

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES
TO THE BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF BOYS AND GIRLS

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Psychology
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

By
Carolyn Clement
August, 1977

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study was to explore the ways in which parents conceptualize adjustment and maladjustment in their child. It was proposed that parents use sex-role standards in the process of evaluating and attributing positive and negative qualities to their child's behaviors and attitudes.

One hundred and two families, including mother, father and identified patient (51 male, 51 female), were randomly selected from the files of a child guidance clinic. Age of child and SES were balanced between the families of boys and girls.

Each parent was interviewed using a modification of the critical incident technique. S was asked first to describe an instance of behavior on the part of his child which was especially troublesome and critical to his decision to bring the child to a guidance clinic, and second, to provide a description of a particularly pleasing example of behavior. S was then asked to respond to a series of four vignettes which varied systematically according to the masculine or feminine character of the behaviors portrayed and to the sex-role congruence or incongruence of the situation.

Data analysis was organized into two parts, involving the critical incidents and the vignettes. Content analysis of the critical incidents yielded a 16-scale profile of presenting complaints, together with a supporting 8-scale profile of desirable behaviors. In order to test the hypotheses that the negative and positive behavior profiles would

differ significantly according to sex of child and sex of parent, two multivariate analyses of variance were performed, with 16 and 8 dependent variables, respectively, using a 2 X 2, repeated measure design.

MANOVA results for the negative behavior profiles revealed a significant main effect for Sex of Child, $F(16,85) = 10.01$, $p < .001$, and a significant interaction effect for Sex of Child x Sex of Parent, $F(16,18) = 1.99$, $p < .05$, supporting the hypothesis that parental evaluations of their child's behavior differ significantly depending upon whether they are describing a son or daughter. The MANOVA results for the positive behavior profiles revealed a significant main effect for Sex of Child, $F(8,93) = 4.00$, $p < .002$, again supporting the hypothesis that parents use different standards of appropriate behavior for boys and girls.

Additionally, the expectation that the differences between the profiles of boys and girls could be conceptualized along dimensions of sex role, was also supported. Those scales which differentiated boys and girls consistently fell into two general categories, the first involving a cluster of behaviors more related to the feminine role requirements of warmth and expressivity, and the second involving a cluster of behaviors more related to the masculine role requirements of competency and instrumentality. In both cases the child, did not appear to measure up to expectations for appropriate behavior, either by directly contradicting sex-role requirements or by extending sex-role behaviors to a dysfunctional degree.

Parental responses to the vignettes were rated according to their degree of punitiveness and the degree of pathology attributed to the behavior portrayed in the situation. A four-way ANOVA was performed for each of these dependent variables. Results of the ANOVAs for punitiveness and pathology revealed significant interaction effects for Sex of Child x Vignette, or Congruence/Incongruence, confirming the hypothesis that problematic behavior which was also sex-role incongruent would elicit more negative evaluations than would problematic role congruent behaviors.

The analysis also revealed an unexpected main effect for Vignette and Sex Role of Vignette, indicating that the masculine behaviors were judged more negatively than were the feminine behaviors, regardless of role congruence. It was suggested: a) that the masculine vignettes included and were thus confounded by a greater degree of troublesome behavior, and/or b) that masculine problem behaviors involving aggressive acting out, demand more attention and evoke more concern than feminine problem behaviors of passivity and dependency.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The literature concerning the behavior and emotional problems of children referred to child guidance clinics provides little insight into the female's personality development and adjustment, including the processes of identification and sex-role typing. Social scientists maintain that there is a "lack of clear-cut definition of the feminine role" (Parsons, 1949, p. 277) and that it is full of contradictions, ambiguities and inconsistencies (Bernard, 1971; Jahoda, 1955; Kluckhohn, 1954; Komarovsky, 1950). Further, role theorists point out that such a lack of clearly defined roles fosters conflict and strain within and between individuals (Sarbin & Allen, 1968).

Despite these observations, few studies can be found which explore the phenomenology of childhood maladjustment in the female from other than an intrapsychic point of view. Emotional disturbance and delinquent behavior are most often defined in terms of developmental conflict represented by the female's inability to adjust to the demands of her role and her environment. The present study questions the adequacy of this point of view and the validity of the normative roles to which the female is expected to conform.

Relationship of Sex Roles to Personality Development and Adjustment

Recent studies with adults indicate that cultural requirements for appropriate sex-role behavior do indeed constrict the female's efforts toward self-actualization and fulfillment of her potential. Matina Horner's (1968, 1970, 1972) studies of achievement motivation in

females reveals that the anticipation of success, especially in interpersonal competitive situations with males, provokes anxiety which inhibits positive, achievement-directed motivation and behavior. These young women expressed fears of social disapproval and loss of femininity as a result of intellectual success, apparently having learned to view intellectual competitiveness and femininity as mutually exclusive attributes.

Block, von der Lippe, and Block (1973) studied a sample of men and women taken from the Berkeley longitudinal studies and conclude on the basis of socialization and M-F scores on the California Psychological Inventory and extensive developmental histories, that the process of socialization for men appears to expand personal options available, i.e., the masculine emphasis on competence and instrumentality is enhanced by a feminine emphasis on nurturance and interdependency. In contrast, the socialization process for women fosters the nurturant, submissive, conservative aspects of the female role and does not move them toward concerns or qualities traditionally defined as masculine, e.g., assertiveness, achievement orientation, independence. In fact, these masculine tendencies are explicitly discouraged in the socialization of females.

Finally, when attitudes toward masculine and feminine roles are assessed in a college population, it is found not only that traditional stereotypes exist but that significantly more masculine than feminine qualities are valued by both males and females (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968). These attitudes are disturbing in that they indicate a cultural acceptance and perpetuation of a relatively

negative self concept for the female with consequent lack of self confidence and limited aspirations. As Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson and Rosenkrantz (1972) state, "the tendency for women to denigrate themselves in this manner can be seen as evidence of the powerful social pressure to conform to the sex-role standards of the society" (p. 75).

Sex-role typing with accompanying devaluation of the feminine role begins early, as is manifested both directly and indirectly in developmental research. Studies of sex-role identification and differentiation consistently find: a) that the father and by generalization the male role is accorded higher status as early as age 5 or 6, and b) that females exhibit a reluctance to give up "masculine" interests and activities and express frequently a desire to have been boys, while the reverse is seldom true. Kohlberg's (1966) review of early sex-role concepts finds that children agree earliest and most completely that fathers are bigger and stronger than mothers, next that they are smarter than mothers, and next that they have more social power or are the boss in the family (Kagan & Lemkin, 1960; Smith, 1933). By age 6, children consistently attribute more social power to the father (Emmerich, 1959b; Kohlberg, 1966).

Kohlberg further points out that a consistent developmental increase with age in preferential sex-typing of activities, toys and objects is well established for boys while the pattern of sex-typed preferences for girls is not at all clear-cut (Brown, 1956, 1957; DeLucia, 1963; Hartup & Zook, 1960; Rabban, 1950; Sears, Rau, & Alpert, 1965). In fact, Brown (1968) reports that both boys and girls between

6 and 10 years express greater preference for masculine things and activities than for feminine activities. Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1960) report that 4th- through 6th-grade girls continue to pursue sex-stereotyped "masculine" activities while boys do not pursue "feminine" activities and interests. Age trends in preference for same-sex peers show a similar increase for males and a slight decline for females, paralleling the findings for same-sex preferences for objects and activities (Kohlberg & Zigler, 1966).

Finally, Emmerich (1959a) in a structured doll play situation found that 3- to 5-year-old males significantly more often selected fathers as models while females did not show a significantly greater preference for mother or father models. Further, the tendency to identify less with both parents with increasing age and to discriminate parental roles more clearly with age was significant for boys but not for girls.

A review of child-rearing practices confirms that parents actively encourage the female to accept the traditional feminine role, including such devalued attributes as conformity, passivity and dependency. The rather extensive literature on child-rearing practices (Mischel, 1966, 1970) indicates a pattern whereby females are more consistently rewarded for dependent and conforming behavior and punished or ignored for aggressive, assertive and competitive behavior.

Stein and Bailey (1973) review the child-rearing literature relevant to the development of achievement motivation in females and report that they tend to be reared in a manner which discourages the development of

achievement behavior and related characteristics. Specifically, mothers tend to be overprotective of their daughters and over-restrictive regarding behaviors such as aggression and sexual expression. Further, the overt encouragement of achievement and independence training are not specifically emphasized in the socialization of females. Bronfenbrenner (1961) remarks that there is a danger of "oversocializing" females by too much warmth and/or too much restrictiveness so that they become obedient, conforming and feminine, but do not develop more independent qualities such as responsibility and leadership.

In sum, it appears that specific characteristics considered to be essential for individuation, self-expression and mature adjustment, and achievement-related characteristics such as independence, assertiveness and competitiveness, are antagonistic to the demands of sex-role appropriate behavior for females. Indirect evidence that adoption of the feminine role does not lead to optimal mental health is indicated by studies which find that mother-identification (and femininity) is not positively correlated with measures of adjustment in girls, whereas father-identification is correlated with measures of adjustment in boys (Gray, 1959; Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957; Sopchak, 1952). Further, Baruch (1973) reports that among a sample of 5th-through 10th-graders a characterization of self as feminine is not related to self-esteem, while the degree to which the self is perceived as possessing "masculine" traits is positively related to self-esteem.

The most obvious denigration of the feminine role as it is related to mental health, comes from mental health professionals themselves. Interviewing a sample of male and female psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, and Vogel (1970) report the existence of a clearly destructive double bind in which a female cannot be "feminine" and "mentally healthy" at the same time. The authors found not only that mental health professionals held traditional sex-role stereotypes regarding masculine and feminine behavior, but also that those behavioral attributes which they regarded as healthy for an adult, sex unspecified, and indicative of an ideal mental health pattern, were more often considered as healthy for men than for women. Specifically, the clinicians suggested that females differ from healthy males by being more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, more easily hurt, more emotional, more conceited about their appearances, less objective, and less interested in math and science. As the authors conclude, "...for a woman to be healthy, from an adjustment viewpoint, she must adjust to and accept the behavioral norms for her sex, even though these behaviors are generally less socially desirable and considered to be less healthy for the generalized competent, mature adult" (p. 6).

Traditional Theoretical Assumptions Regarding Feminine Maladjustment

Given the acceptance by clinicians of traditional sex-role stereotypes, it is not surprising to discover that they have been biased in their assessment and explanations of the feminine personality and maladjustment. If one unquestioningly accepts a given context or set

of norms, then failure to conform or adjust must be defined in terms of pathology brought into the situation by the female. Scott (1972) in a discussion of deviance as a property of social order, suggests that deviance, or behavior that does not conform to our expectations and which we do not understand is often "explained" by a "deficiency model" which attempts to negate or invalidate the problematic behavior. This attempt is based on a conservative need to translate the deviant behavior into concepts derived from established or accepted paradigms and beliefs. Using the example of black Americans, he states that explanations for their behavior consist of reasons why blacks do not behave like white middle class Americans and usually assert that the white middle class person has had experiences that the black person has not had. He reasons, "we can view such efforts as examples of nihilism since their goal is not to explain the behavior of blacks qua blacks, but to attempt to make their actions meaningful within a frame of reference that is alien to them" (p. 28).

Thus, females who do not behave according to feminine stereotypes are described as lacking certain early experiences, which has resulted in their inability to develop and accept their femininity, rather than from the point of view of individual needs and perhaps innate drives toward self-actualization. Lewis (1968) in his book Developing Woman's Potential concludes that "the girl who aims for a career is likely to be frustrated and dissatisfied with herself as a person...(she is) less well adjusted than those who are content to be housewives. Not only is (she) likely to have a poor self-concept, but she also probably lacks a close relationship with her family" (p. 33). He further suggests,

"There is still the possibility that a career orientation among girls grows out of personal dissatisfactions, so that the career becomes a frustration outlet" (p. 34).

Certainly a deficiency theory as well as the unquestioning use and acceptance of an established masculine ethic and referent of mental health is reflected in traditional clinical ideology. Freud asserts that women have a less well-developed superego and thus conscience and moral character, because they do not have a penis and consequently have not experienced castration anxiety. He articulates:

(Women) refuse to accept the fact of being castrated and have the hope of someday obtaining a penis in spite of everything... I cannot escape the notion (though I hesitate to give it expression) that for woman the level of what is ethically normal is different from what it is in man. We must not allow ourselves to be deflected from such conclusions by the denials of feminists who are anxious to force us to regard the two sexes as completely equal in position and worth (1933, p. 182).

Erik Erikson refuses to consider the female's personality development apart from the marital relationship:

...young women often ask, whether they can "have an identity" before they know whom they will marry and for whom they will make a home. Granted that something in the young woman's identity must keep itself open for the peculiarities of the man to be joined and of the children to be brought up, I think that much of a young woman's identity is already defined in her kind of attractiveness and in the selectivity of her search for the man (or men) by whom she wishes to be sought (1965, p. 19).

Blos (1969) in his review of female delinquency further supports the notion that not only is the female an anomaly theoretically, but also that she brings to the treatment situation a frustrating, puzzling constellation of attitudes and behaviors:

Every self-observant therapist is aware of his or her emotional reactions that work against a spontaneous empathy with the delinquent girl. Her behavior - seductive, impulsive, fickle, insincere, vengeful, and capricious - is hard to take, difficult to understand, impossible to predict, and frustrating just when improvement seems within reach. This behavioral description fits the American delinquent girl. In other countries - in Scandinavia, for example - she appears shy, closed-up or quietly stubborn, but elicits similar reactions of perplexity in the professional helper. In contrast, the boy's aggression, his offenses, or his negativism are usually tolerated by the professional helper with far greater equanimity (p. 100).

Despite his admission of confusion concerning the female's behavior,

Blos authoritatively concludes:

With the aggressive and retaliatory use of her body and her reproductive functions, the delinquent girl deeply violates the protective and caring attributes of her maternal role. This remains a foreboding defect that will harm not only her but her offspring in the future. The ultimate goal in the treatment of the delinquent girl should be her attainment of the capacity to become a good mother. Only then can we break the chain that perpetuates deviant development and maladaptation through the generations (p. 109).

While sexual "delinquency" or "acting out" is indeed a frequent symptom for females, Blos emphasizes the sexually delinquent female's inability to fulfill her maternal role. His reaction to and description of her behavior is determined by expectations regarding her sex role and his analysis consists mainly of the application of the related label "unfit mother." While she most probably is unprepared for the maternal role, the present study suggests that deviant behavior such as sexual acting out can also be viewed as an expression of unmet individual needs and that the particular form of expression of these needs is shaped by the individual's sex-typed repertoire of behaviors and attitudes. Thus sexual acting out for a particular individual may represent deep insecurity together with a strong need to please and gain approval from

males, a disposition reinforced in females in our culture.

Parental Attribution, The Referral Process, and Conceptions of Mental Health

Surveys of the early symptomatology of males and females referred to child guidance clinics indicate that maladaptive behaviors are most often extensions of approved sex-role behaviors. Boys are most often referred for aggressive, destructive (anti-social) and competitive behavior, while girls are referred for personality problems, such as excessive fears and worries, shyness, timidity, lack of self-confidence, and feelings of inferiority (MacFarlane, 1954; Phillips, 1957; Peterson, 1961; Terman & Tyler, 1954). Herskovitz (1969) points out that delinquent behavior, e.g., car-stealing, reckless driving, vandalism, setting of fires, assault and malicious mischief are quite rare in girls. In fact the girl possesses a rather limited "delinquent repertoire," usually restricted to sexual acting out, running away and stealing of the "kleptomaniac" type.

An inspection of open cases at Children's Mental Health Services (CMHS), Guidance Division, located in Houston, Texas, reveals a similar, though more differentiated pattern of referral problems. This agency provides outpatient psychotherapy to children in the community who manifest behavior and/or emotional problems, and who are brought to the clinic by their parents. For females, ranging in age from 2 to 15 years with a mean age of 9 years, the most frequent complaints by parents are discourteous or disrespectful behavior at home, unwillingness to communicate with or show affection toward members of the family, stubbornness, association with "bad company," fighting with siblings, running

away from home, nervousness, shyness, and oversensitivity. For males, ranging in age from 4 to 13 years, with a mean age of 8 years, 6 months, the most frequent complaints are temper tantrums, fighting and disruptive behavior at home and at school, lying, stealing, hyperactivity, learning difficulties, setting fires and other forms of vandalism.

However, to point out that females are usually referred for personality problems and males for behavior problems (Peterson, 1961) and to catalogue those problems is only a beginning toward understanding the meaning of this differential acting out of distress. Perhaps as Chesler (1972) concludes, "'madness'...is either the acting out of the devalued female role or the total or partial rejection of one's sex-role stereotype" (p. 56). From this point of view, shyness, nervousness and oversensitivity can be seen as maladaptive extensions of the feminine role which encourages submissiveness, dependency and emotional vulnerability. Parental complaints of discourteous or disrespectful behavior, stubbornness, fighting with siblings, and association with "bad company" can be seen as reactions to the female child's failure to conform to sex-role stereotypes of cooperativeness, nurturance and deference.

The literature concerning child behavior problems and parental attitudes has been restricted to child-rearing practices and attitudes (e.g., permissiveness-restrictiveness, warmth-hostility) on the part of parents that correlate with and presumably engender specific behavior problems in the child. Family interaction and communication theorists have defined more accurately the dynamics of family maladjustment and have described quite reasonably the many ways in which a particular

child becomes the focus of marital or family discord as the "identified patient" (e.g., Haley, 1959; Jackson, 1957; Satir, 1967). The present study proposes to provide an additional perspective, role theory, and an additional dimension, the process of attribution and labelling, in order to obtain significant and heretofore ignored information concerning female and male problem behavior.

Given the pervasiveness of the adjustment notion of mental health and the constricting nature of sex-role stereotypes, it is postulated that an understanding of the young female's personality development and maladjustment must include an examination of her social (feminine) role. The concept of role is an interactional one, in that one's social status or position, the nature of one's behavior or role enactments, and one's self concept are built up from interactions with important others who occupy complementary statuses in one's environment. These persons or various audiences hold expectations regarding appropriate and inappropriate behavior based on a consensual set of norms, and they have the power to validate or invalidate, label "healthy" or "sick" any behavior comprising part of one's social role.

The assumption is made that parents usually enact the most important complementary roles in the child's life and that they hold values and normative expectations by which they measure their child's development. Further, it is postulated that the process by which they decide that their child is mentally "ill" or "healthy" involves the invocation of sex-typed standards of acceptable behavior and attitudes.

Hypotheses

The purpose of the present study is to ascertain those constructs used by parents of children brought to CMHS, Guidance Division, to evaluate their child's behavior. First, what behaviors and attitudes on the part of the child are particularly troublesome and perplexing to the parents and indicate that professional help is needed to alter their behavior? It is hypothesized that parents of boys will present a significantly different array of complaints than will the parents of girls. Secondly, it is hypothesized that these differences in concerns between parents of boys and girls can be attributed to differential expectations and standards of behavior based on sex-role stereotypes. Specifically, concerns for a female child should be directed more often toward her social-emotional behavior (e.g., display of affection toward parents, friendliness and trust in others, sociability, empathy, careful choice of friends), while concerns for a male child should be directed more often toward his instrumental behavior, i.e., efforts toward self-actualization, mastery of his environment and fulfillment of his potential. Further, in describing the salient aspects of their child's problem behavior, parents should use adjectives or labels that indicate their reliance on sex-role expectations or constructs as an organizing or mediating device, with problem behaviors construed as either maladaptive extensions or direct violations of sex-role requirements.

Finally, the attitudes of mothers and fathers will be evaluated separately, with the expectation that they may differ significantly in their descriptions of problem behaviors, depending upon whether they

are evaluating a boy or a girl. Not only has the role of the father been relatively neglected in the literature, but also existing research on the impact of the father on the developing female indicates that a participating father is important to successful treatment outcome (Levitt, 1971) and that he plays a singular and significant role in the female's sex-role identification and delinquent behavior. Hetherington's (1965) study of boys and girls aged 4 through 11 determined that for the female, sex-role identification is based more on identification with the complementary (father) role than for the male and that the female defines her femininity in terms of male acceptance and approval, while the reverse is not true for males.

Further, a review of studies concerned with female delinquency (Pollak & Friedman, 1969) concludes that the role of the father is as crucial as that of the mother and questions the theory of "maternal deprivation" as a universal factor in delinquency. In specific cases of sexual acting out or running away from home particularly, the lack of a substantial father-daughter relationship based on trust and affection was a consistent factor.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

One-hundred and two families, including mother, father and identified patient, were randomly selected from the open files of CMHS, Guidance Division. Fifty-one of the children presented for treatment in these families were male and 51 were female. In all cases both parents were available for separate interview. Families used in the study varied in length of contact with the clinic, ranging from those presenting themselves for an initial case conference to those already engaged in treatment.

Both age of child and socioeconomic status were balanced between the families of boys and girls. Age groups consisted of preschool (2 to 5 years), latency (6 to 11 years), adolescents (12 to 16 years), with 5 children falling at the preschool level (2 male, 3 female), 55 at latency age (28 male, 27 female), and 42 at adolescence (21 male, 21 female).

Based on a preliminary random sampling of cases, socioeconomic status was stratified into three groups which were called lower class, middle class, and upper middle class. Each family was assigned a score based on Hollinghead's two-factor system using both occupational and educational levels. Upper middle class included professional with a college degree, middle class included white collar workers with a high school to college education, and lower class included blue collar workers with a high school education or less. Twelve families (6 male,

6 female) were scored upper middle class, 51 (25 male, 26 female) middle class, and 39 (20 male, 19 female) lower class.

Thus, nearly identical distributions of age and socioeconomic status were achieved between the families of boys and girls. Additionally, all children were caucasian with the exception of four latency-age black children (2 male, 2 female), four adolescent black children (2 male, 2 female), and one latency-age latin male and one adolescent latin female.

Procedure

Critical incident technique. In order to obtain from the parents a description of specific behaviors and attitudes that they considered to be unacceptable, as well as behaviors and attitudes of which they especially approved, a modification of the critical incident technique (Flanagan, 1954) was used. The technique consists of a semi-structured interview designed to obtain the critical requirements of a particular activity, vocation or role. The respondent is asked to recall an instance of exceptionally good performance in a particular situation and then to describe the behaviors and qualities which were critical to the performance. The respondent is then asked to repeat the process regarding an instance of especially ineffective performance. The ultimate aim of the technique is to obtain as complete and empirically-based an account of the specific behaviors required for a particular activity or role enactment as possible. These behaviors can then be classified inductively in the form of an accurate description of the particular job or role requirements, as well as provide a set of broad psycho-

logical principles relevant to the job or role performance.

In the present study parents were asked first to focus upon a specific instance of their child's behavior which was especially troublesome and critical to their decision to bring the child to a guidance clinic, and second, to provide a description of a particularly pleasing example of behavior. One of the methodological assumptions of this technique was that directed focus on a specific, critical event would generate accurate and realistic descriptions of meaningful behaviors as opposed to a vague, global listing of traits applicable to a variety of persons in many situations. Thus a parental complaint of "too aggressive" or "fights too much" would be defined and evaluated in terms of specific behaviors and attitudes on the part of the child in specific situations.

As a means of refining the form of the interview, a small pilot study was conducted using five families taken from open cases at CMHS. To insure that Ss understood the purpose of the task, they were asked to summarize briefly their interpretation of what they had been asked to do. This procedure was useful in developing the phrasing of interview questions so that they were uniformly interpreted by all Ss.

Each parent was interviewed individually either in the home or at the guidance center, and was asked the following set of questions:

Recall a particular incident involving behavior on the part of _____ which immediately preceded and was critical in your decision to bring _____ to the guidance center.

When S indicated that he had an incident in mind, he was questioned further:

What were the circumstances leading up to this incident?

Tell me exactly what _____ did at that time that was particularly troublesome to you.

What were the most troublesome or unacceptable aspects of his/her behavior? Why do you suppose that _____ behaved as he/she did?

Can you describe your reactions at the time of the incident?

How would you have liked _____ to have behaved in that situation?

When the incident had been fully explored, S was then asked to think of an instance of behavior on the part of his child occurring during the same time period, of which he especially approved, and to describe the exact behaviors relevant to that incident. He was again asked the above follow-up questions.

Vignettes. In order to provide additional support for the idea that sex-role considerations play a part in parental evaluations of their child's behavior, it was decided to test the hypothesis that problematic behavior which was also sex-role incongruent would elicit stronger and more negative responses than would problematic behavior which was sex-role congruent.

Following the discussion of negative and positive critical incidents, each parent was presented with two problematic situations involving hypothetically more "masculine" behavior, one enacted by a male and one enacted by a female, and two problematic situations involving more "feminine" behavior, with one enacted by a male and one by a female. Altogether, four vignettes, including a sex-role congruent and incongruent situation for both masculine and feminine behaviors, were presented to each parent.

Generally, the masculine situations were designed to include defiant and aggressive behavior, while the feminine situations were designed to include dependent, passive and conforming behavior. The following four vignettes were read to S by E, varying only according to sex of child placed in the story and order of presentation:

- V#1(masculine): _____ has been continually asked to straighten up his/her room. He/she continually refuses and when he is punished he goes into his room and breaks several of his belongings.
- V#2(masculine): The school has called to report that _____ seems to be the leader of a group of loud, boisterous boys/girls who have several times teased and made fun of other children and most recently started a fight in which other children were hurt.
- V#3(feminine): _____ spends a great deal of his/her free time in his room painting pictures and molding with clay and almost always prefers this activity to invitations by his/her friends to join in games in the neighborhood or to go to a movie. When they come by he/she usually rejects the offer, preferring to remain at home with his/her art work.
- V#4(feminine): The school has called to report that they are concerned that _____ often comes complaining to his/her teacher that other children have either bullied or made fun of him/her. He has one friend who usually plans their activities and who seems to have a strong influence on _____'s ideas and attitudes.

Following the presentation of each vignette, S was asked the following questions:

How would you respond to the incident?

How would you describe the child's behavior?

What are the most troublesome aspects of the situation from your point of view?

How would you resolve the situation?

The entire interview, including discussion of critical incidents and vignettes, ranged in length from 45 - 75 minutes. All interviews were conducted by E and recorded as verbatim as possible. A random sampling of 25 interviews were also tape recorded for subsequent assessment of inter-rater reliability.

Construction of Dependent Variables

Behavior profiles. A content analysis of the negative and positive critical incidents, involving an inductive classification of parental descriptions of their child's behavior, initially resulted in 43 mutually exclusive categories of behavior described as problematic and relevant to their decision to bring their child to a guidance clinic, and 28 categories of behavior described as particularly appropriate and praiseworthy. This very extensive array of categories resulted principally from the investigator's concern that the categories be as distinct, precise, and representative of parental attribution as possible, and that broad psychological and psychiatric diagnostic categories be avoided.

A scoring system was then devised in which each protocol received a score of 0, 1, or 2 on each of the 43 and 28 variables. A score of 2 was given to the behavior judged to be the primary or most salient problem to the parent. A score of 1 was given to additional behaviors described which were judged to be secondary in importance to the main complaint. A score of 0 was given to behaviors not mentioned by the parent. The discrimination between a score of 1 vs. 2, while inevitably

a matter of clinical judgment, always included a consideration of three objective factors: (1) primacy, or the behavior mentioned first by S, (2) frequency, or the behavior mentioned most often or described at greatest length, and (3) the behavior specifically identified by S in response to the question: "What were the most troublesome or unacceptable aspects of his/her behavior"? These same criteria were used for both the negative and positive critical incidents.

As might have been expected given the investigator's effort to derive categories that were mutually exclusive and highly specific, the resulting distributions of scores for each category were markedly skewed toward "0." In fact, there were several categories, e.g., playing with children younger than self; vandalism, in which only two or three subjects exhibited that particular problem behavior.

It was decided to reduce the number of categories, both to make them more conceptually manipulable and to modify the distribution of scores so that they more closely approximated the characteristics of the normal curve assumed by analysis of variance. An inspection of the categories indicated that many of them could be grouped under a more general rubric. For example, fire setting, stealing, vandalism, cruelty to animals, and obscene language became NV2, delinquent, anti-social behavior. A rational process of clustering the variables was then carried out, guided by the investigator's assumptions concerning the conceptual relevance or clinical meaningfulness of the groupings.

Reduction of the variables resulted in a 16-scale profile of parental complaints called "negative variables," and an 8-scale profile

of behaviors described by parents as appropriate and desirable for their child, called "positive variables." Lists of the positive and negative variables with descriptions of their content are presented in Tables 1 and 2. Each variable is comprised of several distinct behaviors or attitudes which were regarded as indicants or independent instances of the particular class of behaviors to which they belonged. A more extensive breakdown and discussion of the behaviors which comprise each variable is presented in the Results section.

The correlation matrices for the two sets of variables indicate that the categories which make up the behavior profiles are fairly independent, with very low intercorrelations ranging from .001 to a high of .252. Additionally, a review of existing checklists of children's problem behaviors indicates a great deal of similarity among those categories presented in the literature and those developed in the present study (Klinedinst, 1975; Peterson, 1965). Thus there is some indirect evidence, in addition to the following reliability data, to support the contention that the behavior profiles are reasonable abstractions of the interview protocols.

In order to test the hypotheses that each of the negative and positive behavior profiles would differ significantly according to sex of child and sex of parent, two multivariate analyses of variance were performed, with 16 and 8 dependent variables respectively, using a 2 x 2, split plot repeated measure design (Timm, 1975).

Table 1
Negative Dependent Variables

- NV1 - Delinquent, antisocial behavior not directly involving an object of aggression (using drugs; exhibiting unsavory interest in sex and association with peers sharing interest in sex; running away).
- NV2 - Delinquent, antisocial behavior directed against persons and things (setting fires; stealing; vandalism; cruelty to animals; obscene language).
- NV3 - Open expression of hostility toward, resentment of mother and/or father (physical and verbal conflict).
- NV4 - Lack of initiative, motivation, goal direction; irresponsibility, amorality.
- NV5 - Headstrong, argumentative, willful, stubborn behavior.
- NV6 - Anxiety, nervousness, emotionality, oversensitivity, lack of confidence (includes school phobia and psychosomatic symptoms).
- NV7 - Manipulative, deceptive behavior (includes passive resistance to authority and use of indirect means to achieve ends).
- NV8 - Annoying, rude, disruptive behavior, either a) deliberate and provocative or b) a result of "hyperactivity," motor restlessness, short attention span.
- NV9 - Social immaturity, dependency, both clinging behavior and poor development of self-help, social skills (includes bed wetting, thumb sucking, encopresis).
- NV10 - Withdrawal: shyness with peers; isolation from family, especially unwillingness to express feelings, discuss problems.
- NV11 - Conflict with siblings, includes jealousy, teasing, unwillingness to share possessions.
- NV12 - Disobedience, at home and school.
- NV13 - Homosexual behavior (in dress, play, social demeanor).
- NV14 - Hostile, antagonistic relationships with peers.
- NV15 - Depressive mood and/or ideas, including thoughts, fears of death, dying.
- NV16 - Miscellaneous (behaviors occurring only once or twice, e.g., molestation by father, delusions).

Table 2

Positive Dependent Variables

- PV1 - Parent-child comradeship, affection; ability to discuss, deal with problems rationally, reasonably.
- PV2 - Obedience, at home and/or school.
- PV3 - Internalization and expression of parental standards and values; sharing of problems with expression of feelings and respect for parent's point of view.
- PV4 - Social poise, politeness, careful grooming.
- PV5 - Thoughtful, empathic, considerate behavior, including parental, protective behavior toward siblings.
- PV6 - Initiative, achievement motivation, pride in doing well, including self-reliance and assertive behavior.
- PV7 - Specific achievement or talent, e.g., "good swimmer."
- PV8 - Social ease and popularity, including extroversion and likeableness.

Reliability of the ratings of positive and negative dependent variables. Four of the 25 tape-recorded interviews proved to be nearly inaudible and impossible to transcribe accurately, reducing the reliability sample to 21 interviews, including 12 parents of a male child and 9 parents of a female child. The 21 interviews were then rated, using the 16- and 8-scale profiles, by a second judge who was unfamiliar with the hypotheses and findings of the study. One of the negative critical incidents was used as a training sample, reducing the number of ratings using the negative behavior profile to 20.

The rater was provided with a thorough scoring guide which included a delineation of the behavioral indicants comprising each variable. It became clear that inter-rater agreement increased as the second judge gained practice in using the scoring guide. In addition, the very lengthy, unedited transcriptions were difficult to interpret and often included long asides by the interviewee which were not specifically related to the child's behavior. It was thus decided to expand the reliability check to include an additional 40 interview protocols which were not taped, but rather recorded by the investigator, with the expectation that inter-rater agreement would be improved. A stratified sample of 40 protocols were randomly selected, 10 from each of the four groups of mothers and fathers of boys and girls, and were again rated by the second judge.

Results for both reliability samples are presented for the negative and positive dependent variables in Tables 3 and 4, respectively. In both tables the percent agreement is shown for each variable, first

Table 3
Inter-rater Agreement for Negative Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	Percent Agreement Using All Cases		Percent Agreement Excluding Cases Scored "0" by Both Raters	
	Ratings of Tape Transcriptions (N = 20)	Ratings of Interview Protocols (N = 40)	Ratings of Tape Transcriptions	Ratings of Interview Protocols
NV ₁	100	100	100 (2)*	100 (1)
NV ₂	100	100	100 (3)	100 (8)
NV ₃	100	98	100 (2)	89 (9)
NV ₄	90	95	50 (4)	80 (10)
NV ₅	95	98	80 (5)	89 (9)
NV ₆	100	95	100 (5)	78 (9)
NV ₇	95	92	75 (4)	77 (13)
NV ₈	100	100	100 (2)	100 (2)

*Numbers in parentheses are n's.

Table 3 (Cont'd)

Inter-rater Agreement For Negative Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	Percent Agreement Using All Cases		Percent Agreement Excluding Cases Scored "0" by Both Raters	
	Ratings of Tape Transcriptions (N = 20)	Ratings of Interview Protocols (N = 40)	Ratings of Tape Transcriptions	Ratings of Interview Protocols
NV ₉	95	98	50 (2)	75 (4)
NV ₁₀	85	98	73 (11)	88 (8)
NV ₁₁	100	98	100 (1)	50 (2)
NV ₁₂	90	95	60 (5)	78 (9)
NV ₁₃	-	100	-	100 (2)
NV ₁₄	100	100	100 (4)	100 (3)
NV ₁₅	95	100	75 (4)	100 (1)
NV ₁₆	100	100	100 (1)	100 (1)

*Numbers in parentheses are n's.

Table 4
Inter-rater Agreement for Positive Dependent Variables

Dependent Variables	Percent Agreement Using All Cases		Percent Agreement Excluding Cases Scored "0" by Both Raters	
	Ratings of Tape Transcriptions (N = 21)	Ratings of Interview Protocols (N = 40)	Ratings of Tape Transcriptions	Ratings of Interview Protocols
PV ₁	90	95	66 (6)*	67 (6)
PV ₂	100	98	100 (2)	88 (8)
PV ₃	86	100	62 (8)	100 (6)
PV ₄	95	98	75 (4)	89 (9)
PV ₅	95	95	86 (7)	87 (15)
PV ₆	90	98	66 (6)	88 (8)
PV ₇	100	98	100 (2)	86 (7)
PV ₈	95	95	50 (2)	60 (5)

*Numbers in parentheses are n's.

using all subjects in the reliability samples, and second using only subjects receiving a score of "2" or "1" for that variable. This latter modification is a more stringent test of inter-rater agreement in that it removes all agreement based on co-occurrences of a score of "0." Inter-rater agreement turned out to be relatively high using both the taped transcriptions and the interview protocols recorded by the investigator. As was expected, inter-rater agreement increased when the second sample of protocols was scored.

Vignettes. A content analysis of parents' responses to the vignettes indicated that they could be grouped into two general categories: (1) degree of punitiveness in action taken by the parent in response to the child's behavior, and (2) degree of pathology attributed to the child's behavior.

Punitiveness was scored on a scale from 0 to 3 according to the following criteria:

0 = no action taken by parent

1 = a supportive, problem solving approach taken by the parent, i.e., the parent did not convey directly to the child that he disapproved of the behavior, but rather encouraged the child in indirect ways to adopt alternative behaviors, e.g., one parent suggested that the aggressive child in Vignette #1 be provided with additional, attractive shelf space.

2 = A persuasive, verbally coercive approach taken by the parent, designed either to elicit guilt via moralistic reproach and expression of disappointment on the part of the parent, or

to present compelling reasons for the adoption of more socially appropriate behavior,

3 = The parent invoked physical punishment or other concrete forms of reproof such as removal of privileges.

Degree of pathology attributed to the behavior was also scored on a scale of 0 to 3 according to the following criteria:

0 = The behavior was not seen as problematic.

1 = The parent expressed ambivalence, in that the behavior included at least as many positive as negative traits; the parent would not necessarily have forced the child to behave differently.

2 = The behavior was seen as problematic, requiring parental intervention.

3 = The behavior was seen as very problematic, requiring professional intervention.

An analysis of variance was performed separately for each of the dependent variables, using a split plot repeated measure design (Kirk, 1968). A four-way classification was used with Vignette (#'s 1 - 4), Sex of Child in the Vignette, Sex of Parent, and Sex-Role of the Vignette as the independent variables. The fifth factor of Sex-role Congruence/Incongruence is embedded within the design and tested by the interaction of Vignette x Sex of Child in Vignette.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Negative Behavior Profiles

It was hypothesized, first, that the profiles of parental complaints by both mothers and fathers would differ significantly according to whether a son or daughter were being described. A corollary to this expectation was that the differences between the profiles of boys and girls could be conceptualized along dimensions of sex role standards which would necessarily create differential expectations and evaluations of boys' and girls' behavior.

It was hypothesized secondly, that mothers as a group might differ from fathers, depending upon whether they were describing a boy or girl. A related assumption was that these interaction effects between sex of child and sex of parent could be discussed with regard to a conflictual relationship between parent and child and a disrupted process of identification and sex-typing occurring within the child.

The MANOVA results using Sex of Child as a between-groups factor and Sex of Parent as a within-groups factor, and the 16 scales of the behavior profile as the dependent variables, are presented in Table 5. The analysis revealed a significant main effect for Sex of Child, $F(16,85) = 10.01, p < .001$, and a significant interaction effect between Sex of Child and Sex of Parent, $F(16,18) = 1.99, p < .05$. Thus, parental complaints or attributions of pathology to their child's behavior differ considerably depending upon whether they are describing a son or daughter. Further, mothers as a group may evaluate their child's

Table 5
Multivariate Analysis of Variance: Negative Dependent Variables 1 - 16

Source	Log (generalized variance)	U-Statistic (Wilk's Λ)	Rao's F	df _h	df _e	p
A Child's Sex	46.21	.30	10.01	16	85	<.001
B Parent's Sex	45.19	0.83	1.12	16	85	> .05
S(A) Subjects within Ch. Sex	64.62	0.00	2.21			
A X B	45.32	0.73	1.99	16	85	<.05
B X S(A)	45.00					

Note. - Sums of squares and cross products matrices (SSCP) for each hypothesis and error are given in Appendix (Table 1 - 5).

behavior very differently from fathers, depending upon whether they are describing a son or daughter.

Figures 1 through 4 present profiles of the overall means for the dependent variables, cell means for boys versus girls, cell means for mothers versus fathers, and cell means for mothers and fathers of boys and girls, respectively. Generally the graphic presentations indicate a great deal of variability among the various scales or behavioral indices, rather large absolute differences among the means for boys versus girls, and in many instances among the four groups of mothers and fathers of boys and girls.

Table 6 presents the univariate F's generated from the MANOVA, for both main and interaction effects for each of the 16 dependent variables. Of the 16 categories within the negative behavior profiles, ten significantly differentiated boys and girls. Five of these categories were more representative of parental concerns for females and five were more representative of concerns for males. One of these categories also included a significant univariate parent-child interaction, and two additional categories revealed significant univariate parent-child interaction effects. Of the remaining four nondifferentiating categories, three were particularly low in saliency to parents, ranking thirteenth, fourteenth and sixteenth among the 16 categories of complaints. It is probable that these three categories, conflict with sibling (NV 11), depressive mood and/or ideas (NV 15), and miscellaneous (NV 16), do not represent parental complaints that occur with any meaningful frequency within the sample population. The fourth

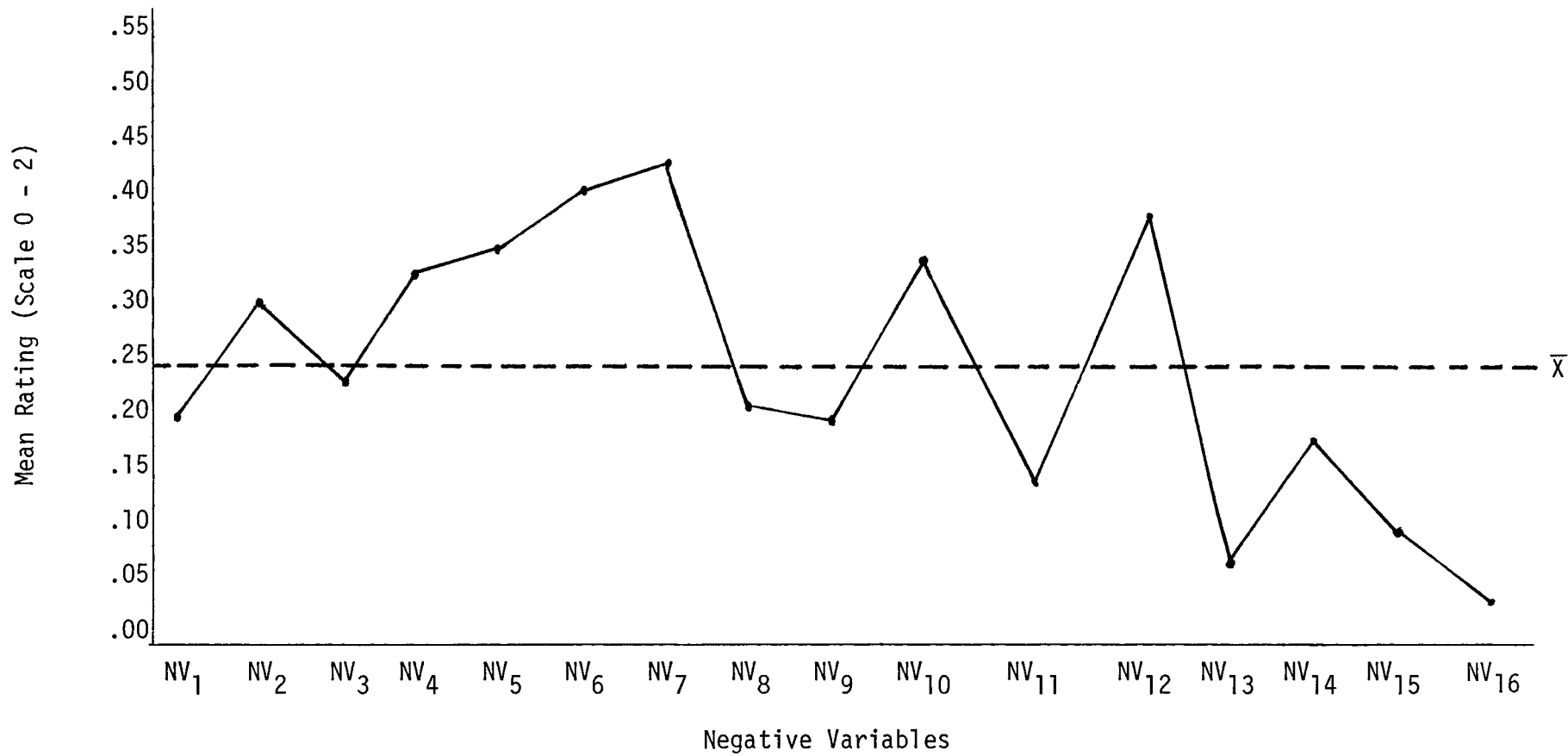


FIGURE 1

PROFILE OF PRESENTING COMPLAINTS:

OVERALL MEAN RATINGS

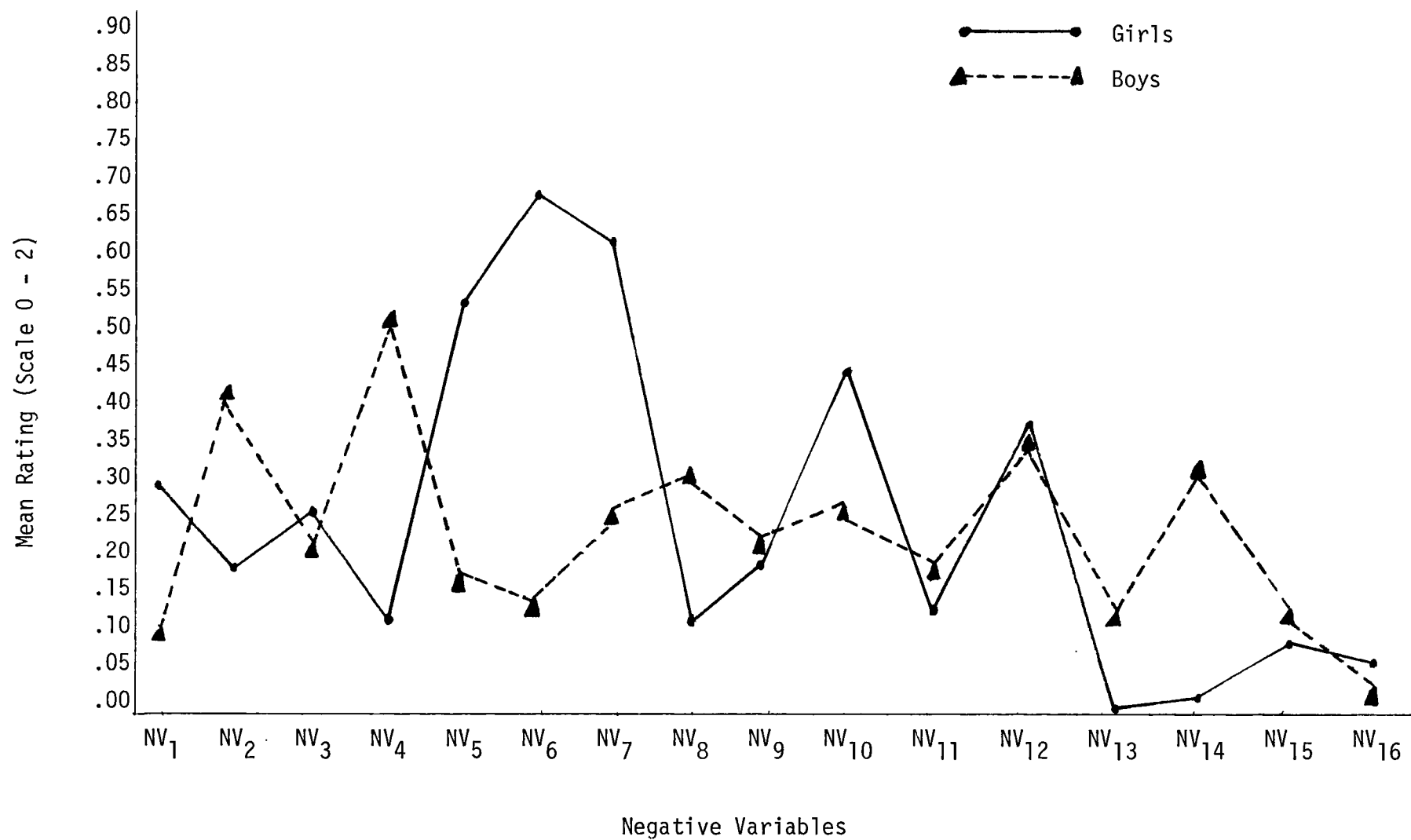


FIGURE 2
PROFILE OF PRESENTING COMPLAINTS:
BOYS VS. GIRLS

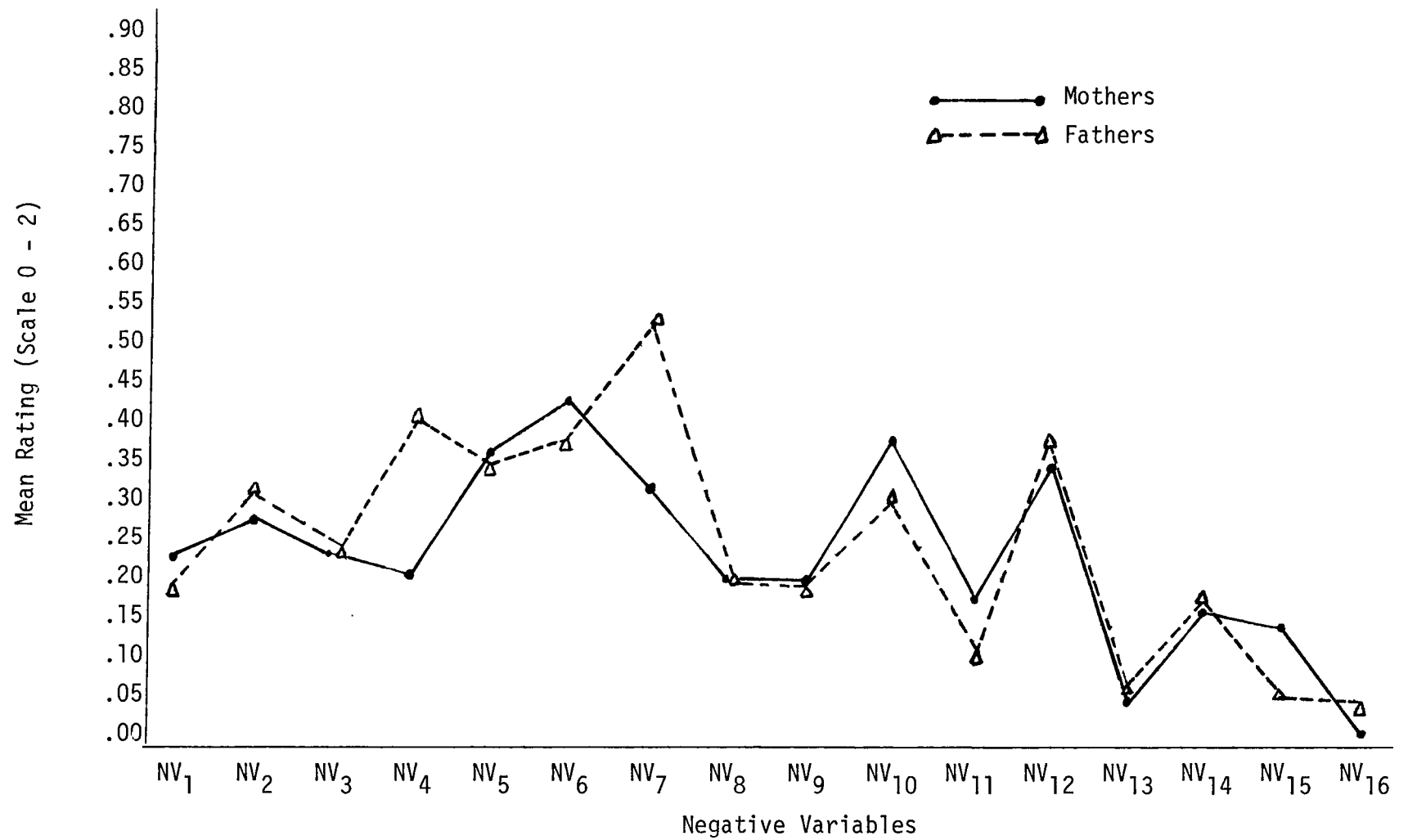


FIGURE 3
PROFILE OF PRESENTING COMPLAINTS:
MOTHERS VS. FATHERS

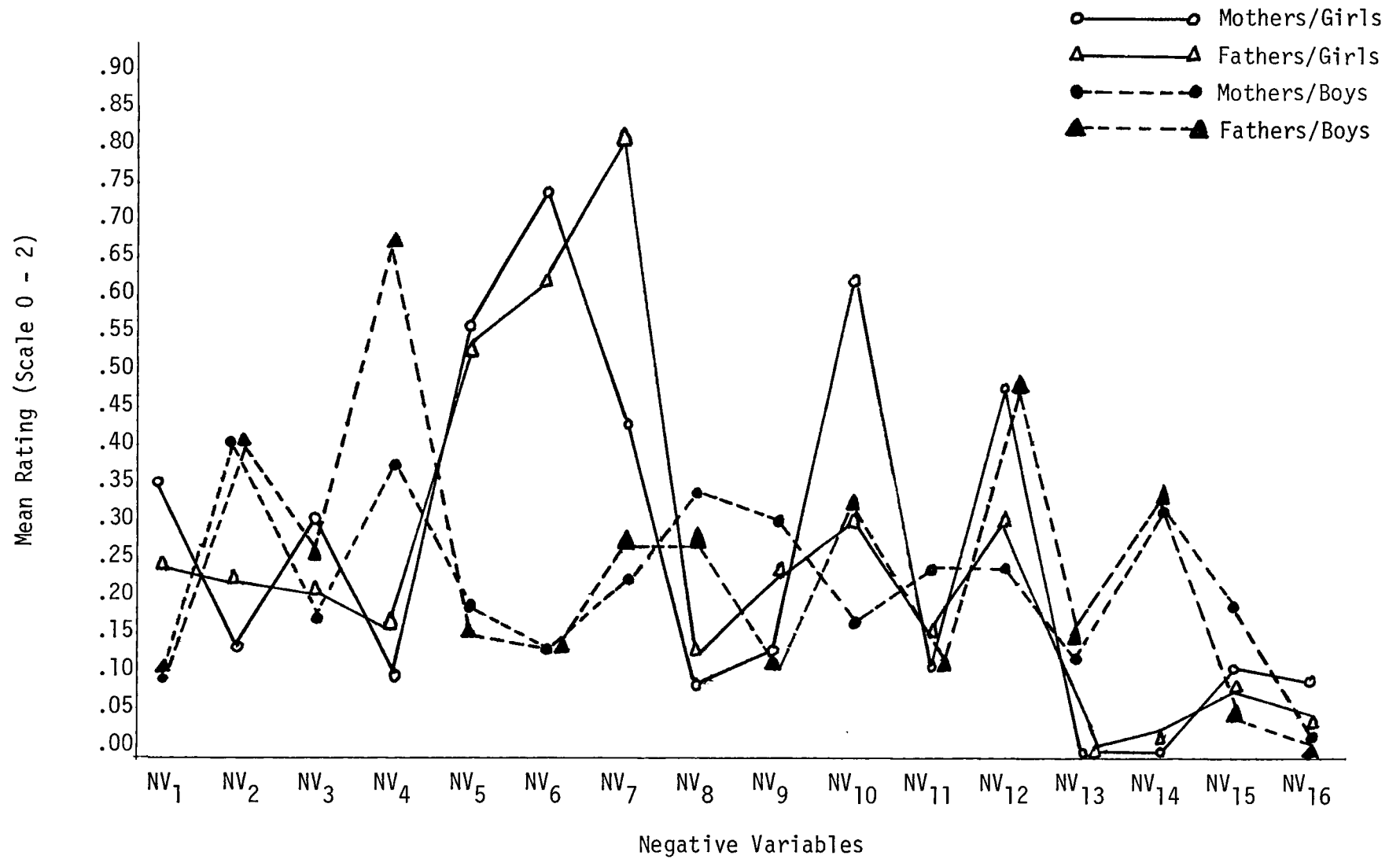


FIGURE 4
 PROFILE OF PRESENTING COMPLAINTS:
 SEX OF CHILD x SEX OF PARENT

Table 6
Univariate F's from Multivariate Analysis of Variance:
Negative Dependent Variables 1 - 16

Source	Dependent Variables							
	NV ₁	NV ₂	NV ₃	NV ₄	NV ₅	NV ₆	NV ₇	NV ₈
A Child	4.71*	4.06*	0.13	12.42***	14.25***	14.83***	9.08**	6.16*
B Parent	1.62	0.03	0.33	5.85*	0.36	2.98	5.23*	0.02
A x B	2.67	0.03	4.01*	1.08	0.01	2.98	2.77	0.52

***p < .001

**p < .01

*p < .05

Table 6 (Cont'd)

Univariate F's from Multivariate Analysis of Variance
Negative Dependent Variables 1 - 16

Source	Dependent Variables							
	NV ₉	NV ₁₀	NV ₁₁	NV ₁₂	NV ₁₃	NV ₁₄	NV ₁₅	NV ₁₆
A Child	0.05	4.12*	0.65	0.07	5.74*	13.45***	0.10	2.00
B Parent	0.32	1.02	0.95	1.85	0.33	0.07	3.94*	1.80
A x B	5.09*	9.15**	1.70	2.58	0.33	0.00	0.63	0.20

***p < .001

**p < .01

*p < .05

nondifferentiating category, disobedience (NV 12) was, however, very salient to parents, ranking third among all presenting complaints. Thus this category cannot be dismissed and represents most probably a relatively frequently-occurring, non sex-typed parental complaint.

The univariate results for each of the dependent variables will be discussed and grouped according to significant main effects and significant interaction effects. Following Hummel and Sligo (1971) the univariate F-ratios which are significant may be interpreted only if the corresponding MANOVA F-ratio was significant. Therefore, univariate effects for Sex of Parent cannot be regarded as statistically significant in that the overall MANOVA did not reveal a significant main effect for Sex of Parent.

In discussing the sex-typed nature of the parental complaints, frequent reference will be made to Broverman et al.'s (1972) compilation of empirically derived masculine and feminine stereotypes. These stereotypes, together with their valuation as socially desirable or undesirable, are presented in Appendix B.

Significantly differentiating female complaints

NV1: Delinquent, antisocial, nonaggressive behavior. The univariate analysis reveals that parents are far more concerned about the use of drugs, expression of sexual interests and running away from home with regard to their daughters than their sons, $F(1,200) = 4.71$, $p < .05$. A breakdown of complaints within this category indicates that the differentiating behaviors were those relating to the expression of sexual interests and threats or actual instances of running away. Drug use, while falling under the rubric of nonaggressive, antisocial behavior,

was mentioned about equally among parents of boys and girls. These findings are consistent with existing research which indicates that females more frequently choose nonaggressive modes of delinquency, when they are delinquent at all (Herskovitz, 1969). Further, with regard to parental attribution, the data suggest that sex-role expectations and standards of evaluation interact in a variety of complex ways. For example, complaints of expression of sexuality almost always involved instances of females' associating with a "bad group" or with a friend who "chased boys," or with flirting. In these situations not only are parents concerned about a violation of the feminine role demands of submissiveness and innocence about sex, but also, their concerns appear to be heightened by their stereotypic assumptions that females are highly submissive and influenced by others. Thus, their concerns are not about actual sexual acting out, but are related to their child's expected inability to maintain adequate standards of conduct in the face of group pressure or "bad company."

NV5: Headstrong, argumentative, willful behavior. The univariate analysis reveals that mothers and fathers are much more concerned about stubborn, willful behavior on the part of girls than of boys, $F(1,200) = 14.25, p < .001$. Reported incidents related to this variable uniformly described the child as engaged in a power struggle with the parent. Mothers and fathers were remarkably similar in their use of adjectives and illustrative situations. The child was frequently described as "sassy," "hardheaded," "nervy," "obstinate," "strongwilled," or "defiant." Fathers tended to emphasize the "stubborn" quality and mothers tended to emphasize the lack of respect, the "smart alecky"

or overly independent attitude, for example, "She thinks she knows everything," "She thinks she's the adult instead of you," "She always knows best." Additionally, mothers occasionally pointed out with regard to these traits in females, that "She's like her father," or fathers would admit, "She's a lot like me."

These findings support the hypothesis that parental complaints regarding girls will differ from those of boys and that these differences will fall along dimensions of sex role. It is most probable that the behaviors reported here violate sex-role expectations for lack of assertiveness, for submissiveness, passivity and expectations that females should be uncomfortable with aggression.

The few instances of obstinacy reported for males were almost always accentuated by physical violence. Additionally, complaints for males were often ambivalent. For example, one father qualified his complaint of insolence with, "I'm not quite sure he has a problem."

NV6: Nervousness, emotionality, oversensitivity. The univariate analysis reveals that parents express significantly more concern regarding nervousness and anxiety in females than in males, $F(1,200) = 14.83, p < .001$. This variable is comprised of five related complaints: (1) the child is described as nervous, easily upset, oversensitive, with occasional references to somatic symptoms such as nausea, insomnia, (2) the child manifests low self-esteem, feelings of unworthiness, (3) the child's school performance has dropped because of emotional difficulties manifested by withdrawal or nervousness, (4) the child is afraid and/or refuses to go to school, and (5) the child tries hard to please, to be liked out of insecurity.

The relatively few complaints by parents of boys fell into only two of these categories: low self esteem and poor school performance based on emotional problems. Complaints about females focused predominantly upon nervousness and oversensitivity.

Again, these findings support the thesis that parental complaints will differ significantly according to the sex of the child. Additionally, the differences appear to be related to sex role. In contrast to the previous variable, parents here describe behaviors which more generally are expected or tolerated as feminine. In line with the hypothesis that many feminine traits are also unhealthy ones, it appears that parents are referring their children in these instances for sex-role typical behaviors that have become overtly dysfunctional, in that the child is unable to socialize or attend school successfully.

Additionally, the labelling of females as nervous and excitable may also be related to a greater tendency to attribute these more feminine traits to females, perhaps even when their behavior would not warrant this label. For example, one father described his daughter as having been "excited and nervous...(she) laid across her bed and frowned." No other behaviors were described by the father.

NV7: Manipulative, deceptive behavior. The univariate analysis reveals that parents express significantly more concern regarding manipulative, deceptive behavior on the part of the females than of males, $F(1,200) = 9.08, p < .01$. Further, while the main effect for Sex of Parent cannot be interpreted as statistically significant, a look at the means indicates that fathers express much more concern than mothers about their child's manipulative behavior, for both males

and females, though by far their greatest concern is directed toward females. In fact, more parental complaints fell into this category than into any other, with the very high scores contributed by fathers of females.

This variable is comprised of four related complaints: (1) lying to avoid punishment, (2) passive resistance to authority in the form of dawdling, forgetting or giving excuses, (3) sulking, whining, complaining, pouting when not getting one's way, and (4) "sneaky" or "phoney" behavior involving playing one parent against the other, playing "hurt and rejected," and using other forms of deception in order to get one's way.

Lying to avoid punishment distributed about equally among parents of boys and girls. Fathers placed much more emphasis on sulking, whining and feeling sorry for one's self than did mothers, and much more emphasis on these behaviors for females than males. Fathers of daughters were also the predominant complaints with regard to passive resistance to authority. Finally, phoney or sneaky behavior was described most often by parents of females with mothers more often describing their daughter as pretending to feel unloved or rejected and fathers more often describing a distrust of or concern for their daughter's "honesty," describing her as "a convincing liar," having no conscience and "wanting to deceive you." Only females were described as playing one parent against the other.

Again, findings for this variable support the overall hypothesis that parental complaints for boys and girls significantly differ. Further, they lend support to the Broverman et al. (1972) hypothesis

that females are caught in a double bind whereby they are expected because of their sex to behave in a number of ways that, while "feminine," are neither socially desirable nor mentally healthy. Thus being sneaky and manipulative are feminine stereotypes that are both expected of or attributed to girls in the present sample and at the same time they are a source of concern to their parents and instrumental in bringing them to a guidance center. It may be that certain sex-role behaviors which are tolerated even though they are not socially desirable, such as those reported within this variable and in the preceding category of nervousness and oversensitivity, eventually become dysfunctional, especially if they obstruct the enactment of other, socially valued sex-role behaviors. For example, a certain amount of indirectness in interactions with others is valued in females and is usually labelled tactfulness or submissiveness. In this particular sample, indirectness may have developed into deceptive and dishonest behavior which is not viewed as feminine nor as socially desirable. Further, a certain amount of feminine "sneakiness" may have developed into a more aggressive or assertive "manipulativeness" in order to get what one wants. Parents, for example, used phrases such as "She thought she was smart enough to trick us," or "She likes to win and if necessary will stretch the truth."

NV10: Withdrawal. The univariate analysis reveals that parents are significantly more concerned about withdrawal behavior on the part of females than males, $F(1,200) = 4.12, p < .05$. Group means indicate that mothers of daughters are far more concerned than any other group about their child's withdrawal behavior. The variable consists

of four related complaints: (1) withdrawal from, avoidance of contact with peers, (2) overly quiet, shy, withdrawn behavior in the classroom, (3) parental concern regarding the child's potential social ostracism by peers because of other problem behaviors, and (4) poor communication with and isolation from the family, either as an expression of anger or as a manifestation of an unwillingness to talk about problems and take advice from parents. By far, the most predominant complaint made by mothers and fathers concerned poor communication with and isolation from the family. Concern regarding their child's social ostracism was expressed only by parents of girls. Generally, mothers expressed most concern regarding their daughter's unwillingness to share their problems with their mother, accompanied by frustration that the child hadn't been open to advice, e.g., "I couldn't get through to her." Fathers of daughters also emphasized the child's unwillingness to talk, accompanied by complaints of the child's isolating herself when angry or hurt.

Results of the analysis for this variable again support the general hypothesis that parents hold different expectations and standards of evaluation for their children based on the sex, and, by implication, the sex role of their child. Thus, more concern regarding withdrawal and poor communication is expressed with regard to females, possibly because one valued attribute of femininity is emotional openness and expressiveness.

In summary, five general aspects of behavior were described as problematic significantly more often by parents of females than males.

Females were described as anxious and oversensitive, manipulative and deceptive, argumentative, willful and stubborn, withdrawn and uncommunicative, and overly interested in sex and unsavory company. In accordance with Chesler's (1972) hypothesis, it is possible to construe all of the above behaviors as direct violations of or maladaptive extensions of the feminine role. Using Broverman et al.'s (1972) checklist, one finds that, (a) argumentative and stubborn behaviors directly conflict with role demands of submissiveness, compliance and passivity, (b) withdrawal and uncommunicative behavior conflicts with role demands of warmth and expressiveness, and (c) overt interest in sex and bad company conflict with demands that females remain sexually demure and unadventurous. The two remaining concerns regarding females, (d) anxiousness and oversensitivity, and (e) manipulative, deceptive behavior, can be interpreted as maladaptive extensions of stereotypically "feminine" behavior. Thus, becoming easily excited, overwhelmed by emotion and vulnerable and easily hurt by others are expected feminine traits which possibly have been exacerbated or distorted in this population to include anxiety and acute sensitivity which interfere with the enactment of other feminine and socially valued behaviors. That is, the anxious and fearful females in this study were unable to attend class, interact with family or maintain social relationships. In the same way, manipulative and deceptive behaviors, extensions of feminine "sneakiness," may have become problematic in that for these females they included an aggressive and resistive element that is no longer socially acceptable for females.

Significantly differentiating male complaints

NV2: Delinquent, antisocial, aggressive behavior. The univariate analysis reveals that parents refer boys significantly more often than girls for aggressive, antisocial behavior, $F(1,200) = 4.06$, $p < .05$. Strength of parental concern is relatively high for this variable, with delinquent behavior ranking second for boys among all parental concerns. Perhaps the antisocial behaviors reported in this category are least dependent on parental attribution of pathology than those described in any other category. Rather, fire setting, stealing, destruction of property and cruelty to animals are all disturbing violations of societal prohibitions whether performed by a male or female and are behaviors directed against another person or thing, so that they demand a direct response and modification. With regard to sex roles, it is consistent that males have chosen more aggressive modes of delinquency. At the same time, the destructiveness of the behaviors described here may be construed as maladaptive extensions of the stereotypical expectation that males be aggressive and assertive.

NV4: Irresponsibility, apathy; lack of initiative, motivation.

The univariate analysis reveals that parents express significantly greater concern regarding perceived irresponsibility and lack of initiative on the part of their sons than daughters, $F(1,200) = 12.42$, $p < .001$. Additionally, fathers as a group are far more concerned than are mothers with their child's initiative and sense of responsibility, regardless of sex of child.

This variable was comprised of four related complaints: (1) concern regarding the child's future ability to fulfill a productive adult

role, (2) references to the child's apathy, lack of competitiveness, self sufficiency or pride in achievement, (3) concern regarding the child's poor judgment, inability to properly evaluate the consequences of his actions, and (4) specific complaints that the child exhibited no remorse or guilt with regard to unacceptable behaviors, that he seemed not "to care."

These concerns were strikingly less frequent among the parents of females and indeed almost absent among mothers of females. These findings again support the hypothesis that parental concerns for boys significantly differ from those for girls. Additionally, parental complaints regarding lack of initiative and motivation on the part of their child indicate a disappointment and concern that their son is not fulfilling the demands for independence, competitiveness and pride in accomplishment that define the masculine sex role. Many parents presented clearcut concerns regarding autonomy, for example, "I'm worried he won't grow up to be happy and productive;" "He can't seem to be goal-directed, think ahead...I can't go through life telling him to tie his shoes."

At the same time many parents were concerned about their son's unwillingness to openly express remorse and were stung by their child's aloofness when confronted with misbehavior. Yet most probably these boys are double bound by the stereotypical expectation that they must hide their emotions, never cry and never show that they are hurt or vulnerable. Further, it appears that in some cases, particularly among fathers of sons, serious emotional withdrawal was construed only in

terms of a lack of competitiveness and aggressiveness.

NV8: Annoying, rude, disruptive behavior. The univariate analysis reveals that parents express significantly greater concern regarding disruptive behavior on the part of boys than of girls, $F(1,200) = 6.16$, $p < .05$. With regard to overall concern, this variable is one of the relatively less salient to parents.

This variable consists of two major complaints: (1) deliberately provocative, disruptive behavior, and (2) disruptive behavior based on restlessness, distractibility, or "hyperactivity." This latter term had been offered to parents by both laymen and teachers. Parental complaints distributed about equally among these two categories for boys. Complaints regarding girls included only one instance of disruptive behavior considered to be deliberately provocative.

All instances of disruptive behavior reported by fathers dealt with school misbehavior reported to parents by teachers or principals, while descriptions by mothers included instances of disruptive behavior both at home and at school with about equal frequency. Behaviors within the deliberately provocative category included deliberately smacking food or making other noises at dinner, putting one's feet on one's desk or throwing spitballs at the teacher, or generally, "becoming the class clown," "taking over the class," or "giving the teacher hell." Behaviors within the hyperactive category included a seeming inability to sit still or to concentrate, wandering around the classroom, continually talking or jumping from one activity to another.

There are several reasons why fathers may have responded only to provocative misbehavior in school and not in the home. Because mothers in this sample spent a greater part of their day at home with their child, they may have been more attuned to and vulnerable to annoyances in the home. Additionally, fathers occasionally made comments regarding disruptive school behavior indicating that they were not entirely sure that their son's behavior was truly problematic, for example, "He's like me...just being plain boy," or "nothing wrong but that he was oversmart...school's not able to cope with him...he needed more personal attention." Thus it is possible that without prodding from the school, many fathers in this category would not have brought their child to a guidance clinic.

The findings support the general hypothesis regarding significant differences in parental complaints according to sex of child. In this case boys were apparently displaying sex-typed masculine behaviors of high activity level and aggressiveness to a dysfunctional degree in that they either refused or were unable to conform to class rules and work at assignments, and engaged in provocations at home most probably to gain their mother's attention.

NV13: Homosexual or cross-sex behavior. The univariate analysis revealed that parents expressed significantly greater concern regarding a homosexual orientation in dress, play or social behavior on the part of sons than of daughters, $F(1,200) = 5.74, p < .05$. The analysis is of dubious significance, however, in that this complaint occurred only for boys and occurred with very low frequency, ranking fifteenth among

the 16 categories, followed only by the miscellaneous category.

Parental complaints fell into two categories: (1) clear declarations on the part of their adolescent sons (in all cases the child was 16 years old), that they were sexually oriented toward males, accompanied in these instances by effeminate behaviors including wearing cosmetics and women's clothing, and walking and talking in a feminine manner, and (2) parental complaints regarding latency-age boys that they played too often with girls, and dressed up in their mother's high heels and purse when playing house.

While homosexuality does not necessarily include feminine sex-role behavior, the boys in this sample who manifested a sexual preference for males, violated primary sex-role requirements in all aspects of their social behavior. Thus their sexuality and sex-role behavior are confounded, making it difficult to know which aspect of their behavior disturbed their parents most.

The second and smaller group of latency-age boys provide seemingly unambiguous support for the hypothesis that sex-role standards are used in parents' evaluations of their child's mental health. While these boys were possibly too young to have established a homosexual orientation and in fact usually played with members of the opposite sex, the very few parents who presented complaints in this category clearly disapproved of their son's engaging in overtly "female" activities such as playing house, particularly when it involved dressing up in woman's clothing. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) confirm this finding that parents, particularly fathers, present rather powerful negative reactions to feminine

activities which could be construed as leading to an eventual homosexual orientation. They suggest quite reasonably that parents of boys are much more vulnerable to the threat of development of a homosexual orientation in their sons because of their perception of a greater prevalence and thus greater possibility of homosexuality in boys.

NV14: Hostile, antagonistic relationships with peers. The univariate analysis revealed that parents express significantly greater concern regarding antagonistic relationships with peers on the part of their sons than daughters, $F(1,200) = 13.45, p < .001$.

The variable consists of complaints of the child's "not getting along" with other children in the neighborhood and at school. Specifically, boys are described as being verbally and primarily aggressive, frequently assaultive. Parents of boys voiced concern regarding their child's lack of control as manifested by violent outbursts and tantrums, including the use of "weapons," e.g., a baseball bat, chain, rock or even a knife in altercations. Both mothers and fathers also placed emphasis on their son's inability to develop friendships or positive relationships with peers in general, stating that the child's interactions with others inevitably resulted in fighting. The very few parents of females in this group complained only of the child's inability "to get along" and made no mention of physical aggression.

These results again confirm the thesis that parental complaints will significantly differ according to the sex of the child. Further, as with other parental descriptions of aggression in boys, this parti-

cular sex-typed trait appears to have become destructive and maladaptive.

In summary, five general aspects of behavior were described as significantly more problematic by parents of boys. Boys were described as lacking in initiative, motivation to achieve and sense of responsibility, as committing destructive or antisocial acts, as engaging in primarily aggressive, hostile interactions with peers, and as engaging in provocative, disruptive, attention-getting behaviors at home and school, and finally, as evidencing a homosexual orientation and/or engaging in feminine activities.

As with complaints regarding females, the above array of problem behaviors can be construed as violations of or maladaptive extensions of the masculine role. Thus, the predominant complaint for boys, lack of initiative, motivation and responsibility, represents a violation of the male sex role demand for goal-oriented, assertive, independent problem solving behavior. In a somewhat similar way, complaints of feminine activity, when they can be separated from reports of overt homosexuality, represent clear violations of appropriate masculine behavior.

The three remaining complaints for boys involved aggressive, acting out behavior. Particularly, complaints of antisocial, delinquent behavior and antagonistic relationships with peers involved physical aggression and parental concerns regarding the child's hostility and seemingly uncontrollable rage. These behaviors can be viewed as maladaptive extensions of the socially approved masculine

qualities of aggressiveness and dominance. As with complaints regarding females' anxiety and manipulateness, the aggressive behavior of boys in most of the above instances had become dysfunctional in that they seemed unable to problem solve or manage situations without loss of control of their emotions and without alienation of peers and important authority figures. Thus they failed to conform to sex role demands of competency or instrumentality in that they were unable to resolve important situations objectively and logically.

Significant Parent-Child Interaction Effects

NV3: Open expression of resentment or hostility toward mother and/or father. The univariate analysis revealed that mothers were most concerned about the hostility of their daughters while fathers were most concerned about the hostility of their sons, $F(1,200) = 4.01, p < .05$.

With the exception of one child, all instances of expressed hostility by females were nonphysical in form, usually being verbal denunciations of the parent. In contrast, all instances of hostility on the part of boys, with one exception, included physical violence. During these episodes they either directly attacked the parent or hit and kicked in the course of a power struggle. These differences in physical versus verbal styles of aggression are congruent with previous findings on sex differences in the expression of aggression.

A more complex finding is that mothers and fathers both described the child's hostility as more often directed toward the mother, regardless of sex of child. Relatively few instances of hostility toward

the father were reported and these were all examples of verbal insolence or abuse on the part of females. Neither mother nor father described concern regarding their son's hostility toward the father. Given that almost all instances of male aggression were physical, it is perhaps not surprising that they expressed their aggression toward the less threatening or physically powerful target.

Regardless of target of hostility, the greater concern expressed regarding the anger and alienation of the child by the same-sex parent suggests that these parents are highly sensitive to the formation of positive alliances between parent and child and especially to the formation of positive identifications which might lead to appropriate sex-role typing.

NV9: Social immaturity, dependency. The univariate analysis reveals that mothers are more concerned about immaturity and dependency on the part of their sons, while fathers are most concerned about these traits with regard to their daughters, $F(1,200) = 5.09$, $p < .05$.

The variable is comprised of four related complaints: (1) the child prefers to play with children much younger than himself; (2) the child exhibits regressive behaviors such as bedwetting, encopresis, thumb sucking, giggling, waddling or in other ways acting "like a baby;" (3) the child clings to his mother, whines and refuses to leave the house to play with peers; and (4) the child refuses to tackle certain activities, including especially the development of self-care and motor skills.

All of these behaviors were reported slightly more frequently by mothers of sons and fathers of daughters. Additionally, mothers complained of clinging behavior on the part of their sons but not their daughters, while fathers made no mention of this behavior for boys or girls. Also, fathers frequently mentioned that their wives too often "babied" their daughter or tolerated an unwillingness to engage in housekeeping, self-care or peer activities outside the home. It is possible that the cross-sex results found here are based on the mothers' tolerance of passive, dependent behavior on the part of their daughters but not of their sons and the fathers' unwillingness to tolerate regressive or overly dependent behavior on the part of either boys or girls. This hypothesis is congruent with previous studies (Stein & Bailey, 1973) which show mothers to be intolerant of dependency on the part of their sons while relatively encouraging of this behavior in their daughters. Further, this interpretation is also congruent with findings which show the father to be more oriented toward the development of instrumental behavior in his children, even though the context of achievement or competency may differ according to sex roles (Lynn, 1974).

NV10: Withdrawal. The univariate analysis reveals that mothers are significantly more concerned regarding withdrawal on the part of their daughters and fathers are more concerned regarding withdrawal on the part of their sons, $F(1,200) = 9.15, p < .01$. The content of this category has been described previously under significant main effects for Sex of Child. Mothers of daughters are far more concerned

than any other group about their child's withdrawal behavior. At the same time, mothers of sons are the least concerned about withdrawal on the part of their child. Fathers of boys and girls fell between these two groups, with more concern evidenced by fathers of boys than girls. Responses of mothers are primarily responsible for both the main and interaction effects, showing marked variance in their concern regarding effective communication with daughters versus sons.

At the same time, the same-sex interaction effect found here is congruent with the interaction effect shown for the variable of expression of hostility toward parents. That is, mothers of daughters and fathers of sons are particularly concerned regarding their child's isolation and lack of communication, again indicating a special sensitivity to the formation of positive alliances leading to the development of appropriate sex-role identifications. With regard to complaints of isolative behavior and poor communication, mothers most often described their daughter's unwillingness to share feelings and discuss problems, while fathers placed more emphasis on their son's quietness and passivity, and on the lack of warmth in the father-son relationship, including references to the son's fear of his father.

Positive Behavior Profiles

It was hypothesized that parental descriptions of appropriate or praiseworthy behavior on the part of their child would significantly differ depending upon whether they were describing a boy or a girl. A corollary to this expectation was that the significant sex differences in behavior profiles could be attributed to differential sex-role

expectations, thus providing complementary evidence that parents use these differential standards and expectations in not only defining their child's behavior, but also in evaluating that behavior as healthy or pathological.

The MANOVA results using Sex of Child as a between-groups factor and Sex of Parent as a within-groups factor, and the eight scales of the positive behavior profile as the dependent variables, are presented in Table 7. The analysis revealed a significant main effect for Sex of Child, $F(8,93) = 4.00, p < .002$. Thus, as with problem behaviors, parents use different standards of evaluation for appropriate behavior depending upon whether they are describing a boy or a girl.

Figures 5 through 8 present profiles of the overall means for the dependent variables, cell means for boys versus girls, cell means for mothers versus fathers, and cell means for mothers and fathers of boys and girls, respectively. The univariate F 's generated from the MANOVA for both main and interaction effects for each of the 8 dependent variables are presented in Table 8. Univariate effects for Sex of Parent and the interaction of Sex of Parent x Sex of Child cannot be considered to be statistically significant in that the MANOVA tests for these effects were not significant.

Of the eight general categories of behavior, four significantly differentiated parents of males from parents of females, with two complaints more relevant to females and two complaints more relevant to males. Of the remaining four categories, two (PV7, specific achievement or talent, and PV8, social poise, likeableness) included

Table 7
Multivariate Analysis of Variance: Positive Dependent Variables 1 - 8

Source	Log (generalized variance)	U-Statistic (Wilk's Λ)	Rao's F	df _h	df _e	p
A Child's Sex	30.03	0.71	4.00	8	93	<.002
B Parent's Sex	29.78	0.91	1.19	8	93	
S(A) Subjects within Child Sex	36.24	0.00				
A X B	29.82	0.87	1.68	8	93	
B X S(A)	29.69					

Note. - Sums of squares and cross products matrices (SSCP) for hypothesis and error are given in Appendix (Tables 6 - 10).

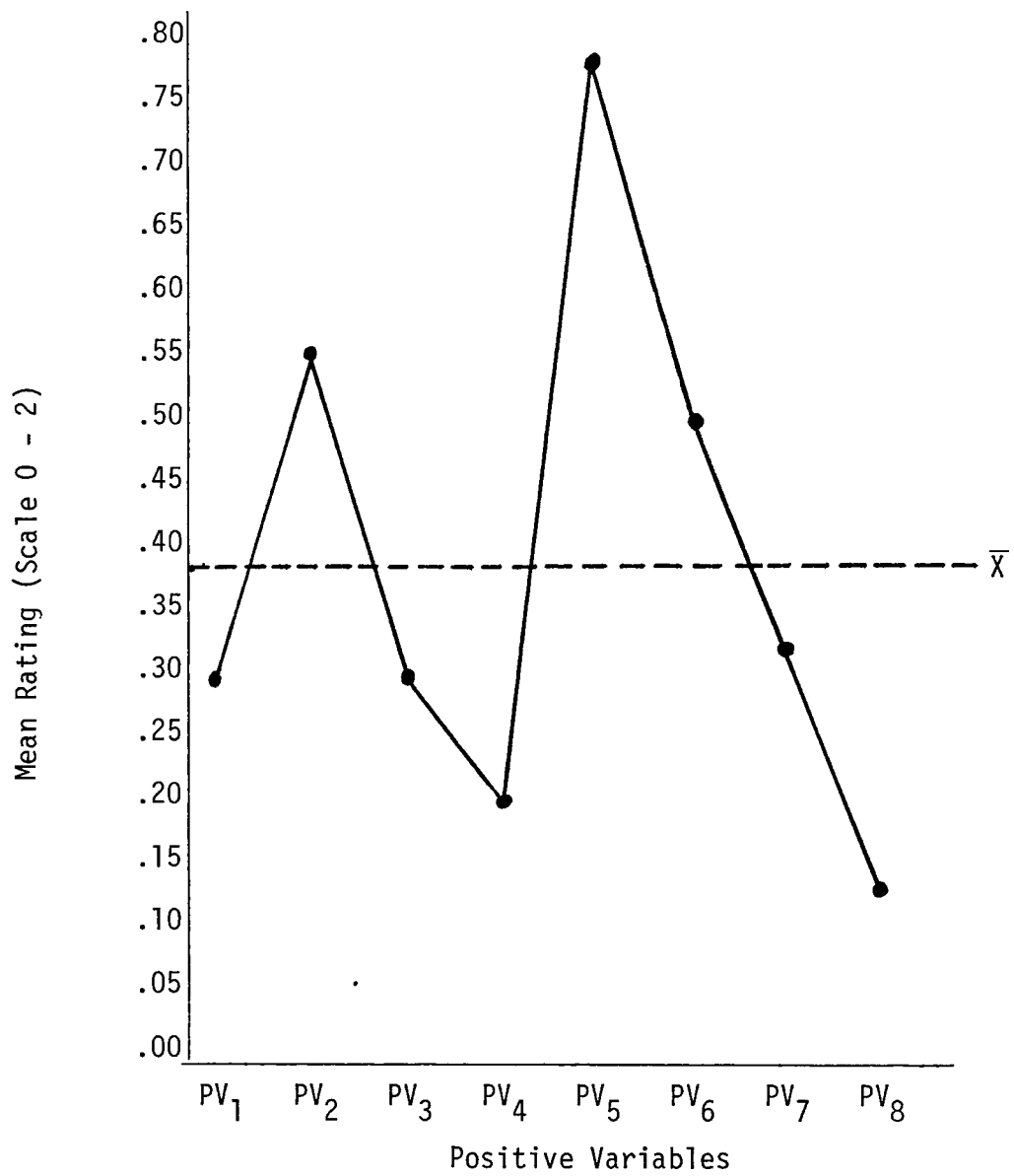


FIGURE 5
PROFILE OF DESIRABLE BEHAVIORS:
OVERALL MEAN RATINGS

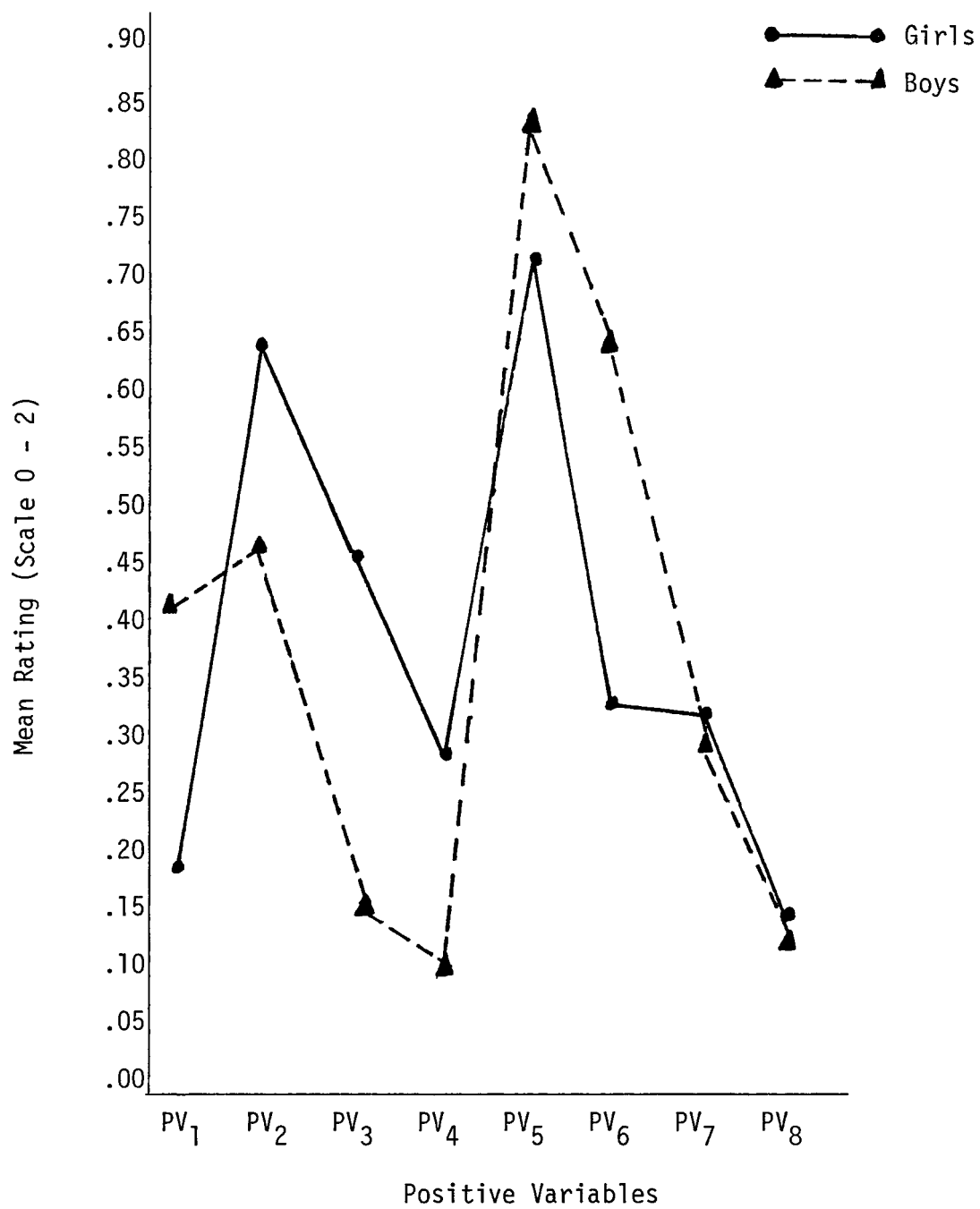


FIGURE 6
PROFILE OF DESIRABLE BEHAVIORS:
BOYS VS. GIRLS

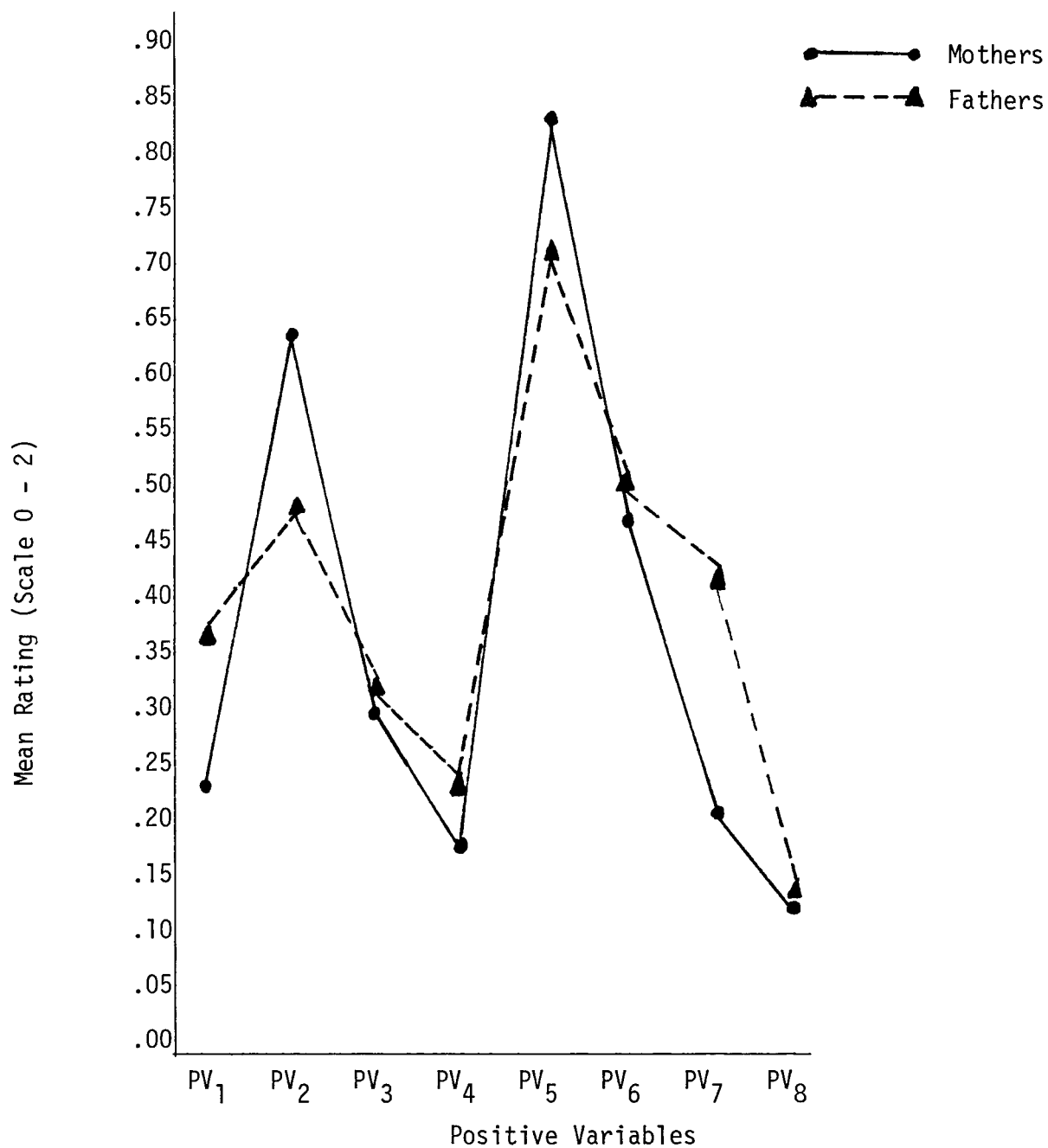


FIGURE 7
PROFILE OF DESIRABLE BEHAVIORS:
MOTHERS VS. FATHERS

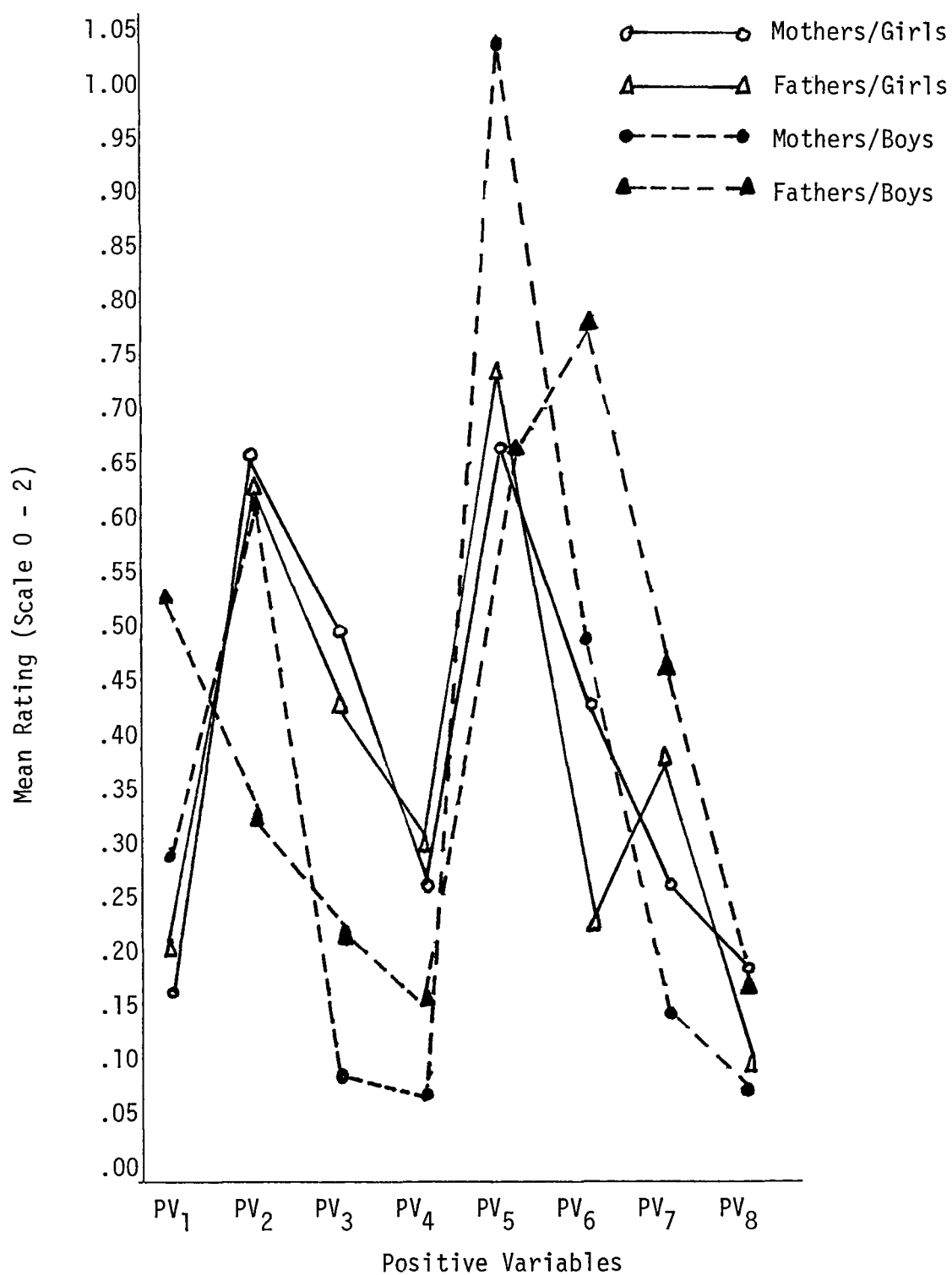


FIGURE 8

PROFILE OF DESIRABLE BEHAVIORS:

SEX OF CHILD x SEX OF PARENT

Table 8
Univariate F's from Multivariate Analysis of Variance;
Positive Dependent Variables
1 - 8

Source	Dependent Variables							
	PV ₁	PV ₂	PV ₃	PV ₄	PV ₅	PV ₆	PV ₇	PV ₈
A Child	4.24**	1.41	9.07***	4.04**	1.00	4.93**	0.03	0.22
B Parent	1.94	0.19	0.00	0.26	2.10	0.50	9.83***	0.24
A X B	0.99	3.04*	1.71	0.26	1.40	3.75*	0.20	4.45**

***p <.01

**p <.05

*p <.10

differences in content embedded within the category which separated boys from girls, and two (PV2, obedience and PV5, thoughtfulness, empathy) can be considered to be relatively non sex-typed.

Female appropriate behaviors

PV3: Internalization and expression of parental standards.

The univariate analysis reveals that parents of girls express significantly more approval for behaviors indicating awareness and acceptance of parental standards of right and wrong than do parents of boys, $F(1,200) = 9.07, p < .01$.

This variable is comprised of four factors: (1) the child's sharing problems with a parent, with emphasis on the expression of feelings, (2) the child's interest in church and related religious activities, (3) the child's evidencing good judgment, i.e., sharing in parental perceptions regarding appropriate friends and unsavory situations, evidencing guilt and self punishment, evidencing an ability to delay immediate gratification (turn down sweets, give up tranquilizers), and evidencing an ability to sacrifice immediate personal needs for the well being or development of another.

These findings again support the hypothesis that parental standards of behavior for boys and girls significantly differ. Further, the evaluation of expressivity, religiosity, awareness and consideration of the feelings of others and a more passive, submission to the parental point of view supports the hypothesis that traditional sex-role stereotypes play a significant part in determining and differentiating parental attitudes toward boys and girls.

PV4: Social poise, careful grooming. The univariate analysis reveals that parents of females are more attuned to and place a greater value on careful grooming and appropriate social behavior than parents of males, $F(1,200) = 4.04, p < .05$. Mothers, especially, express almost no interest in these behaviors in their sons.

The variable is comprised of three factors: (1) descriptions of the child as physically attractive or as exhibiting an interest in grooming, looking neat and attractive, (2) descriptions of the child as polite, well-mannered, and (3) specific mention of the child as behaving appropriately for his sex-role, e.g., "acted like a perfect little lady," "acted gentlemanly."

The greater parental interest in grooming and manners on the part of their daughters supports the hypothesis that boys and girls are evaluated by very different sets of standards and that a major differentiating component of these standards is sex-role appropriate behavior. Not only are interest in grooming and politeness traditionally feminine attributes, but also parents much more often directly referred to their daughters' behavior as "ladylike" than to their sons' behavior as "gentlemanly." Fathers, especially, expressed particular interest in their daughter's fulfilling sex-role requirements, not only in acting like "a little lady," but also in acquiring "housewife skills, like serving me cheesecake," or "She'll pick up my shoes and carry them into the bedroom."

Emphasis on physical attractiveness was expressed about equally

by mothers and fathers of daughters, while attractiveness was never mentioned with regard to boys. Grooming, including cleanliness and neatness was mentioned only by mothers and only in one occasion with regard to a boy. In this latter instance additional emphasis was placed on the child's exhibiting independence, e.g., "He makes up his own mind; even though the clothes don't match, I'm glad I can't manipulate him."

Finally poise and propriety was emphasized by both mothers and fathers of females, especially regarding table manners and for fathers of daughters, with regard to amenities such as saying "thank you... even when she doesn't have to." Interestingly, this latter father cited his daughter's pleasing way of asking him to make lunch: "She was polite and timid, a bit nervous."

The above descriptions of variables PV3 and PV4 constitute the very definition of socially desirable femininity and contain more overt and unambiguous stereotypes than found elsewhere in the data. They fit quite closely with Broverman's accumulations of commonly held stereotypes for females and they support the notion that these parents do not differ very much from college students or mental health practitioners in what they consider to be appropriate behaviors for females. The study, of course, does not assess the strength of the stereotypical values expressed here, nor does the positive critical incident directly assess the use of these stereotypes in the evaluation of mental health.

One reason that more distinctly stereotypical responses were elicited in this phase of the interview may be that parents were faced with a more unstructured situation in which they were asked to choose an incident from among the full range of their child's behavior, rather than to focus on the referral incident. Interestingly, parents did find it more difficult to single out a specific example of pleasing behavior. Perhaps when faced with such an unstructured situation, parents reach for stereotypes, i.e., for more consensually validated or publicly approved constructs, rather than reveal their more idiosyncratic and differentiated attitudes.

Male appropriate behaviors

PV1: Parent-child comradeship; ability to discuss, deal with problems rationally, reasonably. The univariate analysis reveals that parents express a greater interest in "comradeship" and mutual problem solving in their relationship with their sons than with their daughters, $F(1,200) = 4.24, p < .05$.

This variable is comprised of situations provided by parents which were markedly devoid of hostility and conflict between parent and child. Two separate factors were included: (1) the child is described as affectionate, relaxed and working cooperatively with the parent; an atmosphere of togetherness and sharing is stressed, and (2) the child is described as rational, logical and objective in discussing and solving problems, with an emphasis on controlling emotional reactions to events.

The importance for parents of boys of a rational, unemotional

approach to situations and of independent, objective problem solving, coincides with sex-role expectations and standards for males. The additional emphasis on the expression of affection on the part of boys reveals a concern with a traditionally more feminine attribute and supports a tentative emergence of a trend toward the appreciation of more feminine behaviors in males, thus making these attributes more "androgynous" (Peterson, 1975).

PV6: Initiative, achievement motivation. The univariate analysis reveals that parents of boys are significantly more attuned to indications of motivation to achieve, initiative and pride in accomplishment than are parents of girls, $F(1,200) = 4.93, p < .05$.

The variable is comprised of three groups of behaviors: (1) the child is described as self-motivated, persistent, determined and as taking pride, pleasure in excelling or doing well; (2) the child is described as pleased with or sure of himself, as having proved something to himself, and (3) the child is described as self-reliant, assertive and aggressive in challenging situations.

By far the most frequent group of behaviors involved the child's taking pride in himself and his accomplishments and for boys included a particular emphasis on initiative, persistence and involvement in the project. Interestingly, one father described his daughter as exhibiting a strong desire to learn and as spending "all her spare time at it," then qualified his statement with, "She's pretty active for a girl, she's really more like a boy...I guess she's like I was."

The findings for this variable further support the hypothesis

that different behaviors are expected and approved for boys and girls and that differences fall along dimensions of sex role. Once again, both of the above variables which significantly differentiated boys from girls consist, with the exception of affectionate behavior, of straightforward stereotypical descriptions of socially valued masculine qualities of competency, ambitiousness, self-confidence, and a transcendence of emotional or immediate interpersonal issues in the service of effective problem solving and achievement.

Nonsignificant univariates

The remainder of the categories in the positive behavior profile provide interesting and somewhat inconsistent data. To begin with, the two most salient behaviors for parents in this sample, obedience (PV2) and thoughtful, empathic behavior (PV5), did not discriminate between parents of males and females. The variable of obedience is comprised of parental descriptions of their child complying rather willingly with rules, performing delegated chores thoroughly and without resistance, and to a lesser degree, displaying good learning abilities in school. A look at group means for this variable reveals that fathers of boys express much less enthusiasm for "obedience," perhaps because the above-described behaviors indicate compliance to an uncomfortably passive degree. Fathers may want and expect their sons to perform obligatory household or school tasks successfully, while exhibiting some independence and "boyishness" through oppositional behavior as well. Thus, it may be that these boys are receiving mixed messages.

With regard to thoughtful, empathic behavior, parents expressed

more interest in and approval of these behaviors than of those described in any other category. The variable is comprised of three related factors: (1) indications of sensitivity to and concern for the feelings and needs of others, including gentleness, kindness in behavior toward siblings, relatives, friends, (2) parental behavior toward siblings, including a protective, caretaking attitude, and (3) helpful, cooperative behavior including spontaneously assisting a parent in an activity. One can again speculate that, as with the approval of affectionate behavior in PV1, these expressive and more typically "feminine" behaviors which are highly valued in both boys and girls, indicate a trend toward a more differentiated or androgynous attitude toward males, in that the profile of desired behaviors includes both more typically masculine and feminine behaviors for them.

The remaining two categories, social extroversion and popularity (PV8) and the specification of a talent or achievement (PV7), while not discriminating boys from girls, reveal differences in content which further support the overall predominance of sex typing in the profile. Specifically, boys were more often described as socially at ease, in fact dominant and assertive in social situations, and as achieving in athletics and construction or building, while females were described as well-liked or pleasing to others and as achieving in artistic or homemaking activities.

In summary, the majority of the categories in the positive behavior profile either significantly differentiated boys from girls or could be broken down by boys and girls when examined for content.

In all of these cases the differences between males and females were consistent with traditional sex-role stereotypes. The category of obedience, while not differentiating boys from girls, revealed that fathers of boys were markedly deviant from the remainder of the sample in that they expressed little enthusiasm for this area of performance. The remaining and highly salient variable of thoughtfulness and empathy did not differentiate boys from girls and indicates an important area of behavior and parental concern which might be called androgynous.

Vignettes

In order to provide additional support for the idea that sex-role considerations play a part in parental evaluations of their child's behavior, it was hypothesized that problematic behavior which was also sex-role incongruent would elicit stronger and more negative responses than would problematic behavior which was sex-role congruent. It was hypothesized more specifically, that both degree of punitiveness in parental response and degree of pathology attributed to the behavior would be significantly higher in sex-role incongruent situations.

Punitiveness. Results of the four-way ANOVA are presented in Table 9. The analysis reveals significant main effects for Vignette, $F(2,400) = 51.18, p < .001$, and for Sex Role of Vignette, $F(1,200) = 250.05, p < .001$, and significant interaction effects for Parent x Vignette, $F(2,400) = 2.99, p < .05$, and for Sex of Child x Vignette, or Congruence, $F(2,400) = 4.58, p < .01$.

Table 9
Analysis of Variance: Degree of Punitiveness in Parental
Response to Vignettes

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between Subjects				
Parent Sex (P)	2.27	1	2.27	
Order/Sex of Child in Vignette (O)	0.65	1	0.65	
P x O	0.06	1	0.06	
Subjects within Groups (SwG)	169.25	200	0.85	
Within Subjects				
Sex Role of Vignette (X)	176.03	1	176.03	250.05***
Vignette (V)	31.91	2	15.96	51.18***
X x P	0.28	1	0.28	
X x O	0.06	1	0.06	
X x P x O	0.01	1	0.01	
X x SwG	140.87	200	0.70	
V x P	1.86	2	0.93	2.99*
V x O (Congruence/ Incongruence)	2.86	2	1.43	4.58**
V x P x O	0.16	2	0.08	
V x SwG	124.71	400	0.31	
Total	650.97	815		

***p < .001

**p < .01

*p < .05

Vignette and Sex Role of Vignette. Vignette is a within-subjects factor nested within Sex Role of Vignette (masculine/feminine), with Vignettes 1 and 2 being masculine and Vignettes 3 and 4 being feminine. The significant main effects for these two factors indicate that degree of punitiveness in parental response was significantly affected by the nature of the vignette and specifically, the sex role of the vignette, regardless of the sex role congruence or incongruence of the situation. Table 8 presents the mean ratings of punitiveness for Vignettes 1 through 4 in both sex-role congruent and incongruent situations. Inspection of these data indicates that Vignettes 3 and 4, or the "feminine" situations, were judged much less punitively than were Vignettes 1 and 2, or the "masculine" situations.

These findings were unexpected and may indicate that the "masculine" vignettes included and were thus confounded by a greater degree of troublesome or maladaptive behavior than was included in the "feminine" vignettes. In retrospect, the masculine vignettes might have been designed to include elements of disobedient, disruptive behavior, excluding the elements of violence and destructiveness which were used here, thus making them more equivalent to the passive, dependent maladaptive behaviors used in the feminine situations. In keeping with this idea, current reviews of the socialization literature (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974) indicate that parents disapprove of and actively punish destructive aggression in their child regardless of his or her sex, while milder forms of aggression, such as insolence and disobedience, receive differential responses by sex of child.

An alternative hypothesis, also congruent with the current socialization literature, is that maladaptive feminine behaviors do not engender as much concern on the part of parents as do maladaptive masculine behaviors. Disruptive, aggressive behavior may demand more attention and response than the more feminine behaviors of passivity and dependency, particularly in school years when conformity and passivity are in many ways adaptive to the demands of the classroom and smooth family functioning. This hypothesis may explain the well-documented phenomenon of a greater number of male to female referrals to guidance centers during the school years (e.g., Gove & Herb, 1974).

Sex of Child in Vignette x Vignette, or Role Congruence. This significant interaction effect supports the central hypothesis of this aspect of the study. Thus, problematic situations which included role incongruent behavior elicited a greater degree of punitiveness in parental response than did problematic situations involving role congruent behavior. In three out of four vignettes a more punitive response was elicited by the role incongruent condition. It should be noted however, that the absolute differences among group means as shown in Table 10, were very small, ranging from .06 to .20 on a scale from 0.00 to 3.00. In contrast, group differences among the vignettes ranged from .36 to 1.32 on the same scale. This seriously attenuates the clinical significance of the sex role incongruent differences.

Table 10
Mean Ratings of Punitiveness in Parental
Response to Vignettes

Group	Vignettes			
	Vignette #1 (Masculine)	Vignette #2 (Masculine)	Vignette #3 (Feminine)	Vignette #4 (Feminine)
Sex-role congruent	2.68	2.24	1.22	1.68
Sex-role incongruent	2.60	2.30	1.42	1.80

Parent x Vignette. Table 11 presents the mean ratings of punitiveness for Vignettes 1 through 4 by mothers and fathers. Fathers and mothers expressed similar degrees of punitiveness in response to Vignettes 1 and 4, while fathers tended to be more punitive in response to Vignettes 2 and 3. Again, the absolute differences between parents' ratings was quite small (.16 to .33), so that this effect may have little clinical significance.

Pathology. It was hypothesized, as with punitiveness, that the degree of pathology attributed to the behavior would be significantly greater in role incongruent than congruent situations. ANOVA results are presented in Table 12. Significant main effects were obtained for Vignette, $F(2,400) = 32.67, p < .001$, and Sex Role of Vignette, $F(1,200) = 20.73, p < .001$, and a significant interaction effect obtained for Sex of Child in Vignette x Vignette, or Congruence, $F(2,400) = 14.61, p < .001$.

Vignette and Sex Role of Vignette. Table 13 presents the mean ratings of pathology attributed to the situations for Vignettes 1 through 4 in both Role Congruent and Incongruent conditions. Once again the main effects for Vignette and Sex Role of Vignette indicate that a greater degree of pathology was attributed to the masculine behaviors in Vignettes 1 and 2 than to the feminine behaviors in Vignettes 3 and 4, regardless of sex-role congruence. The hypotheses relevant to the findings for punitiveness may also apply to the attribution of pathology. First, it may be that the "masculine" vignettes included and were thus confounded by a greater degree of

Table 11
Mean Ratings of Punitiveness in Parental
Response to Vignettes

Group	Vignettes			
	Vignette #1 (Masculine)	Vignette #2 (Masculine)	Vignette #3 (Feminine)	Vignette #4 (Feminine)
Mothers	2.62	2.16	1.24	1.76
Fathers	2.66	2.39	1.40	1.72

Table 12
Analysis of Variance: Degree of Pathology Attributed
to Behavior Presented in Vignette

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Between Subjects				
Parent Sex (P)	0.35	1	0.35	
Order/Sex of Child in Vignette (O)	0.35	1	0.35	
P x O	0.01	1	0.01	
Subjects within Groups (SwG)	129.70	200	0.65	
Within Subjects				
Sex Role of Vignette (X)	13.00	1	13.00	20.73***
Vignette (V)	19.18	2	9.59	32.69***
X x P	0.21	1	0.21	
X x O	0.06	1	0.06	
X x P x O	0.06	1	0.06	
X x SwG	125.42	200	0.63	
V x P	1.09	2	0.54	
V x O (Congruence/ Incongruence)	8.57	2	4.29	14.61***
V x P x O	0.31	2	0.15	
V x SwG	117.35	400	0.29	
Total	415.67	815		

***p < .001

Table 13
Mean Ratings of Parental Attribution of
Pathology to Behaviors Presented in the
Vignettes

Group	Vignettes			
	Vignette # 1 (Masculine)	Vignette #2 (Masculine)	Vignette #3 (Feminine)	Vignette #4 (Feminine)
Sex-role Congruent	2.03	2.05	1.45	1.94
Sex-role Incongruent	2.10	2.17	1.78	2.16

troublesome or maladaptive behavior than was included in the "feminine" vignettes. Secondly, it is possible that masculine problem behaviors, involving aggressive acting out, demand more attention and evoke more concern than feminine problem behaviors of passivity, dependency and conformity.

Additionally however, the significant effect for Vignette and Sex Role of Vignette was primarily carried by the much lower scores obtained for Vignette #3. Both mothers and fathers, regardless of role congruence, attributed much less pathology to the behavior presented in this vignette than to the remaining 3 vignettes. Vignette #3 describes a child who remains at home engaged in passive activity and who refuses outside activities with peers. It is possible that this situation, which aimed to present passive activity and a lack of competitive, gregarious behavior, may have been confounded by the inclusion or attribution of independence, or goal-oriented, highly motivated behavior.

Sex of Child in Vignette x Vignette. In all four vignettes a greater degree of pathology was attributed to the condition in which sex role incongruent behavior was presented. This interaction effect further supports the central hypothesis of this aspect of the study that violation of sex role may be a component in the process of attribution of pathology to behavior. That is, parents may use sex-role standards as a guide or mediating device by which they measure their child's behavior as adaptive or maladaptive.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The present study was aimed at exploring the ways in which parents conceptualize maladjustment and attribute psychopathology to their child. It was assumed that in the process of describing and labelling their child, parents would reveal personal constructs regarding appropriate behavior which guide them in assessing adjustment and maladjustment. It was hypothesized that the constructs used by parents would differ significantly depending upon whether they were describing a boy or a girl and that the differences would fall along dimensions of sex role.

The parent interviews yielded a 16-scale profile of presenting complaints together with a supporting 8-scale profile of desirable behaviors. Both the negative and positive profiles significantly discriminated parents of boys from parents of girls. Further, those scales which differentiated parents of boys and girls consistently fell into two general categories, the first involving a cluster of behaviors more related to the feminine role requirements of warmth and expressivity, focusing on interpersonal behaviors and emotional experiences, and the second involving a cluster of behaviors more related to the masculine role requirements of competency and instrumentality. In both cases the child, at least from the parents' point of view, did not appear to measure up to expectations for sensitive, tactful, deferential behavior or for masterful, objective, problem solving behavior, either by directly contradicting sex-role requirements or

by extending role behaviors to a dysfunctional degree.

These findings support the central hypotheses of the study. Additionally, the analysis of the profile of parental complaints revealed a significant parent-child interaction, indicating that not only sex of child but also sex of parent contributed to parental evaluations of the child's behavior. This latter finding provides further support for the idea that parental attribution plays a significant part in the definition or diagnosis of childhood maladjustment.

There are clear limitations to generalization of the findings presented here, including the geographical character and socioeconomic status of the sample. The majority of families were middle and lower middle class, and all were from a large, southwestern city, with many living in outlying suburban and rural areas.

Additionally, one cannot conclude that the children in this sample were brought to a guidance center specifically because they exhibited maladaptive exaggerations or violations of sex role behaviors. Many fathers remained unclear as to whether they would have brought their child for treatment had it not been for pressure from their spouse or the child's school. Further, a control group of non-clinic families was not used in order to compare parental perceptions of their child's behavior with regard to sex-role expectations and the use of stereotypes. However, the rationale of the study did not include the expectation that non-clinic families would necessarily differ significantly from clinic families in their use of sex-role stereotypes, nor did it propose to pinpoint the specific motivation for referral.

Rather, the study was limited to the proposition that parents do use sex-role expectations in the process of evaluation and conceptualization of adaptive and maladaptive behavior. This particular thesis was supported by both the negative and positive behavior profiles and by the vignettes.

From another point of view, the findings presented here, including both the differentiating and nondifferentiating variables within the profiles, provide a complex, varied array of attitudes which support the use of the idiographic method embodied in the critical incident technique. Rather than restricting the subjects to a preconceived range of alternatives, parents were allowed to use their own constructs, applied to whatever situations were most important for them, resulting in a differentiated and hopefully more realistic assessment of their attitudes toward their child's developing personality and behavior. This approach is consonant with George Kelly's (1955) psychology of personal constructs and his Role Repertory Test, in which the individual is allowed to generate his own constructs or descriptions of himself and his social world and then to determine his "range of convenience," or the specific behaviors and situations to which the constructs apply. This approach allows for individual or group "inconsistencies" to emerge which can then be understood in terms of situation and behavior specificity. In the present study, for example, one finds that the complaint of disobedience, most often referring to doing assigned chores or homework, did not differentiate parents of boys from girls, while the complaint of argumentativeness and opinionated, stubborn

behavior significantly discriminated parents of girls from boys. In this case, a previously documented stereotypical expectation for conformity and submissiveness on the part of parents of females was supported when restricted to aggressive insolence or independence of thought, yet disconfirmed as sex-role specific when defined as straightforward noncompliance with assigned duties.

Implications of the profiles for personality development and adjustment

Based on the predominantly sex-role stereotypical nature of the profiles of parental concerns, one can conclude that role demands for both males and females are constricting and on occasion inconsistent.

Females. The data from the present study indicate that females are referred for treatment for lack of achievement behavior or pride in accomplishment significantly less often than are males. In fact this concern rates eleventh out of sixteen categories of concern. In their presenting complaints mothers of females revealed almost no concern regarding the daughter's achievement behavior and initiative. Consistent with the above findings, parents in this sample appear to be rather restrictive regarding assertive, oppositional, insolent behavior. Thus the complaint of headstrong, willful, stubborn behavior was extremely important for parents of girls but not boys. Interestingly, the specific descriptors "headstrong" or "strong-willed" were frequently applied to girls and literally never used with regard to boys.

Hoffman (1972), Kohlberg (1966), and others have argued and presented data which suggest that females, like males, both require and strive for autonomy and achievement in the process of developing a

positive and stable identity. That these needs may not be recognized and independent problem solving not fostered in females is clearly inhibitory to their growth and restrictive of their potential. While empathy, sensitivity to others and warmth and expressiveness are socially valued and important aspects of human functioning, research has shown that these more feminine attributes are not enough in themselves to insure a well-functioning personality. Studies consistently find that femininity as measured in various ways does not correlate positively with self-esteem, achievement, ego strength and other measures of adequate development and adjustment (Baruch & Barnett, 1975; Gump, 1972; Heilburn, 1968).

In addition, past research reveals that the most important correlate of achievement behavior in females is the amount of reinforcement (not nurturance) received from mothers for achievement efforts and approval seeking (Stein & Bailey, 1973). In the present study, mothers expressed the least amount of concern regarding their daughter's achievement behavior, less tolerance than fathers for the expression of hostility or insolence, and comparatively more concern regarding their daughter's withdrawal and unwillingness to disclose feelings, together with a greater tolerance for dependency. This particular cluster of concerns conforms to the pattern of child-rearing practices found by Stein and Bailey to be least supportive of the female's development of achievement behavior and autonomy. At the same time, these mothers are quite naturally describing a concern regarding what appears to be severe mother-daughter conflict, involving rejection of or alienation from

the mother and by implication, a disruption of the theoretically normal process of identification and socialization. Several mothers described themselves as being caught up in a power struggle with their daughter and complained that their child was "like her father."

Fathers of daughters duplicate mothers' apparent lack of concern regarding initiative and achievement motivation and a complementary intolerance of assertiveness in the form of stubbornness or willfulness. In addition, the particular complex of behaviors labelled "manipulativeness" or "sneakiness" represented the most salient concern for fathers among all behaviors described for either boys or girls. Fathers primarily emphasized their daughter's "sulkingness" or propensity to pout or withdraw either when reprimanded or unable to get her way. Additionally, this category included descriptions of rather precocious or adult sex-role behavior, for example, "She uses a Southern Belle tactic" in describing a 6-year old girl. One interpretation is that fathers here are responding to the passive-aggressive elements in their daughter's behavior, particularly passive resistance to authority. At the same time this complaint may represent a double bind for females, in that they are expected, especially by fathers, to be deferrent and to make use of their feminine attractiveness. For example, a "timid" or "shy" demeanor was described as a positive attribute by fathers, especially when asking a favor. And the father who complained of his daughter's Southern Belle tactics, described her "especially attractive way of dancing" when asked to think of behaviors of which he especially approved. Both Lynn (1974) and Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) describe the

father's particular interest in and enjoyment of his daughter's fitting the traditional image of a sexually attractive female person, which included flirting and being flirted with. The latter authors present a father's descriptions of his 3-year-old daughter: "A bit of a flirt, arch and playful with people, a pretended coyness...She cuddles and flatters in subtle ways...She's going to be sexy" (p. 329).

Males. Certainly the data from the profiles present a stronger emphasis on achievement and autonomy and the experience of competency for males. Additionally, parental concern for the development of empathy and thoughtfulness and the fathers' concern regarding the expression of affection indicate the inclusion of socially valued feminine traits within the male role, so that, as current research has begun to indicate, the erosion of stereotypical sex roles appears to be occurring for males (Peterson, 1975).

At the same time, parents of boys as well as girls in this sample manifest a predominant concern with traditional sex-role requirements thus constricting the development of certain potentialities. For example, parents expressed little concern regarding their sons' experience of anxiety, tended to characterize isolative behavior in terms of a lack of competitiveness, highly valued the use of logic to the exclusion of emotional expression, and mothers especially, expressed little concern regarding their sons' communicativeness.

Additionally, parents appeared to be particularly conflicted and one can hypothesize, contradictory in their expectations regarding aggression and autonomy. Thus, fathers presented their sons' disobedience

ence as the second most important behavior problem from their point of view, yet stated that loud, disruptive behavior at school might not be a problem at all, rather might be evidence of "just being plain boy."

Further, lack of assertiveness and competitiveness were presented as the primary behavior problem for boys while exaggerated forms of dominant, assertive behavior, e.g., disobedience, especially in the home, and physical aggression implying loss of control and unsuccessful resolution of difficulties were also clearly negatively valued. Given the pervasiveness of physical aggression throughout the boys' profile and the predominance of aggressive, antisocial behavior among the major complaints differentiating boys from girls, together with the demand for competitiveness and avoidance of emotional expression, it is probable that these boys are finding it difficult to develop appropriate, socially acceptable ways of expressing their aggression or individual, self-oriented needs.

The profile of presenting complaints compiled in the present study not only shows a differential evaluation of males and females, but also indicates that the constructs used by parents of males tend to be more closely tied to concrete behaviors of the child, e.g., stealing, vandalism, physical aggression, with the important exception of complaints regarding initiative and responsibility. In contrast, complaints regarding females involve a greater number of attributions regarding internal, subjective states, e.g., anxiety, stubbornness, deceptiveness. Even the parental concern regarding the expression of sexuality and

association with bad company tended to be based more on the attribution of vulnerability and conformity than on actual instances of sexual acting out. Further, cutting across male and female complaints, a similar trend occurs in that the concerns most salient to parents of boys and girls are those which involve greater value judgements and attributions regarding motivational or emotional states. Thus, Figure I reveals that, with the exception of disobedience, which does not discriminate boys from girls, the five most salient problems for parents of children in this sample were heavily reliant on parental attribution: lack of initiative, willfulness, anxiety or emotionality, deceptiveness or manipulativeness and withdrawal or uncommunicativeness. Perhaps this pattern tells us, more than anything else, that referral problems in children involve attitudes and evaluations on the part of the parent as much as, or even more than, behaviors on the part of the child.

Given the importance of parental perception or attribution, it is perhaps not surprising, then, that boys far outnumber girls in guidance clinics. That parents evince more concern for and active response to the behaviors of males than females is supported by their response to the feminine versus masculine problem behaviors presented in the vignettes in the present study. Perhaps this greater concern is based on the greater disruptiveness of the male's behavior. The referral problems described in the present sample would partially support this hypothesis, in that boys much more often than girls were described as physically aggressive or disruptive in both the home and at school. However the

primary complaint regarding boys was not aggression, but a lack of assertiveness, achievement motivation and initiative. Thus, it is possible that parents evince more concern for boys not only because they are more disruptive, but also because they are in general more concerned regarding the development of competence and instrumentality or effective problem solving in males. This conclusion is supported by Maccoby and Jacklin's (1974) review of the socialization literature, in which males are reported to have a more intense socialization experience, i.e., they are both rewarded and punished more often "...either because they do more things calling for adult response or because parents and teachers see them as having more interesting qualities or potential" (p. 335).

It would seem imperative to educate especially teachers and parents with regard to the apparent tendency to overprotect and underestimate the capacities and potential of female children. A child who is treated as fragile and in need of protection may indeed grow up to feel vulnerable and insecure. One reasonable explanation for the dramatic shift in the ratio of male to female patients in adulthood, with females outnumbering males, may be that many aspects of femininity, including submissiveness and dependency become increasingly maladaptive as the individual must take on the increased responsibilities of adulthood. Research supports this hypothesis as reported by Bart (1972), who states that it is the excessively feminine rather than masculine female who encounters psychological difficulties in adult years.

Finally, one cannot underestimate the pervasiveness and persistence

of sex-role stereotypes. Baruch and Barnett (1975) report that schools and media still tend to have a traditional stereotyped impact. Further, the most recent report of the Task Force on Sex Bias and Sex-Role Stereotyping in Psychotherapeutic Practice (1975) indicates a continuing bias in expectations and devaluation of women clients.

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APPENDIX A

Tables 1 - 10

Table 1
Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative
Dependent Variables for Child's Sex Effect (A)

Dependent Variables	NV ₁	NV ₂	NV ₃	NV ₄	NV ₅	NV ₆	NV ₇	NV ₈
NV ₁	2.16							
NV ₂	-2.57	3.06						
NV ₃	0.41	-0.49	0.08					
NV ₄	-4.43	5.27	-0.84	9.06				
NV ₅	4.01	-4.78	0.76	-8.22	7.46			
NV ₆	5.87	-6.98	1.12	-12.01	10.89	15.93		
NV ₇	3.91	-4.66	0.74	-8.01	7.26	10.62	7.08	
NV ₈	-2.16	2.57	-0.41	4.43	-4.01	-5.87	-3.91	2.16
NV ₉	-0.20	0.24	-0.04	0.42	-0.38	-0.56	-0.37	0.20
NV ₁₀	2.26	-2.70	0.43	-4.64	4.20	6.15	4.10	-2.26
NV ₁₁	-0.62	0.74	-0.12	1.26	-1.15	-1.68	-1.12	0.62
NV ₁₂	0.31	-0.37	0.06	-0.63	0.57	0.84	0.56	-0.31
NV ₁₃	1.75	-2.08	0.33	-3.58	3.25	4.75	3.17	-1.75
NV ₁₄	-3.29	3.92	-0.63	6.74	-6.12	-8.94	-5.96	3.29
NV ₁₅	-0.20	0.24	-0.04	0.42	-0.38	-0.56	-0.37	0.30
NV ₁₆	0.51	-0.61	0.10	-1.05	0.96	1.40	0.93	-0.51

Table 1 (Cont'd)

Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative
Dependent Variables for Child's Sex Effect (A)

Dependent Variables	NV ₉	NV ₁₀	NV ₁₁	NV ₁₂	NV ₁₃	NV ₁₄	NV ₁₅	NV ₁₆
NV ₁								
NV ₂								
NV ₃								
NV ₄								
NV ₅								
NV ₆								
NV ₇								
NV ₈								
NV ₉	0.02							
NV ₁₀	-0.22	2.37						
NV ₁₁	0.06	-0.65	0.18					
NV ₁₂	-0.03	0.32	-0.09	0.04				
NV ₁₃	-0.17	1.83	-0.50	0.25	1.42			
NV ₁₄	0.31	-3.45	0.94	-0.47	-2.67	5.02		
NV ₁₅	0.02	-0.22	0.06	-0.03	-0.17	0.31	0.02	
NV ₁₆	-0.05	0.54	-0.15	0.07	0.42	-0.78	-0.05	0.12

Table 2
Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative
Dependent Variables for Parent's Sex Effect (B)

Dependent Variables	NV ₁	NV ₂	NV ₃	NV ₄	NV ₅	NV ₆	NV ₇	NV ₈
NV ₁	0.12							
NV ₂	-0.12	0.12						
NV ₃	0.00	0.00	0.00					
NV ₄	-0.51	0.51	0.00	2.16				
NV ₅	0.07	-0.07	0.00	-0.31	0.04			
NV ₆	0.17	-0.17	0.00	-0.72	0.10	0.24		
NV ₇	-0.54	0.54	0.00	2.26	-0.32	-0.75	2.37	
NV ₈	0.02	-0.02	0.00	-0.10	0.01	0.03	-0.11	0.00
NV ₉	0.10	-0.10	0.00	-0.41	0.06	0.14	-0.43	0.02
NV ₁₀	0.20	-0.20	0.00	-0.82	0.12	0.27	-0.86	0.04
NV ₁₁	0.15	-0.15	0.00	-0.62	0.09	0.20	-0.65	0.03
NV ₁₂	-0.07	0.07	0.00	0.31	-0.04	-0.10	0.32	-0.01
NV ₁₃	-0.02	0.02	0.00	0.10	-0.01	-0.03	0.11	-0.00
NV ₁₄	-0.05	0.05	0.00	0.20	-0.03	-0.07	0.22	-0.01
NV ₁₅	0.20	-0.20	0.00	-0.82	0.12	0.27	-0.86	0.04
NV ₁₆	0.07	-0.07	0.00	-0.31	0.04	0.10	-0.32	0.01

Table 2 (Cont'd)

Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative
Dependent Variables for Parent's Sex Effect (B)

Dependent Variables	NV ₉	NV ₁₀	NV ₁₁	NV ₁₂	NV ₁₃	NV ₁₄	NV ₁₅	NV ₁₆
NV ₁								
NV ₂								
NV ₃								
NV ₄								
NV ₅								
NV ₆								
NV ₇								
NV ₈								
NV ₉	0.08							
NV ₁₀	0.16	0.31						
NV ₁₁	0.12	0.24	0.31					
NV ₁₂	-0.06	-0.12	-0.82	2.16				
NV ₁₃	-0.02	-0.04	0.04	-0.10	0.00			
NV ₁₄	-0.04	-0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		
NV ₁₅	0.16	0.31	0.24	-0.62	0.03	0.00	0.18	
NV ₁₆	0.06	0.12	-0.04	0.10	0.00	0.00	-0.03	0.00

Table 3
Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative
Dependent Variables for Child x Parent Interaction (A x B)

Dependent Variables	NV ₁	NV ₂	NV ₃	NV ₄	NV ₅	NV ₆	NV ₇	NV ₈
NV ₁	0.24							
NV ₂	-0.17	0.12						
NV ₃	0.34	-0.24	0.49					
NV ₄	0.31	-0.22	0.44	0.40				
NV ₅	-0.03	0.02	-0.05	-0.04	0.00			
NV ₆	0.24	-0.17	0.34	0.31	-0.03	0.24		
NV ₇	-0.55	0.39	-0.78	-0.70	0.08	-0.55	1.25	
NV ₈	-0.17	0.12	-0.24	-0.22	0.02	-0.17	0.39	0.12
NV ₉	-0.55	0.39	-0.78	-0.70	0.08	-0.55	1.25	0.39
NV ₁₀	0.82	-0.59	1.18	1.06	-0.12	0.82	-1.88	-0.59
NV ₁₁	-0.27	0.20	-0.39	-0.35	0.04	-0.27	0.63	0.20
NV ₁₂	0.72	-0.51	1.03	0.93	-0.10	0.72	-1.65	-0.51
NV ₁₃	-0.03	0.02	-0.05	-0.04	0.00	-0.03	0.08	0.02
NV ₁₄	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
NV ₁₅	-0.20	0.15	-0.29	-0.26	0.03	-0.20	0.47	0.15
NV ₁₆	0.03	-0.02	0.05	0.04	0.00	0.03	-0.08	-0.02

Table 3 (Cont'd)

Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative
Dependent Variables for Child x Parent Interaction (A x B)

Dependent Variables	NV ₉	NV ₁₀	NV ₁₁	NV ₁₂	NV ₁₃	NV ₁₄	NV ₁₅	NV ₁₆
NV ₁								
NV ₂								
NV ₃								
NV ₄								
NV ₅								
NV ₆								
NV ₇								
NV ₈								
NV ₉	1.25							
NV ₁₀	-1.88	2.82						
NV ₁₁	0.63	-0.94	0.31					
NV ₁₂	-1.65	2.47	-0.82	2.16				
NV ₁₃	0.08	-0.12	0.04	-0.10	0.00			
NV ₁₄	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		
NV ₁₅	0.47	-0.70	0.24	-0.62	0.03	0.00	0.18	
NV ₁₆	-0.08	0.12	-0.04	0.10	0.00	0.00	-0.03	0.00

Table 4

Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative Dependent Variables for Error Term, S(A), Subjects within Child's Sex

Dependent Variables	NV ₁	NV ₂	NV ₃	NV ₄	NV ₅	NV ₆	NV ₇	NV ₈
NV ₁	45.88							
NV ₂	3.29	73.37						
NV ₃	2.29	3.69	57.55					
NV ₄	8.88	5.01	-6.86	72.98				
NV ₅	-6.59	-5.75	5.73	-6.20	45.33			
NV ₆	-11.35	-10.94	-10.88	0.50	-18.09	105.41		
NV ₇	-2.24	0.70	1.41	-5.67	-0.89	-24.56	72.96	
NV ₈	-5.18	-7.93	-8.33	-3.59	-4.25	5.59	-5.27	35.09
NV ₉	-4.06	-2.74	-5.53	-5.66	-10.34	3.47	-4.02	3.16
NV ₁₀	6.35	-4.55	-10.22	7.02	-11.57	20.06	-5.79	-4.30
NV ₁₁	-4.24	-7.83	-4.70	-4.41	-0.10	0.06	0.04	2.75
NV ₁₂	-4.15	-7.32	-1.97	-11.53	5.32	-15.62	4.59	4.24
NV ₁₃	-4.50	-2.83	-0.67	-1.67	1.33	25.00	-9.50	-1.67
NV ₁₄	-2.70	-7.75	-3.04	-9.74	3.28	-2.56	4.29	-4.63
NV ₁₅	1.88	-4.03	-3.97	-3.10	-4.58	2.62	-7.25	0.77
NV ₁₆	1.15	0.09	-1.68	0.39	-2.39	-0.68	-3.95	0.11

Table 4 (Cont'd)

Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative Dependent
Variables for Error Term, S(A), Subjects Within Child's Sex

Dependent Variable	NV ₉	NV ₁₀	NV ₁₁	NV ₁₂	NV ₁₃	NV ₁₄	NV ₁₅	NV ₁₆
NV ₁								
NV ₂								
NV ₃								
NV ₄								
NV ₅								
NV ₆								
NV ₇								
NV ₈								
NV ₉	42.90							
NV ₁₀	-6.32	55.61						
NV ₁₁	0.23	-4.46	26.98					
NV ₁₂	-8.44	-14.56	-1.20	63.88				
NV ₁₃	0.00	-1.67	-1.83	-2.00	24.67			
NV ₁₄	-4.15	-3.22	4.39	1.47	-0.17	37.31		
NV ₁₅	-2.74	7.35	-0.80	-3.82	-1.50	-3.65	19.02	
NV ₁₆	0.24	0.06	-0.31	-1.65	-1.00	-0.38	-0.14	6.14

Table 5

Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative Dependent
Variables for Error Term B x S(A), Parent's Sex x Subjects Within Child's Sex

Dependent Variables	NV ₁	NV ₂	NV ₃	NV ₄	NV ₅	NV ₆	NV ₇	NV ₈
NV ₁	15.13							
NV ₂	-1.70	19.25						
NV ₃	3.16	-1.25	25.51					
NV ₄	-2.29	-1.79	-0.94	36.94				
NV ₅	-3.04	-6.95	-0.45	-7.15	41.45			
NV ₆	3.59	-3.16	2.16	-0.09	2.93	31.02		
NV ₇	-2.41	-0.43	-10.22	-4.06	-8.75	-5.69	50.37	
NV ₈	-0.35	-2.60	0.74	-1.18	-2.04	-2.86	-0.78	23.37
NV ₉	1.45	1.20	-2.22	-2.38	0.36	-1.59	-1.82	-4.41
NV ₁₀	0.98	-0.22	-1.18	-6.24	-0.00	2.90	-8.75	-1.95
NV ₁₁	0.63	-1.05	0.89	1.47	-4.63	-5.43	-1.98	8.77
NV ₁₂	-0.15	2.44	1.97	-5.24	-5.85	-4.62	-0.18	-1.47
NV ₁₃	0.56	-0.05	1.54	-0.06	0.51	1.57	-1.19	-0.02
NV ₁₄	-0.45	-0.05	0.00	-0.70	-7.97	0.07	-6.22	-1.49
NV ₁₅	-0.49	-0.95	-0.20	-2.41	-0.15	2.93	-0.61	-3.19
NV ₁₆	-0.11	0.60	-0.05	-1.24	0.96	-0.64	0.40	-0.99

Table 5 (Cont'd)

Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Negative Dependent
Variables for Error Term B x S(A), Parent's Sex x Subjects Within Child's Sex

Dependent Variables	NV ₉	NV ₁₀	NV ₁₁	NV ₁₂	NV ₁₃	NV ₁₄	NV ₁₅	NV ₁₆
NV ₁								
NV ₂								
NV ₃								
NV ₄								
NV ₅								
NV ₆								
NV ₇								
NV ₈								
NV ₉	24.66							
NV ₁₀	2.23	32.86						
NV ₁₁	-6.24	-0.79	18.51					
NV ₁₂	-3.79	-0.85	-1.09	33.29				
NV ₁₃	-1.06	0.16	-0.01	-0.41	1.49			
NV ₁₄	-2.46	0.08	-1.94	-2.53	-0.01	27.98		
NV ₁₅	-1.63	0.39	-2.47	-2.76	0.01	0.08	12.51	
NV ₁₆	-0.48	-1.24	-0.55	-1.06	0.02	0.03	0.42	2.45

Table 6
Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Positive
Dependent Variables for Child's Sex Effect (A)

Dependent Variables	PV ₁	PV ₂	PV ₃	PV ₄	PV ₅	PV ₆	PV ₇	PV ₈
PV ₁	2.82							
PV ₂	-2.12	1.59						
PV ₃	-3.76	2.82	5.02					
PV ₄	-2.12	1.59	2.82	1.59				
PV ₅	1.65	-.124	-2.20	-1.24	0.96			
PV ₆	3.76	-2.82	-5.02	-2.82	2.20	5.02		
PV ₇	-0.24	0.18	0.31	0.18	-0.14	-0.31	0.02	
PV ₈	-0.35	0.26	0.47	0.26	-0.20	-0.47	0.03	0.04

Table 7
Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Positive
Dependent Variables for Parent's Sex Effect (B)

Dependent Variables	PV ₁	PV ₂	PV ₃	PV ₄	PV ₅	PV ₆	PV ₇	PV ₈
PV ₁	0.96							
PV ₂	-1.10	1.25						
PV ₃	0.14	-0.16	0.02					
PV ₄	0.41	-0.47	0.06	0.18				
PV ₅	-0.96	1.10	-0.14	-0.41	0.96			
PV ₆	0.27	-0.31	0.04	0.12	-0.27	0.08		
PV ₇	1.51	-1.73	0.22	0.65	-1.51	0.43	2.37	
PV ₈	0.07	-0.08	0.01	0.03	-0.07	0.02	0.11	0.00

Table 8
Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Positive
Dependent Variables for Child x Parent Interaction (A x B)

Dependent Variables	PV ₁	PV ₂	PV ₃	PV ₄	PV ₅	PV ₆	PV ₇	PV ₈
PV ₁	0.49							
PV ₂	-0.69	0.96						
PV ₃	0.49	-0.69	0.49					
PV ₄	0.10	-0.14	0.10	0.10				
PV ₅	-1.27	1.78	-1.27	-0.25	3.31			
PV ₆	1.27	-1.78	1.27	0.25	-3.31	3.31		
PV ₇	0.49	-0.69	0.49	0.10	-1.27	1.27	0.49	
PV ₈	0.44	-0.62	0.44	0.10	-1.15	1.15	0.44	0.40

Table 9
Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix among Positive Dependent
Variables for Error Term S(A), Subjects within Child's Sex

Dependent Variables	PV ₁	PV ₂	PV ₃	PV ₄	PV ₅	PV ₆	PV ₇	PV ₈
PV ₁	66.53							
PV ₂	-7.82	112.92						
PV ₃	8.12	-23.26	55.33					
PV ₄	-3.56	-10.95	-2.00	39.33				
PV ₅	-22.12	-30.51	-4.27	-9.70	96.66			
PV ₆	-14.09	-21.48	-14.80	0.07	-22.60	101.90		
PV ₇	-8.50	-13.22	-5.05	-1.22	-14.38	-0.97	59.14	
PV ₈	-1.50	-2.99	-2.82	-2.42	-1.66	-0.54	-7.13	20.39

Table 10

Sums of Squares and Cross-products Matrix for Positive Dependent
Variables for Error Term B x S(A), Parent's Sex x Subjects within Child's Sex

Dependent Variables	PV ₁	PV ₂	PV ₃	PV ₄	PV ₅	PV ₆	PV ₇	PV ₈
PV ₁	49.55							
PV ₂	-14.22	93.78						
PV ₃	1.37	-11.66	41.49					
PV ₄	-2.01	-1.89	-6.16	29.80				
PV ₅	-6.76	-31.88	-6.59	-12.83	111.72			
PV ₆	-3.05	-12.40	-1.31	-1.87	-26.91	62.60		
PV ₇	-4.05	-11.59	-12.20	2.75	-16.71	6.79	43.14	
PV ₈	-2.01	-10.30	-3.45	1.38	-0.28	-2.17	-1.05	19.10

APPENDIX B
Stereotypic Sex-Role Items

Appendix B

Stereotypic Sex-Role Items*

Competency Cluster: Masculine pole is more socially desirable

<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Masculine</u>
Not at all aggressive	Very aggressive
Not at all independent	Very independent
Very emotional	Not at all emotional
Does not hide emotions at all	Almost always hides emotions
Very subjective	Very objective
Very easily influenced	Not at all easily influenced
Very submissive	Very dominant
Dislikes math and science very much	Likes math and science very much
Very excitable in a minor crisis	Not at all excitable in a minor crisis
Very passive	Very active
Not at all competitive	Very competitive
Very illogical	Very logical
Very home oriented	Very worldly
Not at all skilled in business	Very skilled in business
Very sneaky	Very direct
Does not know the way of the world	Knows the way of the world
Feelings easily hurt	Feelings not easily hurt
Not at all adventurous	Very adventurous
Has difficulty making decisions	Can make decisions easily
Cries very easily	Never cries

*From Broverman, I., Vogel, S., Broverman, D., Clarkson, F., and Rosenkrantz, P. Sex-role stereotypes: A current appraisal. Journal of Social Issues, 1972, 28(2), p. 63.

<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Masculine</u>
Almost never acts as a leader	Almost always acts as a leader
Not at all self-confident	Very self-confident
Very uncomfortable about being aggressive	Not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive
Not at all ambitious	Very ambitious
Unable to separate feelings from ideas	Easily able to separate feelings from ideas
Very dependent	Not at all dependent
Very conceited about appearance	Never conceited about appearance
Thinks women are always superior to men	Thinks men are always superior to women
Does not talk freely about sex with men	Talks freely about sex with men

Warmth-Expressiveness Cluster: Feminine pole is more socially desirable

<u>Feminine</u>	<u>Masculine</u>
Doesn't use harsh language at all	Uses very harsh language
Very talkative	Not at all talkative
Very tactful	Very blunt
Very gentle	Very rough
Very aware of feelings of others	Not at all aware of feelings of others
Very religious	Not at all religious
Very interested in own appearance	Not at all interested in own appearance
Very neat in habits	Very sloppy in habits
Very quiet	Very loud
Very strong need for security	Very little need for security
Enjoys art and literature	Does not enjoy art and literature at all
Easily expresses tender feelings	Does not express tender feeling at all easily

APPENDIX C

Scoring Guide for Negative and Positive
Dependent Variables

Scoring Guide for Negative and Positive
Dependent Variables

Negative Variables

NV1 - Delinquent, antisocial behavior not directly involving an object of aggression.

- a) Using drugs.
- b) Exhibiting unsavory interest in sex and association with peers sharing interest in sex.
- c) Running or threatening to run away.

NV2 - Delinquent, antisocial behavior directed against persons and things.

- a) Setting fires.
- b) Stealing.
- c) Vandalism.
- d) Cruelty to animals.
- e) Obscene language.

NV3 - Open expression of hostility toward, resentment of mother and/or father (includes physical and verbal conflict).

NV4 - Lack of initiative, motivation, goal direction; irresponsibility, amorality.

- a) Concern regarding the child's future ability to fulfill a productive adult role.
- b) References to the child's apathy, lack of competitiveness, self sufficiency or pride in achievement.

- c) Concern regarding the child's poor judgment, inability to properly evaluate the consequences of his actions.
- d) Specific complaints that the child exhibited no remorse or guilt with regard to unacceptable behaviors, that he seemed not "to care."

NV5 - Headstrong, argumentative, willful, stubborn behavior.

- a) Overly insistent on what one wants, having one's way, strong willed.
- b) Stubborn, argumentative, hardheaded.
- c) Insolent, defiant, rebellious, showing lack of respect for parent, adopting overly independent attitude, e.g., "He/she thinks he's the adult instead of you."

NV6 - Nervousness, emotionality, oversensitivity.

- a) Nervous, easily upset, oversensitive, with references to somatic symptoms, e.g., nausea, insomnia, dizziness.
- b) Low self esteem, feelings of unworthiness.
- c) School performance has dropped because of emotional difficulties manifested by withdrawal or nervousness.
- d) School phobia or school refusal.
- e) Tries hard to please, to be liked, out of insecurity.

NV7 - Manipulative, deceptive behavior.

- a) Lying to avoid punishment.
- b) Passive resistance to authority in the form of dawdling, forgetting or giving excuses.

- c) Sulking, whining, complaining, pouting when not getting one's way.
- d) "Sneaky" or "phoney" behavior involving playing one parent against the other, playing "hurt and rejected," in order to get one's way.

NV8 - Annoying, rude, disruptive behavior.

- a) Deliberately provocative, attention-getting behavior, e.g., putting feet on desk, smacking food at dinner table.
- b) "Hyperactivity," motor restlessness, short attention span, unable to sit still, jumping from one activity to another, continually talking, wandering around the classroom.

NV9 - Social immaturity, dependent behavior.

- a) Preferring to play with children much younger than self.
- b) Exhibiting regressive, childish or "silly" behaviors, e.g., giggles in front of company, wets bed, encopretic, sucks thumb, baby talks, waddles or in other ways acts "like a baby."
- c) Clinging to mother, cries when mother leaves, whines and refuses to leave the house to play with peers.
- d) Refusing to tackle activities, involving self-help, motor or social skills.

NV10 - Withdrawal.

- a) Withdrawal from, avoidance of contact with peers.

- b) Overly quiet, shy, withdrawn behavior in the classroom.
- c) Parental concern regarding the child's potential social ostracism by peers because of other problem behaviors.
- d) Poor communication with and isolation from the family.
 - 1. Lack of understanding between parent and child; child unwilling to share, express feelings, talk about problems.
 - 2. Isolation as an expression of anger in response to frustration.
 - 3. General unwillingness to spend time with family, preference for being alone in room.

NV11 - Conflict with siblings.

- a) Jealousy, unwillingness to share possessions.
- b) Teasing, bossing or dominating siblings.

NV12 - Disobedience.

- a) Refuses to obey commands, does not mind at home, repeats wrongdoings after talks, warnings.
- b) Poor school performance based on not doing work assignments, poor conduct.

NV13 - Homosexual behavior in dress, play, social demeanor.

- a) Sexual orientation toward same sex.
- b) Effeminate behaviors including wearing cosmetics and women's clothing, walking and talking in a feminine manner.
- c) Engaging in cross-sex behaviors in play, phantasy,

e.g., a boy playing "Mommy" or a girl playing "Daddy."

NV14 - Hostile, antagonistic relationships with peers.

a) Inability to "get along" with other children.

b) Violent, attacking, abusive behavior, with emphasis on child's lack of control.

NV15 - Depressive mood and/or ideas, "sad," "unhappy," includes thoughts, fears of death, dying.

NV16 - Miscellaneous.

Positive Variables

PV1 - Parent-child comradeship; ability to discuss, deal with problems rationally, reasonably.

a) Affectionate, relaxed and working cooperatively with parent; an atmosphere of togetherness and sharing is stressed.

b) Rational, logical, calm, objective in discussing and solving problems, with an emphasis on controlling emotional reactions to events.

PV2 - Obedience, at home or school.

a) Does expected, required chores, homework, when asked; stays out of trouble, obeys commands.

b) Shows competency, conscientiousness regarding chores.

PV3 - Internalization and expression of parental standards and values; exhibiting respect for parent's point of view.

a) Shares problems with parent, with emphasis on the expression of feelings.

b) Shows interest in church and related religious activities.

- c) Evidences good judgment, shares parental perceptions regarding appropriate friends, unsavory situations.
- d) Evidences guilt, remorse, self punishment.
- e) Evidences an ability to delay immediate gratification (turn down sweets, give up tranquilizers); evidences an ability to sacrifice immediate personal needs for the well being or development of another.
- f) Child described as "grown up," "mature."

PV4 - Social poise, politeness, careful grooming.

- a) Interested in grooming, looking neat, attractive; child is described as physically attractive.
- b) Polite, well-mannered, socially graceful, appropriate.
- c) Specific mention of sex-role, e.g., "acted gentlemanly," "acted like a little lady."

PV5 - Thoughtful, empathic, considerate behavior.

- a) Helpful, cooperative, spontaneously assists parent in an activity, does household chores without being asked.
- b) Exhibits parental behavior toward siblings, includes protective, caretaking, disciplinary functions.
- c) Exhibits sensitivity to and concern for the feelings and needs of others; generous, gentle, kind in behavior toward siblings, parents, friends.

PV6 - Initiative, achievement motivation.

- a) Self-motivated, enthusiastic, persistent, determined, takes pride, pleasure in excelling or doing well.

- b) Sure of self, confident; child described as having proved something to self.
- c) Self-reliant, can take care of self.
- d) Assertive, aggressive, brave in challenging situations.

PV7 - Parent cites specific achievement or talent, e.g., good swimmer, sews well, won medal.

PV8 - Social ease and popularity.

- a) Open, friendly, well-liked, amiable.
- b) Extroverted, socially assertive, gregarious, talkative, not shy, at ease, poised with others.