boys' toys (with the exception of the knife) consistently higher than the girls' toys. This seems rather remarkable in view of the great diversity of choice demonstrated by the two and one-half to three-year-old group of girls. The greatest inconsistency of scores given to boys' toys and girls' toys was found in

the younger girls' group.

The Spearman Rank Order Correlations (21) of the toy choices between the two groups of girls, between the two groups of boys, between the younger groups of boys and girls, and between the older groups of boys and girls are shown in Table 8. A significant difference was shown in the ranks of the toy choices made by the older boys and the older girls. A highly significant similarity in the choices made by the younger boys and the older boys, is indicated by a rho of .817. There was no significant relationship in the toy choice rankings of the two groups of girls, nor of the boys, two and one-half to three years of age and the girls, two and one-half to three years of age.

Table 8. Rank order correlations of toy choices among four groups of young children.

	Boys $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 N = 5	:	Girls $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 N = 5
Girls $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 N = 5	- .170	:	.181
Boys $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 N = 5	.817**	:	-.593*

*Significant at the .05 level

**Significant at the .01 level

The Wilcoxon paired rank test (21) indicated that the boys' toys, on the average, were no more strongly preferred by the younger boys than by the younger girls. However, girls' toys ranked higher among the girls than among the boys ($P < .05$).

The Wilcoxon test was also applied to the toy choice scores of the older girls and younger girls, the results of which indicated that there was no significant difference between the two groups in preference for girls' toys, but that the younger girls preferred boys' toys more highly than did the older girls ($P < .05$).

In summary, the two younger groups were neither strongly similar nor dissimilar, the two groups of girls were neither strongly similar nor dissimilar, the older girls and older boys were significantly dissimilar in their rankings of the toys, and the two groups of boys were significantly similar in their choices of toys.

Comparison with Rabban's Findings

Rabban (18) found in his study of sex-role identification in young children that there was no significant difference between three-year-old boys and girls in degree of sex-appropriate toy choice. The data in Table 8 support his findings. Rabban also found that five-year-old boys and girls were significantly different in their toy choices and therefore their sex-role identification. The same conclusion can be drawn from the evidence of the data in Table 8.

Rabban concluded that three-year-old and four-year-old middle-class boys, and four-year-old and five-year-old middle-class boys were not significantly different in their toy choices and therefore sex-role identification. The data in Table 8 support his findings on the basis of the significant positive correlation of

toy choice rankings between the younger and older groups of boys. Rabban finally concluded that there was no significant difference in the toy choices and therefore the sex-role identification of three- and four-year-old girls and four- and five-year-old girls. The data in Table 8 similarly show no significant difference in the toy choices of the two age groups of girls.

The data in Table 9 concern the correlations of the rank order of toy choices made by the mothers as correlated with the rank order of the toy choices made by the children. The only group of children that chose toys not significantly like those chosen by their mothers for them, was the younger group of girls.

Table 9. Rank order correlations of toy choice ranks between four groups of young children and their mothers.

Age-Sex groups	:	Mothers
Boys $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 N = 5	:	.658**
Girls $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 N = 5	:	.164
Boys $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 N = 5	:	.878**
Girls $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 N = 5	:	.718**

**Significant at the .01 level

This group tended to rate boys' toys more highly than did their mothers. The remaining three groups, which were more consistent in their toy choices and apparently more aware of their parents'

attitudes as to sex-appropriate behavior, made choices similar to their mothers' choices.

The correlation of the toy choices made by the mothers of the two and one-half to three-year-old girls and the four and one-half to five-year-old girls was positively significant ($P < .01$), indicating that the mothers of the younger group of girls also chose highly sex-typed toys for their small daughters.

Sex Awarenesses

Table 10 indicates the total scores of sex awarenesses, right and wrong, of the children in the four age-sex groups. Of 40 possible correct answers (as indicated in Part IV of Table 10) the older group of girls scored the highest with 33 correct answers and seven wrong answers, which shows that they were the most highly aware group in recognizing sex difference in themselves and in others. The older group of boys were next highest with 32 correct answers and eight wrong answers. The two younger groups of children were about equally aware of sex differences, with less than 30 correct answers each. Altogether the range of scores of sex awarenesses was not widely divergent.

In the picture identification test, (Part I of Table 10) the younger and older groups of girls scored the same number of right and wrong answers, 23 right and seven wrong; and the younger and older group of boys correctly identified only one picture less than the girls. Only two children out of the sample of 20 children, one boy and one girl, incorrectly identified their own sex, and both of these children were from the younger age groups (Part II of Table 10).

In the remaining part of the child's test, on choice of parental role, (Part III of Table 10) the two younger groups collectively scored more wrong than right answers. Three boys, aged two and one-half to three years, correctly named the self-sex parental role as the role they wished to take, and one girl, aged two and one-half to three, correctly named the self-sex parental role as the role she wished to take. Consequently, four out of five of the younger group of girls chose the cross-sex parental role as the role they wished to occupy when they grew up.

Rabban (18) found that a large number of the three-year-old group of girls in his study chose the cross-sex parental role as their future role choice. He offers three explanations for this phenomenon, p. 144, "(1) fathers express affection more freely for their daughters, (2) the early evidence of the superior status of the masculine role may cause girls to wish for a father role, and (3) this is evidence giving credence to the psychoanalytic concept of the Oedipus Complex that has not been resolved until identification with the like-sexed parent."

A numerical picture of the relationship of the children's individual toy choice scores and sex-awareness scores is presented in Table 11. The girls, aged two and one-half to three years, varied most in correct toy choices with a range of from one to six correct choices and totaling 19 out of a possible score of 30, indicating a very weak preference (or a chance preference) for girls' toys. The younger group and older group of boys showed a parallel tendency in correct toy choice scores and in sex

Table 10. Sex awareness scores of four groups of young children for picture identification, self-sex identification, and future parental role.

Subjects N = 5 in each group:	: Part I		: Part II		: Part III		: Part IV		
	Picture Identification	Right : Wrong	Self-sex Identification	Right : Wrong	Future Parental Role	Right : Wrong	Total Aware- nesses	Right : Wrong	
Boys 2½ to 3	22	8	4	4	1	3	2	29	11
Girls 2½ to 3	23	7	4	4	1	1	4	28	12
Boys 4½ to 5	22	8	5	5	0	5	0	32	8
Girls 4½ to 5	23	7	5	5	0	5	0	33	7

Table 11. Comparison of number of correct toy choices to number of correct sex awarenesses of four groups of young children.

Boys 2½ to 3 CSA 2 CTC	Girls 2½ to 3 CTC	Subjects		N = 5 in each group		Girls 4½ to 5 CTC	Girls 4½ to 5 CSA
		Boys 4½ to 5 CTC	Boys 4½ to 5 CSA	Girls 4½ to 5 CTC	Girls 4½ to 5 CSA		
3	1	5	5	3	6	2	7
4	3	5	5	4	6	6	6
4	4	4	4	4	7	6	6
6	5	6	6	6	7	6	7
23	19	28	28	25	32	26	33 Total
30	30	40	40	30	40	30	40 Possible Points

1 Correct toy choices

2 Correct sex awarenesses

awarenesses. The older group of girls showed the least amount of intra-group variation with the exception of the first child, which scored two correct toy choices, and seven correct sex awarenesses.

The Mother's Data

The information obtained from each of the 20 mothers covered a wide range of subjects, including the child's play companion preferences, play activities, activities of the child and his father, activities of the child and his mother, other parent-child interactions, and the parent's behavioral expectations for the child.

The Children's Play Companion Preferences and Activities. As revealed in Table 12, 12 of the 20 children had no preferences for either boys or girls as play companions. The age-sex group which showed the most pronounced play companion preferences was the older group of boys, of which four apparently preferred to play with other boys.

When asked if they thought their child should play with children of the opposite sex very much, six mothers reported "yes", one mother reported "no", and 13 mothers reported "no preference".

The kinds and frequencies of activities that the four age-sex groups of children engaged in when they played with girls is shown in Table 13, activities with boys in Table 14, and activities alone in Table 15. The activities listed included the first three

Table 12. Children's play companion preferences.

Age-sex groups:	Child's Preference			Mother's Preference for Child		
	Boys:	Girls:	No. Pref.:	Boys:	Girls:	No. Pref.:
Boys $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 N = 5	1	0	4	0	1	4
Girls $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 N = 5	0	2	3	2	0	3
Boys $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 N = 5	4	0	1	1	2	2
Girls $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 N = 5	1	0	4	1	0	4
TOTALS	6	2	11	4	3	13

choices of activity or the three most frequent activities. As is apparent, the variation in activities was wide and in many instances only one family reported doing a certain thing. Four mothers gave no information in Table 14 because their children did not have an opportunity to play with boys where the mother could observe their activities. (Some of these mothers assumed that their children played with boys while at the nursery school).

The frequency of distribution of the activities of girls playing with girls is widespread and rather evenly spread with only a few areas of concentration (Table 13). The activities that seemed to have had a little more popularity when boys played with girls were run and play, swing, play with toys, and playing records. The activities that seemed to have had a little more popularity when girls played with girls were riding tricycles, and playing house. Girls in both age groups had varied activities

Table 13. Children's play activities with girls.

	Age - Sex Groups			
	Boys 2½ to 3: N = 5	Girls 2½ to 3: N = 5	Boys 4½ to 5: N = 5	Girls 4½ to 5: N = 5
Run and play	5	1	1	2
Swing	3	1	0	1
Tricycles	1	3	0	1
Toys	3	1	3	1
Records	0	1	0	1
Play house	1	0	3	1
Books	2	1	1	3
Crayon, clay, painting	0	2	1	1
Dolls	0	1	2	2
Sand	0	1	0	0
Puzzles	0	1	0	0

Table 14. Children's play activities with boys.

	Age - Sex Groups			
	Boys 2½ to 3: N = 5	Girls 2½ to 3: N = 5	Boys 4½ to 5: N = 5	Girls 4½ to 5: N = 5
Run and play	4	2	3	2
Swing	0	1	0	0
Tricycles	4	1	2	3
Toys	0	2	3	0
Records	0	0	1	1
Play house	0	1	0	0
Books	1	0	0	0
Crayon, clay, painting	1	0	1	0
Sand	0	1	1	0
Blocks	1	1	0	0
Cowboys	0	0	4	0
Games	0	0	1	1

including both the active and less active types of play. An explanation for this seemingly great diversity may be that girls in some instances dominate the play and in other instances are dominated. Also girls may "naturally" enjoy a wider range of activities because of approval received for participation in boyish play as well as quiet play. In two instances boys played house, and in two instances they played with crayons-clay-paint when playing with girls.

Table 14 is incomplete by two reports, but a trend is discernable nevertheless. The concentration of the frequency was toward active play with run and play, tricycles, and toys receiving the heaviest response. Some play domination by boys occurred in the case of the older group of girls playing cowboys and Indians and other games. Playing with toys was not mentioned for the older group of girls, although there was some small amount for the younger girls. Playing with toys was not generally popular with girls regardless of with whom they played.

Table 15 illustrates the shift from active types of play to quieter play when the children played alone, and the older groups participated in the quieter types of play to a greater degree than did the younger groups. The older girls had shifted to almost entirely quiet types of play, and they demonstrated a more even spread of the distribution, indicating diversity. The older boys' activities when alone were concentrated on toys, records, and crayon-clay-painting. Two older boys played with blocks, an activity usually expected more at the earlier age. The younger group of boys' interest in books was surprising. Perhaps the

Table 15. Children's play activities alone.

	Age - Sex Groups				
	Boys 2 to 3 N = 5	Girls 2 to 3 N = 5	Boys 4 to 5 N = 5	Girls 4 to 5 N = 5	
Swing	1	0	0	0	0
Tricycles	4	1	0	1	0
Toys	3	1	6	2	1
Records	1	1	3	3	2
Play house	0	1	0	3	3
Books	4	1	0	0	4
Crayon, clay, painting	1	3	3	2	2
Dolls	0	0	0	0	0
Sand	0	2	1	0	1
Puzzles	0	0	0	0	0
Blocks	1	0	2	1	0
Cowboys	0	0	1	0	0

relatively academic atmospheres in many of the homes may account for some of the strong interest in books at all of the age levels.

All of the mothers indicated that they enjoyed having their children's friends come in to play, however, five of the 20 mothers indicated that other children did not come to their homes to play very often. The remaining 15 mothers indicated that their children's friends came in to play once, twice or more times a week. Tables 26 and 27 (Appendix) contain the children's choices of television programs and books.

Play with Siblings. As reported in Table 4 on family composition, all except one of the children in the study had siblings. Of the 19 remaining, 16 had older siblings. In every case the mother reported that the child played most with older siblings. In each of the age-sex groups, four of the five children played most with older siblings (Table 16). In comparing the test performances of the children who did not play with older siblings and those who did, there were no marked differences.

The children that the mothers' reported as showing jealousy toward a sibling were case numbers 1, 8, 10, 16, and 18 in Table 16. The three children in the younger groups were jealous of younger cross-sex siblings, and the two older children were jealous of older siblings, one cross-sex and one like-sex.

Activities with Mother and Father. Activities that the children participated in with their fathers are presented in Table 17. The most popular activities were reading and riding in the car to

go on short errands or excursions. The first three most frequent activities reported by the mothers are entered in Table 17, although some mothers gave four or five activities that were equally frequent in their families. The number and range of activities that the fathers engaged in with their children were favorable, however no information was obtained on the frequency of these activities, therefore, it is difficult to conclude just how extensive was the father-child contact.

Table 16. Sex of older or younger siblings which children play with most.

Family Number	Child Plays With					: Doesn't or None
	: Older : Brother	: Younger : Brother	: Older : Sister	: Younger : Sister		
<u>Boys 2½ to 3</u>						
1		X				
2	X				X	
3				X		
4				X		
5			X			
<u>Girls 2½ to 3</u>						
6						X
7				X		
8				X		
9				X		
10	X					
<u>Boys 4½ to 5</u>						
11						X
12				X		
13	X					
14				X		
15	X					
<u>Girls 4½ to 5</u>						
16				X		
17				X		
18	X					
19		X				
20				X		

The child's activities with the mother that parallel those with the father are: reading, piggy-back, games, playing with toys, and dancing. The remainder of the activities listed in Table 18 are either housework or quieter activities with the exception of bicycling. The older boys had gotten away from helping their mothers with the housework, and the older girls had been included more in housekeeping activities. There is evidence that the children's activities with their mothers become more varied as the children become older.

Parent-Child Preferences for each Other. The data from the question concerning the child's preferences for either parent or for neither parent, and either parent's preference for the child is stated in Table 19. The mothers reported that seven out of the 20 children had a preference for one or the other parent. Five children, four boys and one girl, preferred their fathers, and one boy and one girl preferred his/her mother. The cross-sex parental preference pattern in which sons prefer mother and daughters prefer fathers is not apparent here.

In the section of Table 19 which indicates the parents' preference for the selected child, two mothers reported that they preferred their children, both boys, and that four of the fathers preferred their children, two of whom were boys and two of whom were girls. Fourteen mothers reported that neither parent preferred the selected child over his siblings.

Half of the mothers reported that their children were put to bed more often by a certain parent (six mothers and four fathers put the selected child to bed most often), and half of the mothers

Table 17. Children's activities with father.

	Age - Sex Groups			
	Boys 2 to 5 N = 5	Girls 2 to 5 N = 5	Boys 4 to 5 N = 5	Girls 4 to 5 N = 5
Read	5	4	3	5
Car riding	2	1	3	3
PIGgy-back	2	3	0	2
Games	0	2	1	1
Cares for	1	0	1	1
Play with toys	0	2	3	1
Wrestle	1	0	2	1
Television	1	0	1	0
Yardwork	1	0	1	0
Swing	1	1	0	1
Dance	0	0	0	1
Wash car	0	0	0	1
Play piano	0	1	0	0

Table 18. Children's activities with mother.

	Age - Sex Groups			
	Boys 2 to 5 N = 5	Girls 2 to 5 N = 5	Boys 4 to 5 N = 5	Girls 4 to 5 N = 5
Read	3	3	4	3
Housekeeping	2	3	2	5
Cooking	2	0	4	4
Play with toys	2	0	4	1
Crayons, clay paper and scissors	0	5	2	1
Talk	1	0	1	0
Sing and dance	1	1	1	1
Records	0	0	2	1
Games	0	0	0	1
PIGgy-back	0	0	0	1
Bicycling	0	0	1	0

Tabla 19. Parant-child preferences for each other.

Subjects N = 5 in each group	Child Prefers			Who Prefers Child		
	Mother	Father	Neither	Mother	Father	Neither
Boys 2½ to 3	1	2	2	1		4
Girls 2½ to 3			5	1		4
Boys 4½ to 5		2	3	2	1	2
Girls 4½ to 5	1	1	3		1	4
Total	2	5	13	2	4	14

indicated that either parent put the selected child to bed.

Tabla 20 shows which parent tended to do certain things for the child in providing for his physical and emotional needs. Twice as many mothers reported that they disciplined their children most often, compared to the group that indicated that either parent disciplined equally often, or the father did it most often. Nine mothers reported that either parent offered praise and reward to their children, and nine reported that either parent offered praise and reward. More mothers than fathers let the child have his own way. Again, no distinct pattern is shown other than the fact that the mother had the major responsibility for caring for her child.

Fourteen of the mothers said that they felt that their child was not spoiled and six said that their child was spoiled. Of these six children, three were boys and three were girls.

The answers to the question on the amount of sympathy given to the child when he was hurt, seemed to indicate that the older boys' and girls' groups received more sympathy than the younger groups. An explanation might be that older children have learned to expect a certain amount of sympathy.

Table 20. The division of responsibility for certain child-care practices taken by the parents.

Subjects N - 5 in each group	Who puts child to bed		Who disciplines most often		Who offers praise and reward		Who lets child have own way	
	M ¹	F ²	M	E ³	M	F	M	F
Boys 2½ to 3	1	2	2	3	1	1	2	2
Girls 2½ to 3		5	3	2	3	2	2	1
Boys 4½ to 5	3		2	4	1	2	3	1
Girls 4½ to 5	2	2	1	3	1	1	3	2
TOTAL	6	4	10	13	6	9	9	6

1 Mother
2 Father
3 Either

Behavior Expectations. Tables 21 through 24 contain the data reported by the mothers to questions concerning the behavior expectations which they had for their children. The findings (Table 21) indicate that there was not much difference in the total number of "yes's" and "no's" for each age-sex group, which points to rather equalized expectations for all of the children regardless of the age and sex. The girls' groups showed a slightly higher number of "yes's" and therefore slightly higher expectations for "proper" behavior.

The data derived from the mothers in response to questions on the responsibilities taken by the children for themselves and for helping in the home, (Table 22) revealed that these children were given early responsibilities, however small the responsibilities might have been.

From the questions concerning the mother's opinions on permissible aggressiveness in the child (Table 23), 17 mothers indicated that they encouraged their children to stand up for themselves, 16 said that they would permit their children to fight with boys, and 16 said that they would permit their children to fight with girls. Eight mothers reported that their children wanted their own way most of the time (five children were in the younger groups and three children were in the older groups), and one mother reported that her child wanted his way very seldom. Here, evident again, is the familiar middle-class pattern of child rearing with emphasis on fostering self reliance in the child at an early age.

Table 21. The acceptable behavior expectations by the parents for their children in several behavior areas.

Subjects N = 5 in each group	: Clean :	: Obed- : lent :	: Lady or : gentle- : man :	: No: Yes : No:Yes	: Quiet :	: Use : slang :	: Wear : jeans :	: Get : hair : cut :	: Girls : Give : in : in :	: Boys : Give : in : in :	: Total : Yes : No:Yes							
Boys 2½ to 3	3	2	4	1	1	4	4	4	1	5	1	4	17	23				
Girls 2½ to 3	3	2	4	*	1	4	5			5	5	5	18	21				
Boys 4½ to 5	5	0	4	*	2	2	3	1	4	3	2	5	5	17	21			
Girls 4½ to 5	4	1	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	5	1	4	21	19	
TOTALS	15	5	16	2	6	13	13	7	5	15	9	1	7	3	0	20	2	18

* undecided

Table 22. Self responsibility.

Age-Sex Groups N = 5 in each group	Helps decide: : what to wear:		Picks up : own things:		Runs : errands:		Has run : of house:		Plays out in : neighborhood	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Boys 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3	2	3	3	2	5	5	2	2	3	3
Girls 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3	5	1	3	2	5	4	4	4	1	1
Boys 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5	4	1	4	1	5	4	4	4	1	1
Girls 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5	5	1	5	1	5	2	5	3	1	1
TOTAL	16	4	15	5	20	15	15	5	15	5

Table 23. Permitted aggressiveness.

Age-Sex Groups N = 5 in each group	Stands up : for own rights:		Fights with: : boys		Fights with: : girls		Has own way	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Most of : time	Occas- : ionally
Boys 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3	3	2	4	1	3	1	3	2
Girls 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3	5	1	4	1	4	1	2	3
Boys 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5	4	1	3	2	4	1	1	3
Girls 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5	4	1	5	2	4	1	2	3
TOTAL	17	3	16	3	16	3	8	11

Each mother reported that she liked to have her child kiss and hug and show affection for her and for others in this way. Sixteen mothers said that they let their children cry as long as they wanted to when hurt, and did not try to hush them or to keep them from crying, although they comforted them. Two mothers of girls said that they did not let their children cry as long as they wanted to, but that they tried to terminate the crying as soon as possible. The two remaining children did not cry at all, according to their mothers.

Table 24. Modesty and sex education.

Age-Sex Groups N = 5 in each group:	Use bathroom with opposite sex		Run around undressed		Any sex information	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Boys 2½ to 3	4	1	3	2	2	3
Girls 2½ to 3	3	2	1	4	2	3
Boys 4½ to 5	5	2	2	3	1	4
Girls 4½ to 5	4	1	2	3	2	3
TOTAL	16	4	8	12	7	13

Parents' expectations for their children's behavior (Table 24) in modesty and sex education revealed that 16 mothers permitted their children to use the bathroom with family members of the opposite sex. Eight mothers said that they permitted their children to run around the house undressed (in the presence of family members of the opposite sex) for reasonable lengths of time, barring becoming chilled. On the other hand, 12 mothers did not permit their children to run around the house undressed under ordinary circumstances. Seven mothers answered "yes" and 13

mothers answered "no" to the question on whether or not they had given their child in the study any sex education, whether or not the child had asked for it.

The young ages of the children may account entirely for the answers given by the mothers concerning the use of the bathroom. The ages of the children may also account for the degree of sex education given them, but the data indicate no increase in the amount of sex information from age three to age five. Some of the families apparently gave information early and some did not, irrespective of the ages of the children. The ones that did not give their children sex information were probably waiting until the child asked for information, and at the age of five few children had asked. Several of the mothers indicated that their children had never shown any interest whatsoever in sex differences or reproduction by the age of five years. Information about the health and training of the 20 children in the study is in Table 28 in the Appendix.

CASE STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL CHILDREN

The following eight case studies were included to illuminate family patterns and add information on the family influences on sex-role identification of children. The eight children in these studies were selected according to their age-sex group (two from each category), and were chosen to illustrate (1) a more or less usual family pattern, and (2) a more or less unusual family pattern. The information given was all the result of the

interviews although some of the information was not in direct answer to the items on the schedule.

The children have been given pseudonyms and the families have been slightly disguised, but an effort has been made to present the child and the family as they really were. The cases from each age-sex group are presented successively from the younger to the older groups, and with the "usual" case preceding the "unusual" case for each age-sex group.

Explanation of Descriptive Terms

The term "neutral" following a child's name indicates that the child was neither predominantly masculine nor feminine in his responses. The "neutral" child identified himself with the opposite sex, and also the cross-sex parental role.

The term "ambivalent" after a child's name indicates that the child correctly identified his own sex, and then identified with the cross-sex parental role.

The term "masculine" indicates a predominantly masculine trend although there may be feminine responses in some areas. The "masculine" children correctly identified their own sex and that of their future parental role.

The term "feminine" indicates a predominantly feminine trend although there may be masculine responses in some areas. The "feminine" children correctly identified their own sex and that of their future parental role.

Table 25. The case study children's names, ages and sex-role tendencies.

Age		:	:	:	Sex-Role
Years:Months	:	Sex	:	Pseudonym	Tendency
2	9	M	:	Terry	Ambivalent
2	10	M	:	Donnie	Ambivalent
2	6	F	:	Judy	Neutral
2	11	F	:	Christine	Ambivalent
4	9	M	:	Andy	Masculine
4	8	M	:	Larry	Masculine
4	9	F	:	Louise	Feminine
4	11	F	:	Sara	Feminine

The Case Studies

Terry (Ambivalent).

Age at interview: Two years, nine months

Siblings: Brother--ten, sister--nine, brother--six, brother--four and a sister--18 months.

Father's occupation: Teacher at the college

Mother's occupation: Housewife

Terry and his family lived in a three bedroom home in a recent development near the college.

Terry chose four boys' toys and two girls' toys, correctly identified five of the six pictures in the picture identification test, correctly identified his own sex, and chose the cross-sex future parental role. After the test he played with the fire truck, steam roller, crane, atroller and knife.

Terry's mother chose for him two boys' toys and four girls' toys as being suitable toys with which to play. She indicated that Terry played with girls by running and playing outside, swinging, and playing house. He played with boys by playing with

blocks, clay, and tricycles, and he played alone by playing with paper and scissors, blocks and books. In the past, Terry has played with six girls' toys and five boys' toys of the 16 toys in the study.

His mother explained that Terry played most with his brother just older, and that he also played some with his little sister. She accounted for his choosing two girls' toys as being an expression of his concern for his little sister and of getting something for her to play with too. (He brings toys to entertain her when playing with her under ordinary circumstance). His mother also said that Terry showed some jealousy towards his little sister.

His father had little time with his children and so was with them collectively when home. He took them on trips to the store, read to them, and played with them occasionally.

His mother was kept busy with the housework and the baby sister. Her activities with Terry were limited to letting him help her with the cooking and the housekeeping, and once in awhile they played with blocks.

Terry's mother indicated that Terry preferred her to his father, and that she took most of the responsibility for his care, disciplined him, and offered him praise and reward. Also, she said she let him have his way more than his father did.

In general, then, his mother's treatment of Terry was warm-hearted and sympathetic, with an average amount of control. He was asked to help pick up his own things and to run errands for

his mother, and was allowed freedom to move around inside and outside as he wished. Terry was not expected to be a little gentleman. In his household, bathroom privacy was practically non-existent.

Influences on Terry's sex-role identification processes were: (1) his father's absence for much of the time, (2) constant contact with his mother, (3) three older brothers, (4) one older sister and one baby sister, and (5) no strong parental expectations for sex-appropriate behavior.

Donnie (Ambivalent).

Age at interview: Two years, ten months
 Siblings: Sister--nine
 Father's occupation: Government employee
 Mother's occupation: Housewife

Donnie and his family lived in a small, new house in a good section of town.

Donnie chose three boys' toys and three girls' toys, identified himself correctly as a boy (although he had a great deal of difficulty deciding which picture to choose as most closely resembling himself), and indicated the mother role as his future parental role. After the interview, Donnie played with the fire truck, dishes, beads, bethinette, and doll.

His mother chose five boys' toys and one girls' toy for him to play with, and indicated that when he played with girls he ran and played, and played with toys and blocks. She had never observed him playing with boys. When he played alone he rode his tricycle, read books, and played with his toys. She indicated

that he had played with seven of the girls' toys and one of the boys' toys on the list of 16 in the study.

Donnie was kept in the house most of the time because there was no yard fence, and house construction across the street posed a danger. When he was outside his mother was always with him.

When Donnie's father was home (sometimes he was gone for several days) they were together constantly. They read, drew, played piggy-back, and went riding in the car. His father cared for him almost entirely when he was at home.

His mother let him help her with her housework and cooking, and read to him. She did not spend much time with him, and he played alone much of the time when he and his mother were home alone. She commented that Donnie loved to play with his sister's dolls and to play in her room, but was kept out when his sister was not home. He was not allowed to take his toys into the living room at all and played only in his own room.

According to Donnie's mother, Donnie preferred his father and his father preferred him. His father always put him to bed when he was home. Both parents disciplined him, but his father offered the most praise and reward.

Donnie had no playmates. There were no children in the community and none came to visit him from outside the community.

His parents had relatively rigid expectations for Donnie. He was expected to stay neat and clean all the time, to be obedient, to be a little gentleman, never to fight with girls, and to be reasonably quiet around the house.

Donnie received "some" sympathy when hurt, because "we don't want to make a sissy out of him." He was permitted to use the bathroom with family members of the opposite sex. His mother said that she let Donnie have his way more than his father did, because when she was busy, she let him go ahead and do what he wanted to instead of stopping at that time.

She indicated that Donnie was encouraged to kiss and hug and to show affection, and that he was naturally very affectionate.

Influences on Donnie's sex-role identification processes were: (1) constant contact with his mother except when his father was at home, (2) an affectionate relationship with a loving father whom he saw most on weekends, (3) an older sister who had her mother's acceptance and affection, and (4) no masculine identification figures other than his father.

Judy (Neutral).

Age at interview: Two years, six months
 Siblings: Brother--four, brother--nine months
 Father's occupation: Minister
 Mother's occupation: Housewife and Registered Nurse

Judy's family lived in a large, old two-story house near the college.

Judy chose four girls' toys and two boys' toys, correctly identified four of the six pictures, indicated that she was a boy, and chose the cross-sex parental role as her future role. After the test, she played with the beads, purse, and doll (all on the manipulative level).

Her mother chose four girls' toys and two boys' toys as being suitable for Judy to play with. She indicated that when Judy played with girls they ran and played, played with toys, and played games. When she played with boys, she ran and played, swung, and rode tricycles. When she played alone, she helped her mother, played with clay, and played records. She had played with four of the boys' toys and three of the girls' toys of the list of 16 toys used in the study.

Judy and her older brother played together quite frequently and quite well, according to their mother. The children had a big playroom in the basement, although they were not limited to the basement when playing. Her brother participated with her in dramatic play with dolls, dress-up and other "feminine" types of play.

Judy's father spent much of his time with his children when he was home. He read to them, played games with them, and helped care for them. Her mother was kept busy with housework, her job, and the baby, and had relatively little time for Judy individually. She went back to part-time work recently when Judy was admitted to the nursery school. Judy "helped" her mother with the housework and cooking, and they played with clay together occasionally. The two women students who were staying in the house, played with Judy frequently.

According to her mother, Judy did not prefer either parent to the other, nor did either parent have a preference for Judy. Both parents disciplined her and offered her praise and reward.

The behavior expectations for Judy were not unusual in any way. She received a great deal of affection from all of her associates.

Influences on Judy's sex-role identification processes were:

(1) no apparent division in adult sex-roles (her mother and father similarly cared for all the children), (2) the brother who was not strongly masculine, and (3) women students in the home that gave special attention to Judy.

Christine (Ambivalent).

Age at interview: Two years, eleven months

Siblings: None

Father's occupation: Student who was soon to graduate as a C. P. A.

Mother's occupation: Housewife

Christine and her family lived in a small, college apartment, however they had their own furniture and the apartment was very comfortable.

Christine chose one girls' toy and five boys' toys, correctly identified four of the six pictures, correctly identified her own sex, and chose the father role as her future parental role. After the interview she played with the recer, dishee, soldiers, beads and dump truck.

Her mother chose four girls' toys and two boys' toys as suitable for her to play with, and indicated that when Christine played with girls they played house, rode tricycle, and played with paper and scissors. When she played with boys, they played with blocks, train and played, and played with toys. When Christine played alone she played with paper and scissors, painted and

colored. (Her mother indicated that Christine did not play alone much). Christine had played with seven girls' toys and two boys' toys of the 16 toys used in the study.

There were several other small children in the area for Christine to play with, and she preferred to play with other girls, according to her mother.

The activities engaged in by Christine and her father were playing "horsy", hide and seek, and other simple games. Her mother spent a great deal of time with her during the day, doing the housework and cooking together, and playing with Christine's toys and art materials. She indicated that she and Christine spent too much time together and that Christine was too dependent on her.

According to her mother, Christine did not favor either parent, but her father favored her. Both parents put her to bed equally often, her mother disciplined her more often than the father, and both parents give her praise and reward. Her father let Christine have her way more often than her mother did.

Christine was expected to be relatively neat and clean all the time and to be obedient, otherwise her parents had average expectations for her behavior. Christine had rather close outside play limits due to the traffic near her home. Her mother said that she did not want Christine to cry very long so she tried to terminate crying as soon as possible.

Influences on Christine's sex-role identification processes were: (1) a loving, warm relationship with both parents, (2)

limited association with other adults, (3) play in the neighborhood with small children only, and (4) the stressing of the feminine role by both her parents.

Andy (Masculine).

Age at interview: Four years, nine months
 Siblings: Sister--seven, sister--five months
 Father's occupation: Medical doctor
 Mother's occupation: Housewife

Andy and his family lived in a three-bedroom brick home in a new development.

Andy chose four boys' toys and two girls' toys, identified four of the six pictures correctly, correctly identified his own sex, and indicated the father role as his future parental role. After the interview, Andy played almost exclusively with boys' toys, but did play with the bathinette, even to getting out one of his sister's dolls to "bathe" in it. He seemed quite interested in his sister's dolls and showed off her biggest one.

Andy's mother chose six boys' toys for him. When he played with girls, they rode tricycles, played records, and colored. When he played with boys, they ran and played, played cowboys and Indians, and rode tricycles. When he played alone he played with blocks, toys, and records. His mother said that he had played with five of the boys' toys and five of the girls' toys of the list of 16 toys used in the study.

Andy's father's time with him was limited, but they engaged in wrestling, played ball, and took trips to the park occasionally. Andy's mother read to him, played with blocks with him, and they

listened to records and danced to the music sometimes. Occasionally, Andy "helped" his mother with the housework. The relationship between Andy and his mother was close and friendly, and his relationship with his father, one of trust and companionship. Andy played with his older sister frequently and they often played in a feminine vein at her suggestion.

According to Andy's mother, Andy preferred his father to her and his father preferred Andy. His mother disciplined him most of the time, but both parents offered him praise and reward. His father let him have his own way more than his mother did. Andy was expected to be a little gentleman and to be relatively neat and clean all the time.

Influences on Andy's sex-role identification processes were: (1) father's absence for much of the time, but when he was there they enjoyed a pleasant camaraderie, (2) a close friendship with his mother, and (3) an older sister with whom he played frequently.

Larry (Masculine).

Age at interview: Four years, eight months
 Siblings: Sister--eleven, brother--seven, brother--five
 Father's occupation: High school teacher
 Mother's occupation: Housewife

Larry and his family lived in a well-cared-for house on a quiet street.

Larry chose three boys' toys and three girls' toys, correctly identified four of the six pictures, identified himself as a boy, and chose the father role as his future parental role. After the

interview he played with the fire truck, beads, and dishes.

His mother chose for him five boys' toys and one girls' toy. She reported that when playing with girls, Larry played records, looked at books, and played with puzzles. When he played with boys, they ran and played, played ball, and played cowboys and Indians. When Larry played alone, he played with his toys, played records, and worked with paper and scissors. He had played with five of the boys' toys and three of the girls' toys from the list of 16 toys used in the study. Larry played with his next older brother the most, but also with the oldest one.

Larry's father got home around five in the afternoon and was home all weekend, so he had ample available time with his family. Larry helped his father with the yardwork, and helped wash the car. They went for rides in the car, he read to the children in a group, and played and wrestled with them. His mother also read to him and they recited rhymes together and otherwise talked. He helped his mother cook, and she helped him with his building projects.

Neither of Larry's parents favored him over the other children, although his mother reported that Larry favored her to his father. His mother usually put him to bed, usually disciplined him, and also let him have his way more. Both parents offered him praise and reward.

The expectations for Larry were that he be relatively neat and clean all the time, be obedient, and be a little gentleman. He was allowed to use the bathroom with the family members of the

opposite sex, but was not allowed to run around the house undressed. When Larry was hurt, his mother sympathized with him "some." She said "I don't want to make a sissy out of him." She said that, as a rule, Larry did not cry. He was allowed to play outside within reasonable limits, but was not permitted to play throughout the house.

Influences in Larry's sex-role identification processes were: (1) a close relationship with his mother who favored him, (2) a friendly companionship with his father, (3) and two older brothers who set an example of sex-appropriate behavior for him.

Louise (Feminine).

Age at interview: Four years, nine months

Siblings: Brother--seven

Father's occupation: Pharmacist

Mother's occupation: Housewife

Louise's family lived in a large, attractive stone house in a good district.

Louise chose six girls' toys, identified four of the six pictures correctly, identified herself as a girl, and expressed the wish to be a mother when she grew up. She played with the girls' toys exclusively after the interview.

Her mother chose six girls' toys for her, and indicated that when Louise played with other girls they played house, swung or rode tricycles. When she played with boys, they ran and played house, played records, and read books. Her mother indicated that Louise had played with six of the girls' toys and five of the boys' toys from the list of 16 toys used in the study.

Louise's father, having regular working hours, spent quite a substantial amount of time (compared to some middle-class fathers) with his family. They played games (cards and checkers), read and went riding together. Louise's mother indicated that she played with Louise's toys with her occasionally, and they did housework and cooked together. Louise played with her older brother sometimes, but not in a boyish manner.

Her mother reported that she was the parent that Louise preferred, but that neither parent favored her over her brother. Also both parents disciplined her and offered her praise and reward. The behavior expectations for Louise were higher than for some of the other children in the study. She was expected to stay relatively neat and clean, to be obedient, to be a little lady, and to be quiet around the house.

Influences on Louise's sex-role identification processes were: (1) a strong identification with her mother, (2) expectations by both parents that she act in a feminine way, and (3) a companionship relationship with both her father and her brother.

Sara (Feminine).

Age at interview: Four years, eleven months
 Siblings: Brother--14, brother--10, sister--seven
 Father's occupation: Teacher at the college
 Mother's occupation: Housewife

Sara and her family lived in a large, old rambling house in an old residential section that was still good.

Sara chose two girls' toys and four boys' toys, correctly identified five of the six pictures, identified herself as a girl,

and chose the mother-parental role. After the interview she played with the doll, beads, bathinette, stroller, and gun.

Sara's mother chose six girls' toys for her to play with. She said that when playing with girls, Sara played house, painted and colored, and played records. When she played with boys they rode tricycles, swung, or played records. When Sara played alone she looked at books, played house, and played records. Her mother said that Sara had played with seven of the girls' toys and two of the boys' toys on the list of 16 used in the study.

Her father helped care for her as did her two older brothers. They favored her and gave her special attention in an adult manner. Her sister, however, was the one she played with most. They shared a bedroom. Her father read to her and took her on short errands in the car. The activities that Sara and her mother had together included reading, listening to records, singing, and doing housework and cooking. Her mother reported that Sara did not play with toys as much as most children. (This may be because of constant attention from family members).

Sara did not favor either parent to the other, nor did either parent favor her over the other children. Her mother usually put her to bed, usually disciplined her, and let her have her own way more than the father did. Both parents offered her praise and reward. She was expected to be relatively neat and clean all the time and to be obedient. She was sympathized with wholeheartedly whenever hurt, but was not encouraged to stand up for her own rights against other children, or allowed to fight with boys or girls. She did not wear jeans or slacks at any time. Her mother

seid that she would like to put them on her ocesionally but that Sera objected.

Influences on Sere's sex-role identificetion processes were: (1) the complete devotion of her entire family, (2) a strong identification with her mother end sister, (3) the speciel attention given her by her older brothers, (4) a werm relationship with her fether, and (5) standards of appropriate-sex behavior were held up for her by the whole family.

Discussion of the Cese Studies

In examining probeble causes for certain evidences of sex-role identificetion, it is necessary to remember at all times that the meturational level of the child is an important factor interecting with the social influences on the child. This study did not attempt to escertain the maturational levels of the children studied, or their ability to gresp certain concepts out of context. The responses of the children were accepted as indications of the socialization level of the children concerned.

The following factors, according to Rabban (18) influence the sex-role identification processes in children, and they seem to eply to end clarify the case studies just reviewed. They are, (1) whether or not the parents end siblings were models or definers of sex-appropriate behavior, (2) the amount of time the child spent with either parent, (3) the effect that the parents or peers had on the child (personality factors enter in), end (4) the kind of relationship between the child and his parents.

In the middle class, a direct influence is the father's comparative absence and the mother's almost exclusive responsibility for the child until he is ready for school at the age of six. She is the authority, guide, and model for both boys and girls. This situation was present in all of the eight case studies. The mothers as a rule, did not define sex-appropriate behavior from both sexes and there was little concern for early identification with the appropriate sex-role for either boys or girls.

The similarities in the eight case studies were numerous. The families, all being middle class and of comparable economic status, had rather similar patterns of child rearing. They all asked a more or less uniform amount of cooperation and acceptable behavior from the child, they all made provisions (as much as possible) for the child's activities, and spent time with the child at his own level doing what he wanted to do. This indicated an interest in the child's development, respect for him as a person, and acceptance of him into the family group. All of these eight children, apparently, felt secure in their family's love.

Activities. The kinds of activities that the children engaged in with girls, boys, or alone did not differ a great deal except in the degree of sociality necessary to carry on the activity. It is apparent that there was very little difference in the activities engaged in by girls and their mothers and fathers, and boys and their mothers and fathers, or between the age levels.

Some boys did painting and pasting (Terry, Andy, and Larry), some boys helped their mothers with cooking and housekeeping (Terry, Donnie, Larry, and Andy), and one danced (Andy). Some girls ran and played and rode tricycles (Louise, Sara, and Judy), and one played "horsy" and wrestled on the floor (Christine).

Sibling influences and playmate influences seemed to effect the case study children with opposite sex siblings in the way that Brim (3) indicated. The girls, as reported by their mothers, tended to play in a more active, masculine way when they played with boys, and the boys, conversely, played in a more quiet, feminine way when they played with girls. There seemed to be a point of juncture that marked activities that can be called neither masculine nor feminine. These activities were playing with blocks, swinging, playing games, listening to records and reading or looking at books. Nevertheless, if the mothers reported the activities of their children accurately, there were definite mutual sex influences in the activities they engaged in.

The ages of the older siblings seemed to be a factor in the amount of imitation of, or identification with, that sibling. Donnie envied his nine-year-old sister their mother's affection, and feeling that their mother reinforced his sister's behavior, he endeavored to engage in similar play and activities. Had his sister not been as old or as definitely sex-typed, he very probably would not have tried to imitate her, unless he had a

"natural" interest in that type of activity.

Sara's older brothers had an adult rather than a peer influence on her. They reinforced the sex-appropriate behavior that her parents expected of her much more than if they had been only three or four years older than Sara.

Relationships. The importance of the relationship of the child with the individual parent was illustrated by the case study of Andy. Andy had a wonderful relationship with his mother, but his father's companionable and man-to-man attitude toward Andy provided a goal for Andy that his mother could not provide. The balanced influence of the two parents, one feminine and one masculine, gave Andy the necessary security to identify with the appropriate sex to an almost complete degree, although he did not have older brothers, and had an older sister.

The effect of constant companionship with one parent was illustrated by the case study of Christine. She and her mother were together all through the day, working together and playing together, and when her father was at home his time with Christine was extremely limited due to his studies. Christine owned and played with about all of the girls' toys used in this study, so when she was confronted with an array of boys' toys her curiosity and interest prompted her to quickly choose five of them to play with. She and her father were good friends even though they did not have much time together, and her choice of the cross-sex parental role may reflect her yearning for her father's attention and interest.

The case study of Terry illustrated the effect that parents and peers have on the child. Terry's three older brothers set a masculine example for him that effected his toy choices, picture identification, and self-sex recognition scores very decidedly. His scores in these areas were high compared to other boys in his age-sex group. However, Terry chose the cross-sex parental role as his future role as an accolade to his mother, of whom he was especially fond.

Sex-Role Development Tendencies. It may be postulated that the initial step in the sex-role identification process in young children is "neutrality", of which Judy was the only example. She made toy choices including boys' and girls' toys and correctly identified four of the six pictures--nothing unusual here. But she "neutered" her sex-role responses by saying that she was a boy and that she wished to take the father role, when her own sex would make the alternate responses correct.

The second step in sex-role identification might be "ambivalence", of which there were three case study examples--Terry, Donnie, and Christine. These children were from three to five months older than Judy and had had time for more sex-role learning. Their added learning came to light in their responses.

The third step might be the "masculine" or "feminine" tendency which was illustrated by the four children in the four and one-half to five-year-old range. None of the four had completely reached sex-role identification, but each had gone a long way

toward complete identification, in that each predominately responded in the appropriate way.

EVALUATION OF THE HYPOTHESES

The following evaluation was based on the correlations of toy choices among the four groups of children, and between the children and their mothers as shown in Tables 8 and 9.

Hypothesis 1

There is a significant difference in the degree of sex-role identification (1) between boys and girls in the four and one-half to five-year-old age level, (2) between girls, four and one-half to five years of age and girls, two and one-half to three years of age, (3) between boys, four and one-half to five years of age and boys, two and one-half to three years of age.

As determined by the rank order correlation of the toy choices which were significantly different, the two groups of children can be said to be equally identified to a high degree with the appropriate sex-role. Therefore the first part of the hypothesis was not accepted.

The second part of the hypothesis was not supported by the data, since the rank order correlation of toy choices between the two groups of girls did not indicate a significant relationship. However, it cannot be entirely rejected since the older girls were more strongly identified with the sex-appropriate role, and chose sex-typed toys more consistently than did the younger girls. This would indicate an unequal degree of sex-role

identification in favor of the older girls.

The older and younger boys were significantly alike in their toy choices, and therefore in their sex-role identification. Consequently, the third part of the hypothesis was not accepted since both groups were identified about equally highly.

Hypothesis 2

There is no significant difference in the degree of sex-role identification of boys and girls two and one-half to three years of age.

This hypothesis was not entirely rejected, but was not supported by the insignificant negative correlation of toy choices of the two groups. However, they were not identified to an equal degree due to the more consistently sex-appropriate toy choices made by the boys.

Hypothesis 3

There is a significant positive correlation (1) between the toy choices of the older group of boys and their mothers, and (2) between the older group of girls and their mothers.

This hypothesis was accepted in its entirety on the evidence of the strong correlations between both groups of children and their respective groups of mothers. Apparently the children were highly aware of the expectations their mothers had for them in the choice of toys with which to play. In view of the fact that both of the older groups of children were strongly identified

with the appropriate toy choices, the choices made by their mothers can be said to have been masculine (boys' mothers) or feminine (girls' mothers).

Hypothesis 4

There is no significant positive correlation (1) between the toy choices of the younger group of boys and their mothers, and (2) between the younger group of girls and their mothers.

The toy choices made by the younger group of boys correlated in a highly significant manner with the choices that their mothers made for them. As a result, the first part of the hypothesis was not accepted. The younger boys, being very similar in their toy choices to the older boys, were highly identified with the appropriate-sex choices, and being so, their mothers' choices (which correlated highly) can be said to be identified with the appropriate-sex choices.

The second part of the hypothesis was supported by the data in that there was no significant positive correlation between the toy choices of the younger girls and their mothers. It has been established that the toy choices of the younger girls were neither strongly masculine nor feminine, but were a mixture. This accounts for the dissimilarity between the mothers' and girls' choices.

CONCLUSIONS

The problem as originally stated asked, (1) to what extent a selected group of young children have accepted the appropriate sex-role as determined by their selection of sex-typed toys, (2) what are the differences between the sexes in this respect, and (3) how do family behavior expectations influence the child's sex-role identification?

The basis on which the conclusions were drawn was the acceptance of the group of 16 toys as valid criteria of sex-role identification in the children tested. The findings for the group of 20 Manhattan children limit the general applicability of the following conclusions:

1. The boys and girls, four and one-half to five years of age, were strongly aware of sex-appropriate toy choices and sex-appropriate behavior.

2. The girls, two and one-half to three years of age, had not become clearly aware of sex-appropriate toy choices, or clearly identified with the appropriate sex-role.

3. The boys, two and one-half to three years of age, had become aware of sex-appropriate toy choices, and had clearly identified with sex-appropriate behavior.

4. The mothers' expectations for sex-appropriate behavior of the children, four and one-half to five years of age, were clearly divided on sex lines and the behavior of their children followed very closely their expectations.

5. The mothers' expectations for sex-appropriate behavior of the boys and girls, two and one-half to three years of age, were clearly divided on sex lines, but the boys were more closely aligned with these expectations than were the girls.

DISCUSSION

Inquiry might very well be made concerning the suitability and validity of such culturally defined symbols as toys for use in a testing situation with young children. In an empirical test for children, toys are one of the few means available to investigators for differentiating between the sexes. The investigation of emotional acceptance of the appropriate sex-role, or of attitudes developed about one sex or the other, is practically impossible with very young children. The use of toys provides a projective test situation in which the children's preferences can be ascertained easily. The subjective and objective data indicate the validity of the toys used in this study as true criteria of sex differentiation.

In actual practice, most of the families in the study did not routinely handle their male and female children differently or have differential expectations for "proper" behavior. They apparently, however, had somewhat different expectations for sex-appropriate behavior in which boys and girls were reinforced or discouraged. As shown by their toy choice responses, it would seem that the children in this study had definitely sex-appropriate behavior patterns for the most part.

The extent to which the children reflected this sex-appropriate behavior orientation can be seen in the number of correct toy choices and correct sex awarenesses (Table 11) scored by the children. The boys consistently chose more boys' toys and the girls consistently chose more girls' toys in each age-sex group. This in itself shows the clear tendency for assigning sex-appropriateness to toys. The group which showed the least number of correct toy choices, the younger group of girls, chose almost as many boys' toys as girls' toys--a fact that was pointed out previously. Their sex-appropriate behavior orientation was therefore the weakest in comparison with the three other groups.

Two of the line drawings in the picture identification test for the children were designed to be ambiguous. Picture number 2 was of a "girlish" boy and picture number 4 was of a "boyish" girl. The purpose intended was that the two pictures would make possible a wider range of response, depending on the child's skill in perceiving sex characteristics and his wishes concerning his own sex. The boys, four and one-half to five years of age, all designated picture number 2 as of the female sex, and only one girl, four and one-half to five years of age, did not designate it as of the female sex, whereas the picture was intended to have been a "girlish" boy. There is ample opportunity to question the reliability of the picture identification test from the standpoint that the children may not have really been able to distinguish which sex the picture was, even if they could have readily distinguished the sex of real children. In all probability the

results would have been different had actual photographs of children been used.

Line drawings offer some interesting possibilities that reel photographs do not, however, since the children's perception is not limited by what they see. They are free to read into the picture what they wish it to be. In the instance cited, in which the older group of boys and all but one of the older girls agreed that the picture was feminine, they probably misread the indications. If the boys had said one thing and the girls another, it could have been inferred that the boys, not wishing to see any quasi-femininity in themselves or in other boys, refused to acknowledge the mixed sex characteristics of the picture and quickly settled the question by assigning the picture the feminine gender.

The other ambiguous picture, number 4 (the "boyish" girl), elicited seven answers of feminine and 13 answers of masculine by all the children. Again, it would appear that the children were unable to read the earmarks of identification of the appropriate sex of the picture.

Some of the individual children's patterns of response to the pictures were revealing. For example, the one girl, aged two and one-half to three, who correctly designated her future parental role, indicated that the two controversial pictures, numbers 2 and 4, were girls. Another girl in the same age-sex group who said that she was a boy, reversed the sexes of the two pictures. Another girl in the same age-sex group who indicated the father-role

as her future parentel role, said that the two pictures were boys.

The entire group of younger girls made mistakes only on the two ambiguous pictures, but the younger boys made two mistakes in identifying the sex of picture number 1, a definitely masculine boy. This kind of response might indicate some residual confusion in identifying sex characteristics, or possibly it would indicate a partial fixation on one sex by the child.

The responses to the pictures as a whole, it would seem, would need to be viewed very cautiously. From the data it was impossible to make any definitive statements about the children's perceptions of other children's sex, because the situation was complicated by elusive sex characteristics in the pictures, and by the feelings and wishes of the children themselves.

The responses of the younger group of boys generally indicated a somewhat greater degree of identification with the appropriate sex-role than did the equivalent group of three-year-old middle-class boys in Rebben's study. Rebben (18) found no significant difference in the number of sex-appropriate toy choices until between ages five and six in his sample of middle-class boys. This means that the greatest step forward in sex-role identification occurred between the ages of five and six years. The data from the current study seemed to indicate that in view of the highly significant similarity between the toy choices of the two groups of boys, that the younger group was comparatively more closely identified with the appropriate sex-role, approaching the degree of sex-role identification of Rebben's group of lower-class boys.

A possible deduction from this would be that in the selected middle-class group for this study, the expectations of the parents were more like lower-class expectations, as found by Rabban, for appropriate sex behavior, specifically more traditional sex separation. The conclusion might be that middle-class boys in this study were held to a more rigid code of sex-appropriate behavior, and were encouraged to acquire sex-appropriate tastes and characteristics sooner than the middle-class boys studied by Rabban.

There was no clear-cut pattern of difference in the identification of the two and one-half to three-year-old boys and girls as determined by their toy choices. The girls were almost neutral in their toy choices, making 19 correct toy choices out of a possible score of 30. Apparently the younger girls had not yet been strongly urged by their parents to comply with the traditional standards of feminine behavior, although by the age of five the girls in the study had caught up with the boys of the same age in the degree of identification with the appropriate sex-role. Sometime between the ages of three and four years, the girls (as indicated by the data in Table 11) were subjected to higher expectations of sex-appropriate behavior. The data indicate that the boys were more clearly identified at an earlier age (age three) than were the girls, but that by age five, both boys and girls had for all intents and purposes, equally identified with the appropriate sex-role. The consequences of delayed, then strong, pressure by parents on their daughters to conform to

sex-appropriate behavior may explain some of the rebellion on the part of girls toward feminine role restrictions, and explain the longer time it takes girls to reach complete sex identification.

Future investigators, studying sex-role identification of young children will have many problems to solve that this study did not attempt. The specific influence that fathers have on sons and daughters, and the specific influence that mothers have on sons and daughters, aside from serving as models and as transmitters of the culture has not been studied widely. Furthermore, the young child's concept of himself as a boy or a girl needs further study. In a general way there will always be a need for research in early social-sex development in our changing culture, where roles are many and varied.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Several persons have given the benefit of their knowledge and experience, for which the writer is deeply grateful. Dr. Ruth Hoeflin was inspiration, aid and teacher from the inception to the completion of this study. Mrs. Leone Kell made numerous suggestions of value in the organization and writing of this study. Dr. O. W. Alm, professor emeritus of Psychology, was an unbiased and insightful critic throughout. Dr. Stanley Wearden of the Statistical Laboratory was most kind and helpful in guiding the writer's decisions in statistical analysis of the data.

The fine cooperation of all of the subjects in the study was greatly appreciated.

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APPENDIX

Table 26. The children's choices of story books.

Subjects N = 5 in each Group	Kinds of Story Books										
	: :Animal: :Poetry: :Fairy: :Adven- :ture: :and :people: :ings	: :Children: :happen- :ings	: :Everyday: :happen- :ings	: :Trans- :action: :Classics	: :Other: :Jr. :Classics	: :Other: :Jr. :Classics	: :Other: :Jr. :Classics	: :Other: :Jr. :Classics	: :Other: :Jr. :Classics	: :Other: :Jr. :Classics	: :Other: :Jr. :Classics
Boys 2½ to 3	4	0	2	1	3	0	2	0	0	1	
Girls 2½ to 3	3	2	0	0	4	4	2	0	0	1	
Boys 4½ to 5	2	1	1	1	5	2	3	0	0	2	
Girls 4½ to 5	5	2	3	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	

Table 27. The children's choices of television programs.

Subjects N = 5 in each Group	Kinds of Television Programs					
	: :Cowboys: :Cartoons: :Kiddie Shows	: :Cartoons: :Kiddie Shows	: :Cartoons: :Kiddie Shows	: :Cartoons: :Kiddie Shows	: :Cartoons: :Kiddie Shows	: :Cartoons: :Kiddie Shows
Boys 2½ to 3	1	4	4	2	4	
Girls 2½ to 3	0	0	0	4	1	
Boys 4½ to 5	1	4	4	4	4	
Girls 4½ to 5	1	4	4	4	1	

Table 28. Health status and toilet training for 20 children.

Subjects N = 5 in each group	Normal Birth		Normal Infancy		Always been healthy		Age toilet trained		Problems during trainings	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Average month	Yes	No	
Boys 2½ to 3	4	1	4	1	5	0	27.6 (5 reporting)	0	5	
Girls 2½ to 3	5	0	4	1	5	0	24 (3 reporting)	3	2	
Boys 4½ to 5	4	1	5	0	4	1	25.6 (5 reporting)	1	4	
Girls 4½ to 5	5	0	4	1	5	0	33 (5 reporting)	2	3	
TOTAL	18	2	17	3	19	1	27.5 (average)	6	14	

Child's Score Sheet

Name _____ Sex _____ Age _____

CHOICE

Toy _____ First Second Third Fourth Fifth Sixth _____

High Chair _____

Gun _____

Stroller _____

Steam Roller _____

Crib _____

Dump Truck _____

Beads _____

Racer _____

Dishes _____

Fire Truck _____

Purse _____

Crane _____

Doll _____

Soldiers _____

Bathinette _____

Pocket Knife _____

Self Resemblance:	Picture	Sex	Picture	Sex
	1 - - - -	B G	4 - - - -	B G
	2 - - - -	B G	5 - - - -	B G
	3 - - - -	B G	6 - - - -	B G

Picture that child feels like himself _____.

Child wants to be a Mommy _____

Daddy _____ (check one)

Toys that the child played with afterwards:

Mother's Schedule

- I. Name of child in study _____
- Parent's names: Mr. and Mrs. _____
- Age of Husband _____ Wife _____
- Address _____ Telephone _____
- Husband's Occupation _____ Future Occup. _____
- Husband's level of education _____ Wife's _____
- Source of Income _____

Family Composition

- | Siblings names | Sex | Age (oldest first) |
|----------------|-----|--------------------|
| 1. | | |
| 2. | | |
| 3. | | |
| 4. | | |
| 5. | | |
- II. 1. Does your child prefer to play with boys or girls?
 Boys Girls Either
2. Do you think _____ should spend much time playing with children of the other sex?
 Yes No Uncertain
3. Which siblings does _____ play with the most? List.
4. Is _____ jealous of, or antagonistic toward any of the other siblings?
 Yes No No others
5. If yes, which one(s)? List.
6. What activities do your husband and child have together?
7. What activities do you and your child have together?
8. Which books and television shows does _____ prefer? Check.
- | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Animal | Children and people | Cowboys |
| Poetry | Everyday happenings | Cartoons |
| Fairy tales | Jr. classics | Children's shows |
| Adventure | Other _____ | Other _____ |

III. Health and Training

1. Yes No Did your child have a normal birth?
2. Yea No Did ___ have a normal, uneventful infancy?
3. If not, how was it not normal?
4. Yes No Has ___ been healthy throughout his lifetime?
5. At what age was ___ toilet trained? _____ months.
6. Yea No Did you have a problem out of the ordinary during training?
7. If yes, in what way?
8. Yes No Were you happy to learn of your pregnancy with ___?
9. Yes No Were you happy with the sex of the baby after it was born?
10. M F N Does ___ prefer either parent?
11. M F N Does either parent favor ___?
12. M F N Which parent usually puts ___ to bed?
13. M F N Which parent disciplines ___ most of the time?
14. M F N Which parent offers the most praise and reward?

IV. Parental expectations

1. Yea No Do you want ___ to be relatively neat and clean all the time?
2. Yes No U Do you expect ___ to be obedient?
3. Yes No U Do you expect ___ to be a little lady (or gentleman)?
4. Yea No Do you expect ___ to be reasonably quiet around the house and when adults are around?
5. Yes No Do you let ___ use slang words?
6. Yea No Do you let ___ use the bathroom with family members of the opposite sex?
7. Yes No Do you let ___ run around the house undressed when there are others of the opposite sex around?
8. Yea No U Do you enjoy having ___ friends in to play?
9. Yes No Do you let ___ decide within reason what he (she) will wear?
10. Very little Some Wholeheartedly How much do you sympathize with ___ when he gets hurt or mistreated by other children?

IV. (continued)

11. Yea No Have you given ___ any sex information, asked for or not?
12. Yes No Does ___ wear jeans or slacks? (girls)
13. Yes No Did you cut ___ hair when it first became too long? (boys)
14. M F N Which parent lets ___ have his own way more?
15. Yes No Do you expect ___ to help keep his own things picked up?
16. Yes No Do you ask ___ to run simple errands around the house?
17. Yes No U Do you want ___ to have a college education?
18. Yes No U Are you willing to let ___ choose his own field?
19. Yes No Do you encourage ___ to stand up for his own rights against other children?
20. Yes No U Do you think ___ is spoiled?
21. Yes No Do you like for ___ to kiss and hug and show his affection?
22. Yes No Do you let ___ have the run of the house pretty much?
23. Yes No D.cry Do you let ___ cry as long as he wants to when he gets hurt?
24. Yes No Do you give ___ freedom to play around the neighborhood within reasonable limits?
25. Yes No U Would you let ___ fight with boys in a fair fight?
26. Yes No U Would you let ___ fight with girls in a fair fight?
27. Yes No U Do you expect girls to give in to boys?
28. Yes No U Do you expect boys to give in to girls?
29. Does ___ insist on having his own way very much?
 a. Most of the time
 b. Occasionally
 c. Seldom
30. How many times a week do playmates come in to play with ___?
 a. Once
 b. Twice
 c. More than twice

Mother's Schedule

Name _____

1. Which of the following toys would you consider suitable for your child to play with? Check your first six choices.
2. Which toys has your child played with in the past? Star those toys on the left side of the column.

CHOICE

Toy	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth
High Chair						
Gun						
Stroller						
Steam Roller						
Crib						
Dump Truck						
Beads						
Racer						
Dishes						
Fire Truck						
Purse						
Cars						
Doll						
Soldiers						
Bathinette						
Knife						

3. When your child plays with girls, what activities do they engage in? Please list the first three activities in order.

Play House	Books	Paper and scissors	Tricycles
Cowboys and Indians	Clay	Painting	Pounding
Run and play	Toys	Blocks	Records
Swing	Crayons	Games	Other _____

1.

2.

3.

Mother's Schedule (continued)

4. When your child plays with boys, what do they do? List three.
- | | | |
|----|----|----|
| 1. | 2. | 3. |
|----|----|----|
5. When your child plays alone, what does he (she) do? List three.
- | | | |
|----|----|----|
| 1. | 2. | 3. |
|----|----|----|

SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION IN A SELECTED
GROUP OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN AT TWO AGE LEVELS

by

Leabelle Nadine McCormick

B. S., Kansas State College
of Agriculture and Applied Science, 1952

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Family and Child Development

KANSAS STATE COLLEGE
OF AGRICULTURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE

1958

The three aspects of the problem area of sex-role identification with which this study was concerned were (1) the age level at which young children became identified with the appropriate sex-role, (2) differences between boys and girls in the age of, and degree of, sex-role identification, and (3) environmental influences, particularly the parental expectations for the child's behavior that affected sex-role identification of the children studied.

The 20 children in the study lived in Manhattan, Kansas. They were selected according to age and sex to fit into the four following categories; (1) five boys, age two and one-half to three years, (2) five girls, age two and one-half to three years, (3) five boys, age four and one-half to five years, and (4) five girls, age four and one-half to five years. The mothers of the 20 children were also interviewed. All of the families represented were in the middle- or upper-middle class as determined by Warner's Status Characteristics Index Scale.

The children's interviews consisted of (1) choosing six toys from a selected group of 16 sex-typed toys, (2) identification of the sex of six black and white line drawings, four of which were children (two girls and two boys), and two of which were adults (mother and father), (3) self-sex identification, and (4) the choice of a future parental role.

The schedule used in the mothers' interviews consisted of questions on family composition and background, the play activities of the child in the study, parent-child relationships, and

the behavioral expectations by the parents for the child. The mothers also were asked to choose six of the toys that they would prefer to have their child play with, for the purpose of comparing the mother's and children's choices.

The toy choice data were compiled for each of the four age-sex groups of children. Rank order correlations were run to compare the choices made by the (1) older and younger boys, (2) older and younger girls, (3) older boys and girls, and (4) younger boys and girls. The resulting correlations showed a highly significant difference in the toy choices made by the older boys and girls, which indicated that both older groups were rather well identified with the appropriate sex-role.

No significant correlation of toy choices was found between the older and younger girls, or between the younger girls and boys. The younger group of girls was neither predominantly feminine nor masculine in its toy choices. This fact accounted for the lack of significant difference or similarity with the two groups to which they were compared.

The older boy's and younger boy's toy choices were significantly similar, which indicated that the younger boys had reached a comparatively well-defined sex-role identification.

The rank order correlations of the children's and mother's toy choices resulted in a significant similarity of choice of the mothers and children in the younger boys' group, the older girls' group, and the older boys' group. The younger girls and their mothers did not choose similar toys inasmuch as the mothers' choices were more feminine and the girls' choices were about

equally feminine and masculine.

Parental treatment of the children and expectations for "proper" behavior in the home were about the same for boys and girls. The activities of the children of both sexes were very similar whether they played with boys, with girls, or alone. The activities engaged in by the parents and children were similar for both sexes of children, although the activities with the mothers and with the fathers were somewhat different. Generally, no pronounced effort was made by the parents to enforce sex-appropriate behavior of the children, although by the age of five years, both the boys and girls in this study had become rather closely identified with the appropriate sex-role.

Mother's Schedule

- I. Name of child in study _____
- Parent's names: Mr. and Mrs. _____
- Age of Husband _____ Wife _____
- Address _____ Telephone _____
- Husband's Occupation _____ Future Occup. _____
- Husband's level of education _____ Wife's _____
- Source of Income _____

Family Composition

- | Siblings names | Sex | Age (oldest first) |
|----------------|-----|--------------------|
| 1. | | |
| 2. | | |
| 3. | | |
| 4. | | |
| 5. | | |
- II. 1. Does your child prefer to play with boys or girls?
 Boys Girls Either
2. Do you think _____ should spend much time playing with children of the other sex?
 Yes No Uncertain
3. Which siblings does _____ play with the most? List.
4. Is _____ jealous of, or antagonistic toward any of the other siblings?
 Yes No No others
5. If yes, which one(s)? List.
6. What activities do your husband and child have together?
7. What activities do you and your child have together?
8. Which books and television shows does _____ prefer? Check.
- | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Animal | Children and people | Cowboys |
| Poetry | Everyday happenings | Cartoons |
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| Adventure | Other _____ | Other _____ |

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IV. (continued)

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15. Yes No Do you expect ___ to help keep his own things picked up?
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18. Yes No U Are you willing to let ___ choose his own field?
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20. Yes No U Do you think ___ is spoiled?
21. Yes No Do you like for ___ to kiss and hug and show his affection?
22. Yes No Do you let ___ have the run of the house pretty much?
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Blocks

Records

Swing

Crayons

Games

Other _____

1.

2.

3.

Mother's Schedule (continued)

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- | | | |
|----|----|----|
| 1. | 2. | 3. |
|----|----|----|
5. When your child plays alone, what does he (she) do? List three.
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