The present study compared the sex role learning of preschool girls from families with "traditional" and "nontraditional" (egalitarian) attitudes toward women's roles on measures of sex role knowledge and preference. Forty-eight four and five year old girls from intact, middle class families served as subjects. Their parents' attitudes toward women's roles were determined by scores on the FEM Scale. Twenty-five sets of parents with scores below the sample median were designated traditional and 23 sets of parents with scores above the sample median were designated nontraditional. Families with divergent views were excluded. The Sex Role Learning Index (SERLI) and Sex Stereotype Measure II (SSM II) were used to assess four aspects of daughters' sex role learning: 1) discrimination of objects appropriate for each sex; 2) discrimination of behavioral traits exhibited by each sex; 3) preference for stereotypic feminine and masculine children's activities; and 4) preference for stereotypic feminine and masculine adult activities. Results indicated that girls from nontraditional families displayed significantly less stereotypic discrimination of objects than girls from traditional families. Girls from nontraditional
families were more likely to perceive males as exhibiting stereotypic
traits than girls from traditional families. No significant differences
were found between the groups on measures of child and adult activity
preference. Findings suggest that parents may have a more direct
influence on daughters' sex role knowledge than on their activity
preference.
Parental Attitudes Toward Women's Roles and Daughters' Sex Role Development

by

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PARENTAL ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN'S ROLES AND DAUGHTERS' SEX ROLE DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Family researchers have displayed increasing interest in how parental attitudes toward sex role behavior influence children's perceptions of the roles and activities appropriate for males and females. Parents are important role models for children and play a key role in shaping their behavior. They reward both their children and each other for specific behaviors, and thus increase the likelihood that children will adopt traits and behaviors consistent with their expectations. Adults have been found to vary widely in their attitudes toward women's roles. Persons with "traditional" views toward women's roles advocate that women should be dependent on men and believe that the natural role of women is domestic. In contrast, those with "nontraditional" views of women's roles believe in the equality of men and women and support minimal sex role differentiation (Arnott, 1973; Smith, Ferree, & Miller, 1975; Singleton & Christiansen, 1977). It may be hypothesized that parental views concerning women will have a significant effect upon children's behavior and will be especially likely to affect daughters.

In an effort to examine the influence of parental attitudes on children's sex role learning, this study compared daughters from traditional and nontraditional families on various sex role
acquisition measures. Specifically, the study sought to determine whether daughters from the two types of families differed on measures of (1) discrimination of objects, (2) discrimination of traits, (3) preference for child activities, and (4) preference for adult activities. It was expected that daughters of parents with traditional attitudes would exhibit more stereotypic patterns of sex role learning than daughters of parents with nontraditional attitudes.

**Theoretical Framework**

One theory which has been proposed to explain how children learn sex roles is social learning theory (Mischel, 1966, 1970; Mussen, 1969). This theory emphasizes the acquisition of sex roles through observation, modeling and reinforcement. Children model the behavior of parents, siblings, peers, and others as well as the behavior of media figures in television, films, and books (Flerx, Fidler, & Rogers, 1976; Frueh & McGhee, 1975; Mischel, 1970). In addition to their role as models, parents are also a major source of reinforcement for children's sex role behavior (Fagot, 1974; Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957). The extent to which children perceive other persons to be similar to themselves, prestigious, and rewarded for their behavior all influence the degree of modeling that occurs (Mischel, 1966).

Thus, in any two parent family, daughters can be expected to model the behavior of their mothers and to display attitudes and behaviors which have been previously reinforced by both parents. In addition, daughters can be expected to identify with, and to imitate the sex role behavior of their mothers at a level consistent with the children's
cognitive maturity. It is assumed that parents will reinforce their daughters for displaying sex role behavior and ideas which are consistent with parental attitudes. It is also expected that parents who possess similar attitudes about sex appropriate behavior will provide more consistent reinforcement for their daughters' sex role behavior than parents with dissimilar attitudes.

Normative Data on Children's Sex Role Acquisition

By the time children are five years of age, they have acquired an appreciable amount of information about culturally defined sex roles and sex-trait stereotypes (Best, Williams, Cloud, Davis, Robertson, Edwards, Giles, & Fowles, 1977; Edelbrock & Sugawara, 1978; Flerx et al., 1976; Kohlberg, 1966; Thompson, 1975). This study examined two of the major concepts involved in the dynamic process of sex role learning: sex role discrimination and sex role preference.

Sex role discrimination refers to the child's awareness of the cultural stereotypes associated with male and female roles (Schell & Silber, 1968). By the age of three or four, children can assign objects and activities to specific male and female categories. There are no sex differences in proficiency for making own sex discriminations, but girls are more skilled than boys in making discriminations for objects and activities that are traditionally appropriate for the opposite sex (e.g. Schell & Sibler, 1968). Other studies (e.g. Puffer, 1975; Shepard & Hess, 1975) have also found that five year olds have already begun to narrow the range of activities perceived as appropriate for children and adults of each sex. Bloomberg (1974) has reported
that both boys and girls view the role of mothers as domestic and the role of fathers as vocational. Moreover, children assign greater status to male than to female activities, and are more willing to exclude women from men's roles than the reverse (Beuf, 1974; Schlossberg & Goodman, 1972).

In addition to their ideas about sex role activities, five year olds have been found to attribute different behavioral traits to males and females (Williams, Best, & Davis, 1977). Studies of children in the U.S. have shown that boys and girls learn sex-trait stereotypes at about the same rate (Best et al., 1977). This research also reveals that children learn male sex-trait stereotypes earlier than female sex-trait stereotypes.

Traits identified by children as stereotypic of each sex are similar to those which have been identified by adults (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972). Five year old girls describe females as people who are gentle, softhearted, appreciative, shy, affectionate, and easily excited, and who do everything just right. Five year old boys describe males as people who are strong and likely to own big stores, and who fight and get along well by themselves. They describe females as being affectionate and gentle (Williams et al., 1977). Konle (1973) has reported that girls believed females to be helpless with things that were dificult, whereas males were considered more independent and resourceful. The boys in her study indicated that males possessed leadership skills and were the most independent learners. Finally, children of both sexes believed that males were
more industrious than females, and that females were more fearful of new situations than males.

In addition to their ability to identify activities and traits appropriate for each sex, young children also exhibit preferences for sex typed activities. Sex role preference refers to the child's willingness to conform to culturally defined patterns of sex role behavior (Brown, 1957; Lynn, 1959). Research has shown that preschool boys and girls are more likely to prefer child and adult activities that have been traditionally associated with their own sex (Brown, 1956; Edelbrock & Sugawara, 1978). Studies have also revealed that young boys have stronger preferences for masculine activities than young girls have for feminine activities (Hartup & Zook, 1960; Sugawara, O'Neill & Edelbrock, 1976).

Several of the more recent studies on sex role preference have focused on children's future aspirations. Vondracek and Kirchner (1974) have found that while three to six year old girls aspire to become parents, boys of this age more frequently strive for vocational roles. Research has also shown that girls and boys from this age group choose stereotyped occupations when they are asked what they would like to be when they grow up. Girls have been found to choose a smaller range of adult careers than boys, with choices primarily limited to nursing and teaching (Bloomberg, 1974; Franken, 1977; Karre, 1976; Vondracek & Kirchner, 1974).

**Parental Attitudes and Children's Sex Role Learning**

Many researchers have hypothesized that children's sex role acquisition is influenced by parental attitudes about appropriate
male and female behavior. Parents are role models for their children and selectively reinforce their behavior (Fagot, 1974; Sears et al., 1957). Social learning theorists have found that reinforcement of a given behavior increases the probability of its reoccurrence (Bandura & Walters, 1963). Moreover, they have found that modeling is more likely to occur when a subject observes that a model is rewarded for a specific behavior than when no reward is given (Mischel, 1966). These factors are believed to influence sex role learning in the family. Indeed, parents have been found to reinforce their children for sex role behavior that is consistent with parental attitudes, and to discourage behavior which is not (Fagot, 1974). It is also likely that children observe their parents reinforcing one another for behavior which may or may not be consistent with stereotypic sex roles.

Recent research has revealed that adults have differing attitudes toward the female sex role. Specifically, there has been a tendency to exhibit either traditional or nontraditional views of women's behavior. Adults with traditional attitudes believe women should be subordinate to and dependent upon men, and that women are naturally suited for the homemaker role (Arnott, 1973). In contrast, adults with nontraditional views have less stereotypic attitudes toward women's roles. Adults defined as nontraditional support the idea of equality of males and females and differentiate roles on the basis of ability and interest, rather than on the basis of sex (Arnott, 1973).

Two studies have attempted to examine the relationship between attitudes toward women's roles and young children's sex role learning. Minuchin (1965) compared the sex role learning of two groups of middle
class nine year olds. On the basis of visits to schools and interviews with principals, two schools from a large metropolitan area were classified as traditional and two schools from the same area were classified as nontraditional. In the traditional schools mastery of established facts, competition, comparative achievement, and inflexible standards of sex role behavior were stressed. Nontraditional schools supported intellectual exploration and close teacher/child relationships, as well as experimentation with a number of roles and behaviors.

Middle class mothers of fourth graders who attended these schools were then interviewed and administered a questionnaire. Information was obtained about the mothers' attitudes toward child-rearing and children's education. Mothers with traditional views of these subjects were authoritarian and expected their children to exhibit behavior consistent with social norms. Conversely, mothers with nontraditional views were democratic and provided for individual needs and rates of development. Minuchin chose children who attended traditional schools and whose mothers held traditional attitudes toward child-rearing and education for her traditional group. Children who attended non-traditional schools and whose mothers held nontraditional attitudes were selected for inclusion in the nontraditional group. Several measures of sex role learning were then administered to the children in the two groups.

Minuchin's findings revealed that most of the girls in the study preferred to be their own sex. However, the reasons for this choice varied in the traditional and nontraditional group. Girls from the traditional family/school group listed physical beauty, the
opportunity to wear women's clothing, and the opportunity to be protected by men as predominant reasons for their choice. In contrast, girls from the nontraditional family/school group described the disadvantages of being a male to support their preference for being a female.

Children in Minuchin's study were also administered several projective measures which utilized storytelling and play sessions. Results revealed that girls from nontraditional families exhibited less sex stereotypy than girls from traditional families or boys from both groups. Girls from traditional families utilized more family themes, and involved more parents and benevolent adults in stories and in play than girls from nontraditional families.

While Minuchin's findings are very provocative, the research suffers from certain methodological limitations. Specifically, it should be noted that membership in a particular type of family and school was combined, preventing a separate examination of these variables. The study also failed to report on the validity and reliability of measures utilized by the researcher.

In a second study examining the effects of parental attitudes on children's sex role learning, Puffer (1975) compared children from traditional and nontraditional families on their perceptions of child social roles, adult social roles, and occupational roles. In this study parental attitude was determined on the basis of mothers' attitudes toward the social, financial, and occupational roles of women. Although all subjects were members of intact families, fathers'
attitudes were not measured, nor were the mothers in the study asked to estimate the fathers' ideas about women's roles.

Mothers who had a child in public school kindergarten, first grade, or second grade made up the parent sample pool in Puffer's investigation. Each had been nominated for participation in either the traditional or the nontraditional research group by other traditional and nontraditional women in the community. These judges were selected by the researcher and met the requirement of having no children in the public school grades studied.

Puffer's placement of mothers in the two family categories was validated in an interview during which each mother was questioned about her attitudes toward women's roles and activities. However only one item in the interview sought to determine the family member who was responsible for child care, and there were no items concerned with the amount of parent-child interaction or the kinds of activities engaged in by parent and child. The interview responses were scored, and 32 of the 36 traditional mothers and 34 of the 36 nontraditional mothers who had agreed to be interviewed were retained in one of the two parental attitude categories. Puffer did not report information about parents' social class and race, or the children's IQ scores.

The children of mothers in both the traditional and nontraditional groups were individually interviewed and asked to respond to a Social Child Scale, a Social Adult Scale, and an Occupational Scale. The Social Child Scale consisted of eight items. Six of these statements listed children's tasks or play activities. One of the remaining items concerned cleanliness and another physical strength. Each child
was asked "Who can..." before every item statement and was to indicate whether the behavior described in each statement was appropriate for "boys", for "girls", or for "both boys and girls".

The second scale, The Social Adult Scale, included 26 adult tasks. Examples of items from this scale were "cut the grass", and "read to girls in bed". The child was asked to indicate whether each should be performed by "only men", "only women", or "both men and women". No items on this scale asked about psychological traits.

The third and final scale used by Puffer was an Occupational Scale. For each of the 13 occupations included in the scale, the child was shown a picture of the occupational setting, told what the setting represented, and asked to indicate whether the occupation was appropriate for "only men", "only women", or "both men and women". It should be noted that there was some variation in the format of the items. Some of the items used the straightforward format, "Who can work in a beauty shop?" Several items simply listed the task to be performed such as "Who can teach children?" An example of an even less clear question was "Who can run the supermarket?" Two of the occupations, lawyer and ballet teacher, were of dubious familiarity to five year olds. Moreover, no reliability or validity data were reported for the three scales used in this study.

Puffer found that among five year olds, females exhibited less stereotypy than males on the Social Child Scale, the Social Adult Scale, and the Occupational Scale. Moreover, males from nontraditional families consistently exhibited less stereotypy than males from traditional families on all three scales. Contrary to predictions,
the findings revealed that females from traditional families exhibited less stereotypy than females from nontraditional families. However, caution must be used in interpreting this finding since only three five year old girls from traditional families were included in the study.

Puffer's results suggest that parental attitudes toward women's roles may have a significant effect on sex role learning. But, in view of the shortcomings of her instrument, the small sample size, and the failure to control for children's social class and IQ, there appears a need for further research in this area. A more comprehensive approach to examining the influence of parental attitudes on children's behavior would also attempt to assess father's attitudes toward women's roles.

Research investigating parental attitudes and children's sex role learning might also examine children's discrimination of sex-appropriate objects. Whereas objects are concrete and can be readily observed by children, traits are abstract and generalized summaries of many behavioral events. To date, no studies have systematically tested preschoolers on their knowledge of both traits and objects associated with the male and female roles.

**Purpose of the Present Study**

The purpose of this study was to compare daughters with parents who hold traditional and nontraditional attitudes toward women's roles on various measures of sex role learning. Parental attitudes were defined as traditional or nontraditional on the basis of responses on a measure of authoritarianism toward women, anti-feminist stereotypes, and beliefs in traditional sex role norms (Singleton & Christiansen, 1977).
Aspects of daughter's sex role acquisition assessed were: (1) discrimination of objects, (2) discrimination of behavioral traits, (3) preference for children's activities, and (4) preference for adult activities. On the basis of previous research, the following hypotheses were made:

Hypothesis 1: Daughters whose parents possess nontraditional attitudes toward women's roles will exhibit less sex stereotypy on a measure of object discrimination than daughters whose parents possess traditional attitudes toward women's roles.

Hypothesis 2: Daughters whose parents possess nontraditional attitudes toward women's roles will exhibit less sex-stereotypy on a measure of personality trait discrimination than daughters whose parents possess traditional attitudes toward women's roles.

Hypothesis 3: Daughters whose parents possess nontraditional attitudes toward women's roles will exhibit less sex-stereotypy in their preference for children's activities than daughters whose parents possess traditional attitudes toward women's roles.

Hypothesis 4: Daughters whose parents possess nontraditional attitudes will exhibit less sex-stereotypy in their preference for adult activities than daughters whose parents possess traditional attitudes toward women's roles.
METHOD

Subjects

Forty-eight girls and their parents participated in this study. Twenty-five girls were classified as members of traditional families and 23 girls were classified as members of nontraditional families based on their parents' FEM Scale scores. All children were Caucasian, members of intact families, and enrolled in an early childhood program in Columbia, Missouri. Children were from middle or upper-middle class families (Levels 1-3) as determined by Hollingshead's (1965) Two Factor Index of Social Position.

Children's ages ranged from 54 to 72 months. The mean chronological age of girls from traditional families was 54.80, and the mean chronological age of girls from nontraditional families was 54.78 months. All children had normal or above normal IQs on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (Dunn, 1965). The mean IQ score of the daughters from traditional families was 112.75, and the mean IQ score of the daughters from nontraditional families was 113.83. There were no significant differences between the groups in age and IQ scores.

Instruments

FEM Scale. The 20 item FEM Scale (Singleton & Christiansen, 1977) was used to measure parental attitudes toward women's roles. Each FEM Scale item consists of (1) a brief description of a role behavior that may or may not be appropriate for women, and (2) a five-point Likert
type scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. For each item the subject is to read the role behavior description, decide the extent of his/her agreement with the statement, and indicate his/her response on the five-point scale. Scores on each item range from one for the most traditional attitude to five for the most nontraditional attitude. Total scores range from 20 for consistently traditional attitudes toward women's roles to 100 for consistently nontraditional attitudes toward women's roles (Singleton & Christiansen, 1977). A copy of the FEM Scale is provided in Appendix A.

The FEM Scale was developed by Smith et al. (1975) who used 100 Harvard Summer School students in the validation study. An additional validation of the scale was made by Singleton and Christiansen (1977) using a more heterogeneous group consisting of 283 male and female college students, members of community college evening classes, and inmates at a women's prison. Twenty-eight percent of this sample were over 30 years old and 28 percent were classified as non-White. In the Singleton and Christiansen study the reliability of mean scores, based on the internal consistency measure coefficient alpha, was .91. This was identical to the reliability estimate obtained in the Smith et al. study. A factor analysis of the scale indicated that a single factor, feminism, accounted for 38 percent of the total variance in the Singleton and Christiansen study and for 37.7 percent of the total variance in the Smith et al. study. No other factor was found to account for greater than 6.3 percent of the total variance.

As an additional validity check, the FEM Scale was administered to members of a traditional group, the teachers and students of
Fascinating Womanhood classes, and to members of a nontraditional group, the National Organization for Women (NOW). In this study, the possible total score for consistent strong agreement with traditional views toward women's roles was 20, the possible total score for consistent strong agreement with nontraditional views toward women's roles was 100, and the midpoint for possible total scores was 60. Mean scores for these two groups and for the males and females in Singleton and Christiansen's college sample were in the expected order: (1) NOW members, $M = 91.30$, (2) female college students, $M = 77.24$, (3) male college students, $M = 66.16$, and (4) Fascinating Womanhood members, $M = 51.03$. All possible mean differences were significant at the .001 level or beyond (Singleton & Christiansen, 1977).

Family Questionnaire. Parents were also asked to complete a Family Questionnaire. This form requested parents to list their educational level, occupation, and the age and sex of each child in the family. In addition, the questionnaire included items about the child who would participate in the study. The parents were asked about the kinds of activities that they shared with their daughters. Other items sought information about the daughter's favorite books and television programs, frequency of television viewing, association with peers, and the number of hours per week of school or daycare attendance. This information gave the researcher a general idea of how these variables were distributed throughout the sample. A copy of the Family Questionnaire is provided in Appendix B.

Sex Role Learning Index. Children's sex role acquisition was assessed with two instruments. Discrimination of objects and
preference for child and adult activities were measured using the Sex Role Learning Index (SERLI: Edelbrock & Sugawara, 1978). This test consists of 60 black and white line drawings organized into three sections, (1) the Objects Section, (2) the Adult Figures Section, and (3) the Child Figures Section. Separate SERLI forms are available for boys and girls. The only difference in these forms is that the figures in the latter two sections are members of the child's own sex. A list of the items in all three sections of the SERLI is provided in Appendix C.

The Objects Section of the SERLI is used to measure sex role discrimination. In the Objects Section, the child is shown a series of 20 drawings of familiar objects and is asked to tell if each is for "boys", for "girls", or for "both boys and girls". The scoring procedure is similar to that adopted by Flerx et al. (1976). Specifically, scores range from one point for the most egalitarian response to three points for the most stereotypic response. The range of sex discrimination scores is from 20 to 60.

The Adult Figures Section is administered to obtain a measure of children's preference for adult activities. In the Adult Figures Section, the child is shown an array of 10 drawings of adults of the child's own sex engaging in familiar roles and activities. The child is asked to rank the activities from most to least preferred. The Child Figures Section is used to measure preferences for children's activities. The Child Figures Section includes 10 drawings of the child's own sex and utilizes the same procedure as in the Adult Figures Section to obtain a rank order of preference for activities.
shown. Sex role preference scores for both the Adult and the Child Figures Sections are determined by the degree to which the order of activities and roles selected by the child deviates from random choice. The range of sex role preference scores on both the Child and Adult Figures Sections is from 20 to 80.

The SERLI items were selected on the basis of previous research on sex role learning of young children (DeLucia, 1963; Honzik, 1951; Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith, 1959; Ward, 1968). Edelbrock and Sugawara (1977) have obtained validity and reliability measures for this instrument for children who are between the ages of 36 and 72 months. The SERLI items were stereotyped by children as appropriate for males or females at the $p < .01$ level of significance. Test-retest reliability coefficients, with a three week time interval on discrimination and preference scores, ranged from .37 to .57 for boys, and .42 to .82 for girls. Sex of experimenter was shown to have no significant effect on sex role acquisition.

**Sex Stereotype Measure II.** The Sex Stereotype Measure II (SSM II: Williams et al., 1977) was used to assess children's awareness of adult-defined trait stereotypes for each sex. The SSM II contains 32 descriptions, each of which is accompanied by a pair of male and female silhouette figures. Half of these items were rated "typically male" and half of the items rated "typically female" by over 80 percent of 110 college students in a previous validation study (Williams et al., 1977). Administration of the SSM II involves showing the child a picture of a pair of figures, reading the corresponding trait description, and asking the child to point to
the person (silhouette) the story describes. The SSM II is individually administered to young children.

Sixty preschoolers (mean age = 59 months) participated in the SSM II standardization study. Fourteen of these scored 23 or higher on the total scale. According to the binomial distribution, scores of this magnitude should occur about one percent of the time among children who had no awareness of sex stereotypes and who responded at random. The mean total score for these preschoolers was 19.40. Both boys and girls exhibited greater awareness of male sex-trait stereotypes than of female sex-trait stereotypes. Sixty-seven percent of the children gave stereotyped responses for seven of the 16 male trait items and for four of the 16 female trait items. This finding suggests some awareness of sex-trait stereotypes among young children.

Initial pretesting suggested that young children had difficulty remaining attentive to the entire 32 scale items. In order to reduce this problem, the measure was shortened from 32 to 20 items. The 20 items selected included the 10 items preschoolers were most likely to categorize as masculine and the 10 items they were most likely to categorize as feminine (Williams et al., 1977). A copy of this measure is provided in Appendix D.

A second modification was made to the format and scoring procedure of the SSM II so that results would be more comparable to those obtained on the SERLI discrimination measure. Children were not only shown the male and female silhouette figures, but also a silhouette of a male and female together. Trait descriptions were read, and children were asked to point to the silhouette that the
statement described: the male silhouette, the female silhouette, or the silhouette of both the male and female.

Using this format, the SSM II was scored in the same manner as the Object Section of the SERLI. Scores ranged from one point for the most egalitarian response to a trait description to three points for the most stereotypic response. Both a Male Stereotype Score and a Female Stereotype Score were obtained, with possible scores ranging from 10 to 30. The Total Stereotype Score possible ranged from 20 to 60.

As a result of modifying the SSM II, it was necessary to conduct a reliability check on the instrument. The SSM II was administered to 15 female preschool subjects on two occasions, with an interval of about one week between testing. The Pearson-product moment correlation coefficient obtained for the two sets of scores on the modified SSM II was .92 ($p < .001$).

**Procedure**

Parents. The parents of daughters who met the criteria for inclusion in this study were sent (1) a letter of explanation about the research, (2) two FEM Scales, one for each parent, (3) two Family Questionnaires, one for each parent, (4) a permission form to authorize their daughter's participation in the study, and (5) an envelope for returning materials to the researcher. A copy of the parent letter is provided in Appendix E. Materials were distributed from and returned to each daughter's school or day care center.
One hundred forty-three pairs of parents with daughters between the ages of 54 and 72 months were sent the FEM Scales and Family Questionnaires. Eighty-one pairs of parents (57%) completed and returned the materials to the researcher. Of these pairs, 72 were intact, first marriage families who were qualified to participate in the study. FEM Scale scores of the 72 pairs of parents ranged from 42 to 96 for mothers, and from 35 to 100 for fathers. The median score for mothers was 74.5 and for fathers was 69.

In this study, it was decided to use families in which both mothers and fathers were above or both below the median score for their individual sexes. Families in which one parent scored above the median and one parent below the median for their respective sexes were excluded from the final sample. Mean scores for the 25 parent pairs in the traditional group were 63.32 for mothers and 56.64 for fathers. Mean scores for the 23 parent pairs in the non-traditional group were 84.48 for mothers and 82.65 for fathers. The correlation between mother's and father's FEM Scale scores for the 48 families in the final sample was .72 ($p < .001$).

**Daughters.** A trained female experimenter administered the SERLI, the SSM II, and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) to each female subject whose family had been selected to participate in the study. The experimenter was blind to the subject's membership in a traditional or nontraditional family. The experimenter attempted to establish rapport with the girls in their preschool program prior to the testing procedure. Each girl was then asked to play a game with the experimenter. Children were encouraged, but not forced to participate.
Tests were administered in a relatively quiet area in the child's school or center, and took approximately 20 minutes to complete. Order of the administration of the SERLI and the SSM II was counterbalanced. The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test was administered following the other two measures.
RESULTS

Daughters' discrimination of objects and preference for child and adult activities were measured with the Sex Role Learning Index. Mean scores of daughters from traditional and nontraditional families for each of these SERLI measures are presented in Table 1. An examination of this table indicates that means of the two groups are in the predicted direction, with girls from traditional families obtaining more sex-stereotypic scores than girls from nontraditional families on all three measures.

Table 1

Mean Scores on the Sex Role Learning Index (SERLI) Obtained by Girls from Traditional and Nontraditional Families

<table>
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<th>SERLI Section</th>
<th>Girls from Traditional Families (N = 25)</th>
<th>Girls from Nontraditional Families (N = 23)</th>
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<th>Two-Tailed Probability</th>
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<td>50.72</td>
<td>45.83</td>
<td>2.75</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Figures</td>
<td>57.84</td>
<td>55.61</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Figures</td>
<td>57.60</td>
<td>53.57</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Students' t tests were used to test for significant differences between the groups of daughters on the three SERLI measures. Results revealed a significant difference between the scores of traditional
and nontraditional daughters on the Object Section, \( t(46) = 2.75, \ p < .01 \). Daughters from the traditional families \( (M = 50.72) \) exhibited more sex stereotypic knowledge about which sexes could use SERLI objects than daughters from the nontraditional families \( (M = 45.83) \). Although the mean Adult and Child Figures scores for traditional and nontraditional daughters were in the expected direction, there were no significant differences between the groups on these measures. Thus, girls from traditional and nontraditional families did not differ in their preference for sex-typed child and adult activities.

Since previous studies have found a positive relationship between sex role learning and IQ (Edelbrock & Sugawara, 1978), an analysis of covariance procedure was used to correct for extraneous variation due to IQ in subjects' SERLI scores. IQ was defined by scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT). As in the previous analysis, the covariance procedure revealed that traditional daughters obtained more sex-stereotypic discrimination scores than nontraditional daughters, \( F(1,46) = 8.39, \ p < .01 \). Moreover, the covariance procedure again failed to reveal significant differences between the two groups on the Adult and Child Figures sections.

Daughters' discrimination of behavioral traits exhibited by members of each sex was assessed using a modified version of the SSM II. Table 2 gives the mean scores of daughters from traditional and nontraditional families for feminine sex-typed traits, masculine sex-typed traits, and total traits on the SSM II.
Table 2

Mean Scores on the Sex Stereotype Measure II (SSM II) Obtained by Girls from Traditional and Nontraditional Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SSM II Section</th>
<th>Girls from Traditional Families (N = 25)</th>
<th>Girls from Nontraditional Families (N = 23)</th>
<th>t Value</th>
<th>Two-Tailed Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminine Sex-Typed Traits</td>
<td>18.92</td>
<td>19.30</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine Sex-Typed Traits</td>
<td>16.44</td>
<td>18.74</td>
<td>-2.09</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Traits</td>
<td>35.36</td>
<td>38.04</td>
<td>-1.22</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrary to predictions, the mean scores indicate that daughters from nontraditional families were more stereotypic in their responses to the behavioral traits than daughters from traditional families. Students' t tests were used to test for significant differences between the groups on total SSM II scores, feminine item scores, and masculine item scores. Results revealed that there were no significant differences between girls from traditional and nontraditional families for the total SSM II scores, t(46) = -1.22, n.s., or the feminine SSM II scores, t(46) = .29, n.s. However, daughters from nontraditional families were more sex-stereotypic in their discrimination of masculine traits than daughters from traditional families.
As in the analysis of SERLI data, an analysis of covariance was conducted to determine whether extraneous variation due to IQ (PPVT score) influenced the SSM II results. Once again, it was found that there were no significant differences between girls from traditional and nontraditional families on total or feminine item SSM II scores. Results of the covariance procedure did support the finding that girls from nontraditional families were more stereotypic in their discrimination of masculine items, $F(1,46) = 4.27, p < .05$.

A closer examination of performance on the SSM II was made by comparing scores of traditional and nontraditional daughters on each of the 20 behavioral items. A summary of this item analysis is presented in Table 3. The $t$-test comparisons of girls' scores on these items revealed that nontraditional daughters were more likely than traditional daughters to stereotype males as being "messy" ($p < .04$) and using "bad words" ($p < .01$). Moreover, there was a trend for the nontraditional girls to see males as being more "loud" ($p < .08$) than females. These findings suggest that nontraditional girls were less likely to associate certain masculine traits having negative connotations with females or members of both sexes.
Table 3
Mean Scores on the Sex Stereotype Measure II (SSM II) Items Obtained by Girls from Traditional and Nontraditional Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SSM II Item</th>
<th>Girls from Traditional Families (N = 25)</th>
<th>Girls from Nontraditional Families (N = 23)</th>
<th>t Value</th>
<th>Two-Tailed Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Emotional</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fights</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>-1.05</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Appreciative</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Weak</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>-1.04</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Independent</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Talkative</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>-0.70</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ambitious, Owns Store</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Gentle</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>-0.43</td>
<td>.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Cruel</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>-0.93</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Shy</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Coarse, Says Bad Words</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>-2.98</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Loud</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>-1.82</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Excitable</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>-0.58</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Affectionate</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Dominant, Makes Rules</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Softhearted</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Logical, Solves Problems</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Strong</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>-1.63</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Affected, Does Everything Just Right</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>-0.59</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In summary, the findings indicated that daughters from nontraditional families gave significantly fewer stereotypic responses on the measure of object discrimination and were more likely to perceive males as exhibiting stereotypic traits than were daughters from traditional families. Results failed to reveal significant differences between the two groups on measures of child and adult activity preference. Significant findings remained when extraneous variation due to IQ scores was removed in the covariance analyses.

Background information on the mothers and fathers who participated in this study is shown in Tables 4 and 5. A Chi-square analysis revealed that mothers from nontraditional families were significantly more likely to be employed outside the home than mothers from traditional families ($X^2(1) = 4.05, p < .05$). However, no significant age or educational level differences were found between the two groups of mothers. Fathers from traditional families and fathers from nontraditional families did not differ significantly in age, educational level, occupational status, or in number of hours/week employed outside the home.

The parental background questionnaire further revealed that mothers from both family groups shared more activities with their daughters than fathers from both groups. Moreover, mothers from traditional families shared the same general activities with daughters as mothers from nontraditional families. Fathers and daughters from both groups also shared similar activities. Children in the two groups differed little in their exposure to television, books, peers, and hours spent at school or in daycare.
Table 4

Background Information on Mothers from Traditional and Nontraditional Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background Information</th>
<th>Mothers from Traditional Families (N = 25)</th>
<th>Mothers from Nontraditional Families (N = 23)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 years or less</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 years or more</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Degree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and Major Professionals</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium-Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Personnel, Small Independent Businesses, and Minor Professionals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>68.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Reported</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hours/Week Employed Outside the Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>68.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 5
Background Information on Fathers from Traditional and Nontraditional Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background Information</th>
<th>Fathers from Traditional Families (N = 25)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Fathers from Nontraditional Families (N = 23)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 years or less</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44.00</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 years or more</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Degree</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>52.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and Major Professionals</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium-Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44.00</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative Personnel, Small Independent Businesses, and Minor Professionals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual Employees</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours/Week Employed Outside the Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>76.00</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>65.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not reported</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DISCUSSION

Sex Role Discrimination

The results of this study revealed some relationships between parental views of women's roles and daughters' sex role learning. One of the most notable findings was that girls whose parents held nontraditional views of women's roles exhibited less stereotypic discrimination of objects than daughters from traditional families. Thus, children whose parents held more egalitarian sex role standards were more likely to perceive that a range of objects (e.g., toys, tools, cooking equipment) could be used by members of both sexes.

Findings in the area of object discrimination are consistent with a social learning interpretation of sex role learning. Specifically, the results suggest that parents communicate their beliefs about the sex-appropriateness of objects to children, and that these beliefs influence daughters' sex role knowledge. The current findings are also consistent with previous research examining the relationship between family/school environment and sex role acquisition. Minuchin (1965) found that fourth grade girls from traditional schools and families displayed more sex stereotypic knowledge on projective tests than girls from nontraditional schools and families.

Contrary to predictions, the pattern of results on the measure of trait discrimination was not similar to that obtained on the measure of object discrimination. Daughters whose parents held nontraditional views of women did not differ significantly from daughters whose
parents held more traditional views in their overall knowledge of sex-type traits. However, when traits were divided into masculine and feminine categories, girls from nontraditional families were significantly more likely to attribute stereotypic masculine traits to males. The nontraditional girls were especially likely to perceive males as being messy, using bad words, and being loud. Thus, it appears that females from nontraditional families were less likely to associate socially undesirable masculine traits with members of their own sex.

The nontraditional daughters' reluctance to assign less positive masculine traits to females may result from their parents' strategies for presenting role options. It seems probable that parents with more egalitarian views of women's roles would stress adoption of the more desirable masculine traits, rather than their less desirable counterparts. In other words, the more nontraditional parents may encourage their daughters to be independent and strong, but are unlikely to give much support to their adoption of messy habits, offensive language, and boisterous behavior. If nontraditional parents emphasize the positive aspects of the female role, and support adoption of only the more desirable masculine traits, then daughters may be especially unlikely to attribute undesirable masculine traits to members of their own sex.

Another factor which may have contributed to the difference in subjects' discrimination of traits and objects is the nature of the items of information. The objects were more concrete, more observable, and more familiar to children than the behavioral traits.
Although behavioral examples were given to clarify each trait, several of these examples required the child to consider a broad range of behaviors (e.g., does everything just right; cries when something good or wrong happens). Moreover, the trait discrimination items were accompanied by human silhouettes in a sitting or standing pose rather than portraying a specific activity. Some of the children seemed uncertain about the meaning of specific trait items and appeared to respond randomly to the examiner's questions.

These factors suggest that children's performance on the sex role discrimination measures may have been influenced by their level of cognitive maturity. Since four and five year olds are in the stage of preoperations (Piaget & Inhelder, 1968), their sex role concepts are generally linked to concrete objects and events. Thus, parents should be more likely to influence preschoolers' knowledge about everyday objects than their knowledge about more abstract traits. Previous studies have confirmed the relative difficulty of modifying preschoolers' thinking about socio-emotional traits. For example, Guttentag and Bray (1976) found that a non-sexist curriculum intervention program significantly changed five year olds' attitudes about occupational options, but had no effect on their stereotyping of social-emotional possibilities.

**Sex Role Preference**

In contrast to findings in the area of sex role discrimination, there were no differences in the child and adult activity preferences of girls from traditional and nontraditional families. Thus, although
girls from nontraditional families were more aware that females could use masculine toys, tools, and equipment, they were no more interested in stereotypic masculine activities than girls from more traditional families.

There appears at least one explanation for the failure to find differences in the two groups' activity preferences. This explanation is based upon the assumption that daughters' preferences are influenced by their observations of the interests and activities of significant others. In the case of child activity preference, the girls' peer group should play a significant role. Girls may express a desire to engage in activities popular with other girls, and they may be rewarded for displaying interests similar to their same sex peers. Previous research has found that preschool girls express interest in traditionally feminine activities (Fagot & Patterson, 1969). Since daughters from both traditional and nontraditional families share the same general peer group, the similarity in their preference for children's activities may reflect this influence. Moreover, most preschool girls are also exposed to television, movies, picture books, and other media which portray girls engaging in stereotypic feminine activities.

If one assumes that significant others influence the development of activity preferences, then parents' behavior may be expected to have a major effect on daughters' adult activity preference. In the present study, fathers with traditional and nontraditional attitudes toward women's roles differed little in terms of their employment and involvement in children's activities. Although the nontraditional
mothers were more likely to work than their traditional counterparts, the majority of women in both groups were unemployed or employed part-time. Of those who were working outside the home, almost all held stereotypic feminine jobs such as child care worker, secretary, teacher, or nurse. Mothers with traditional and nontraditional attitudes failed to differ in the kind of activities they shared with their daughters. Not surprisingly, mothers in both groups were involved in a greater number of childrearing tasks than their husbands.

The previous data indicate that the roles played by parents from traditional and nontraditional families were quite similar. Daughters from both groups were more likely to be exposed to a traditionally "masculine" father and "feminine" mother than parents engaged in nonstereotypic sex role behavior. Moreover, children in both groups were likely to have encountered women in sex-stereotypic jobs at school and in the media. In view of their common exposure to parents and other adults in sex-stereotypic roles, the lack of significant differences in the two groups' adult activity preferences is less surprising.

The current data might lead one to question why parents with more nontraditional sex-role attitudes did not engage in more nontraditional sex role behavior. It may be speculated that the behavior of nontraditional parents was influenced by their own upbringing in more traditional families. The family roles they themselves viewed as children now provide a framework for their own behavior as parents. It is no doubt easier for many parents to assume traditional roles than to adopt new ones. Moreover, the
adoption of nontraditional behavior, in contrast to the adoption of nontraditional attitudes, may necessitate behavioral change among other family members.

Thus, in studies examining parental influence on children's sex role acquisition, it seems important to consider both parental attitudes and behavior. Previous research in the area of sex role learning has demonstrated some inconsistency between adult responses on attitude questionnaires and overt behaviors (e.g., Etaugh & Hughes, 1975; Etaugh, Collins, & Gerson, 1975; Good & Grouws, 1973). Of special interest was a study comparing parents' childrearing attitudes and their actual childrearing practices. Robinson (1977) found that while caregivers of both sexes preferred masculine behaviors in boys and androgynous behavior in girls, they were more likely to reward feminine behavior in both sexes. Thus, despite parents' attitudes toward sex roles, they may reinforce traditionally feminine behaviors in their daughters.

**Summary**

In summary, these findings suggest that parents may have a more direct influence on daughters' sex role knowledge than on their activity preferences. In comparison to daughters from more traditional families, daughters from nontraditional families were more likely to perceive a range of objects as appropriate for members of both sexes. Daughters from nontraditional families were also more likely to exhibit stereotypic knowledge of masculine traits. While this finding was contrary to the experimenter's hypothesis, it appears to reflect the
nontraditional daughters' reluctance to assign undesirable masculine traits to members of the female sex. The abstract nature of trait items, in comparison to the more concrete object items, may also have had some influence on this finding.

In contrast to sex role discrimination results, there were no significant differences in the child and adult activity preferences of daughters from traditional and nontraditional families. This finding may reflect the fact that children in both groups wish to engage in activities popular with their same sex peers. Moreover, both groups were likely to encounter traditional sex role models in their families and in the media.

**Directions for Future Research**

The present data suggest that parents share some of their sex role views with children, and that these views influence children's beliefs about the sex-appropriateness of objects. Parents' views may also influence daughters' discrimination of masculine traits, but future research is needed to clarify this relationship. Specifically, there appears a need to examine the relationship between the social desirability of traits and daughters' sex role knowledge.

Another suggestion in the area of trait discrimination is that researchers study children representing a wider range of ages. It was speculated that preschool children's performance in this study was influenced by the abstract nature of behavioral traits. As children grow older and more cognitively mature, parental attitudes toward
women's roles may have more notable effects on their discrimination of traits.

In contrast to sex role discrimination results, there was no relationship between parental attitudes and daughters' child or adult activity preferences. This finding was thought to be influenced, in part, by the girls' exposure to traditional sex role models. Parents who held more nontraditional views of women's roles engaged in the same general activities as parents with traditional views. Future research might therefore compare the sex role preferences of daughters raised in traditional families with those raised in families where child-rearing, housework, and job responsibilities are more equally shared. Observations of family behavior in routines and other situations may be used to differentiate parents with more and less traditional sex role behavior. Attempts might also be made to study the sex role preferences of girls whose peer groups or classroom teachers exhibited more nonstereotypic sex role behavior.

In attempting to generalize from current results, it should be remembered that the present study involved only daughters from intact, middle class, and first marriage families. Future studies might therefore wish to include boys, children from single-parent families, and children from different socioeconomic classes. It appears especially important to include boys in future studies since previous research has shown that their sex role concepts are less easily modified by outside influences than girls' (Flerx, Fidler, & Rogers, 1976; Guttentag & Bray, 1976).
The current study raises one final question concerning the relationship between parental attitudes toward women's roles and daughters' sex role acquisition. Will early exposure to more egalitarian views toward the female role influence daughters' subsequent sex role development? Daughters of parents with more egalitarian sex role attitudes exhibited less stereotypic thinking about the use of toys, tools, and equipment. Their greater awareness of role options in the preschool years may increase the likelihood that they will experiment with nonstereotypic activities in the future. Longitudinal research on daughters being raised in families with differing attitudes toward the female role may provide valuable information about the developmental process of sex role learning.
REFERENCES

Arnott, C. Feminists and anti-feminists as 'true believers'. Sociology and Social Research, 1973, 57, 300-306.


Edelbrock, C., and Sugawara, A. I. *Sex Role Learning Index.* Family Life Department, Oregon State University, 1977.


APPENDIX A

FEM Scale
Instructions: Let 1 indicate strongly disagree, 2 disagree, 3 no opinion, 4 agree, and 5 strongly agree. For each of the 20 statements which follow, mark the alternative which comes closest to expressing your view.

1. It is all right for women to work but men will always be the basic breadwinners.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

2. A woman should not expect to go to the same places or have the same freedom of action as a man.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

3. Realistically speaking, most progress so far has been made by men and we can expect it to continue that way.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

4. A woman should be expected to change her name when she marries.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

5. Women who join the Woman's Movement are typically frustrated and unattractive people who feel they lose out by the current rules of society.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

6. As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

7. A woman who refused to give up her job to move with her husband would be to blame if the marriage broke up.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

8. Profanity sounds worse generally coming from a woman.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

9. A woman who refused to bear children has failed in her duty to her husband.
   Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5

10. Women are basically more unpredictable than men.
    Strongly Disagree: 1 2 3 4 5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>The &quot;clinging vine&quot; wife is justified provided she clings sweetly enough to please her husband.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>One should never trust a woman's account of another woman.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>A working woman who sends her six month old baby to a daycare center is a bad mother.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Women should not be permitted to hold political offices that involve great responsibility.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>It is desirable that women be appointed to police forces with the same duties as men.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Women have the right to compete with men in every sphere of activity.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>A woman to be truly womanly should gracefully accept chivalrous attentions from men.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>It is absurd to regard obedience as a wifely virtue.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Whether or not they realize it, most women are exploited by men.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

Family Questionnaire
FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions by checking the appropriate response or writing in the information requested.

1. Are you married? ___Yes
   ___No

2. Have you been married before? ___Yes
   ___No

3. What is your age? ___18-21 years
   ___22-24 years
   ___25-29 years
   ___30-34 years
   ___35-40 years
   ___over 40 years

4. Please check the last level of education you have completed.
   ___elementary school (grades 1-6)
   ___junior high school (grades 7-9)
   ___some high school
   ___senior high school (grades 10-12)
   ___some college
   ___4-year degree graduate
   ___advance degree graduate

5. What is your occupation
   ________________________type of job
   ________________________type of industry/business

6. How many hours per week are you employed outside the home? ___0
   ___1-20
   ___21-30
   ___31-40
   ___over 40

7. Please list the age and sex of each of your children. Age___ Sex___ Age___ Sex___
   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___
The following questions are about your daughter, ________________

8. What activities do you and she do together?
   __ meals
   __ outside play
   __ inside play
   __ stories
   __ watch television
   __ errands
   __ other (please specify) ______________

9. About how many hours per week does she watch television?
   ______ 0
   ______ 1-10
   ______ 11-20
   ______ 21-30
   ______ over 30

10. What are a few of her favorite television programs?
    ______ cartoons
    ______ Electric Company
    ______ game shows
    ______ Gilligan's Island
    ______ Mr. Rogers
    ______ Sesame Street
    ______ Showtime
    ______ other (Please specify) ______________

11. What types of storybooks does she enjoy?
    ______ adventure
    ______ animals
    ______ children
    ______ comics
    ______ fairy tales
    ______ science
    ______ other (please specify) ______________

12. About how many hours per week does she spend at school, the daycare center, or with a babysitter?
    ______ 1-10
    ______ 11-20
    ______ 21-30
    ______ 31-40
    ______ over 40
APPENDIX C

Sex Role Learning Index
SEX ROLE LEARNING INDEX

Object Discrimination Section

Item: "Here is a picture of a/an/some _(object name)_

Who would use a/an/some _(object name)_ to

_(activity name)_ , boys? girls? or both boys and girls?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object Name</th>
<th>Activity Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.) Hammer</td>
<td>Pound some nails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.) Desk</td>
<td>Be a teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.) Shovel</td>
<td>Dig a hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.) Pitcher</td>
<td>Pour some drinks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.) Saw</td>
<td>Cook some food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.) Stove</td>
<td>Be a soldier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.) Broom</td>
<td>Sweep the floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.) Stethoscope</td>
<td>Be a doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.) Boxing gloves</td>
<td>Fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.) Firehat</td>
<td>Be a fire fighter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.) Apples and a knife</td>
<td>Make a pie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.) Dishes</td>
<td>Wash the dishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.) Badge</td>
<td>Be a police officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.) Baby bottle</td>
<td>Feed a baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.) Hairbrush</td>
<td>Brush their hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.) Car</td>
<td>Play with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.) Bat and ball</td>
<td>Play baseball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.) Car</td>
<td>Play with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Object Discrimination Section (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object Name</th>
<th>Activity Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>Iron some clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needles and thread</td>
<td>Sew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Child Figures Section

**Item:** "If you could do any one of these things, which one would you like to do best?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine Sterotyped Items</th>
<th>Feminine Sterotyped Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Object</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammering</td>
<td>Hammer/nails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digging</td>
<td>Shovel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseball</td>
<td>Ball/bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car play</td>
<td>Car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>Boxing Gloves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Adult Figures Section

**Item:** "If you could do any one of these things, which one would you like to do best?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine Sterotyped Items</th>
<th>Feminine Sterotyped Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activity</strong></td>
<td><strong>Object</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawing</td>
<td>Saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>Badge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>Rifle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire Fighter</td>
<td>Firehat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>Stethoscope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

Sex Stereotype Measure II
SEX STEREOTYPE MEASURE II (SSM II)\textsuperscript{1}

1. Some people are emotional. They cry when something good happens as well as when everything goes wrong. Who is emotional?

2. Some people are always pushing other people around and getting into fights. Who gets into fights?

3. When you give some people a present, they appreciate it very much. They always say "thank you". Who says "thank you"?

4. Some people are weak. They need help to lift heavy things. Who is weak?

5. Some people can get along by themselves. They don't need someone to help them or to talk to them. Who gets along by themselves?

6. Some people are messy. They never pick up their things and are always leaving their clothes on the floor. Who is messy?

7. Some people talk a lot. Sometimes it seems like they talk all the time. Who talks a lot?

8. Some people wanted to own a big store. They saved all their money and were finally able to buy it. Who owns a big store?

9. Some people are gentle. When they hold puppies, they are careful not to hurt them. Who is gentle?

10. Some people are cruel. They sometimes hurt other people on purpose and make them unhappy. They throw rocks at dogs when they come into the yard. Who is cruel?

11. Some people are shy. They are quiet and afraid to talk to others. Who is shy?
12. Some people have bad manners and they often say bad words. Who says bad words?

13. Some people talk so loudly, you can hear them all over the house. In fact, if they're talking in the living room, you can hear them across the street. Who talks loudly?

14. Some people get excited easily. When something happens suddenly, they are often surprised. They even jump when they hear a door slam. Who gets excited easily?

15. Some people are very affectionate. When they like someone they hug and kiss them a lot. Who likes to hug and kiss a lot?

16. Some people make most of the rules. When they tell you what to do, you have to do it. Who makes most of the rules?

17. Some people are softhearted. They feel sorry when they see a kitten get hurt. Who is softhearted?

18. When some people have a problem, they sit down and think carefully before deciding what is the best thing to do. Who solves their problems carefully?

19. Some people are strong. They can lift heavy things by themselves. Who is strong?

20. Some people have such good manners, it makes you sick. They always do everything just right. Who does everything just right?

---

1This version of the Sex Stereotype Measure II contains the 20 items used in this study.
APPENDIX E

Letter to Parents
Dear Parents:

You have been selected from among Columbia families to participate in a national research project on American family life. In this project, we will be investigating parental attitudes toward men and women today. We are also interested in identifying the play interests and activities of preschool children. This study will be published in a national journal of family life and all participants will receive a copy of the results by November, 1978.

We are asking mothers and fathers to participate in this study by filling out two questionnaires. One deals with your personal opinions about men and women and the other focuses on your own family. In completing the questionnaire, please be sure to respond with your own beliefs. There are no right or wrong answers. Your personal opinions -- whatever they may be -- will be respected and need to be represented. Since we are studying families, it is extremely important that we receive the questionnaires from both you and your spouse.

We are also interested in your daughter's play interests and activities. Several short games have been developed to identify what 4-5 year old girls like to play and do. We would like to have your permission to play these games with your daughter at her school. The games will be played with a trained preschool teacher, and will require 15-20 minutes of your daughter's time. Most children greatly enjoy these games. However, your daughter's participation will be completely voluntary.

All information provided by you and your daughter will be strictly confidential. Information will be coded and referred to by code number so that complete anonymity will be insured.

We would appreciate your completing the enclosed questionnaires and signing the parent permission slip for your daughter. Please return the following items to your daughter's school by July 15th. An envelope is enclosed for your use.

1. Mother's Opinion Questionnaire
2. Mother's Family Questionnaire
3. Father's Opinion Questionnaire
4. Father's Family Questionnaire
5. Daughter's Consent Form

This project is part of a larger study being conducted at Oregon State University. Mrs. Granberg, a resident of Columbia, is director of the research on Missouri families. If you would like to discuss any aspect of this study, please feel free to call her at her home (449-4773).

Thank you for your help in this important project.

Sincerely,

Beth Granberg
Child Development Specialist
Missouri Project Director

Sallie Kobinsky, Ph.D.
Family Life Project Director
Oregon State University

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