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Relationship of Parental Attitudes and Husband-Wife Decision-Making to Sex-Role Preference in Pre-School Children

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RELATIONSHIP OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND HUSBAND-WIFE
DECISION-MAKING TO SEX-ROLE PREFERENCE
IN PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN

BY

SUDHA CHANDRAKANT SHROFF

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY RELATIONS

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

1965

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the relationship of democrats, authoritarian and equalitarian parental attitudes with the sex preference of children.

The sample consisted of 30 children who were attending the University Nursery School and their parents. The children were given the "IT Scale for Children" to measure their sex-preference. Parents were given the Parental Attitude Research Instrument and the Husband-Wife Decision Making Questionnaire to measure parental attitudes and decision making.

Correlation was computed between parental attitudes (PARI) and parental decision making (Blood Scale) and sex preference of children (ITSC). The results showed that there was no relationship between two of the Parental Attitude Research Instrument, and the Blood Scale and the sex-preference of children. Boys scored higher on the ITSC Scale than girls. Children with the same-sex elder sibling had significantly higher sex preference scores (ITSC) than children who had no siblings, opposite-sex elder sibling, or only younger sibling.

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I am indebted to Dr. Marvin Rife and Sylvia Lepin for their suggestions and assistance.

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I

INTRODUCTION

Naturalistic observation has indicated sex differences in behavior which begin in the second and third year of life. This has been found to be true of behavior in many social situations and also with respect to expressed values, interests, and preferences. As the child grows older parental pressure and expectancies become more overt: "Ram should not play with a doll. It is for girls." Thus, very early in the child's life, parents are actively defining the sex appropriateness of their behavior. This study is concerned with the influence of various parental attitudes on the development of sex preference in children.

I. THE PROBLEM

The following hypotheses concerning the influence of parental attitudes were advanced; it was hypothesized that (1) children whose parents indicate love-oriented and permissive attitudes on PARI adopt appropriate sex-role preference to a greater degree than children whose parents indicate hostile and controlling attitudes; (2) children whose parents indicate equalitarian attitudes toward husband-wife relationships adopt appropriate sex-role preference to a greater degree than children whose parents indicate father or mother oriented decision-making, as measured by the Blood Scale.

Importance of the study. Evidence exists which suggests that the establishment of sex-role identification is a gradual process. It begins in the second year of life and is usually established by three. The pre-school period would therefore seem to be an especially appropriate time for the study of sex-role preference.

It is assumed that the experiences with sex-role identification provided by the family and the school are of importance in preparing the individual for divergent roles in adulthood. Early successful training is greatly reinforced by the sex-tying controls to which the individual is subject in school. Adult sexual adjustment or maladjustment therefore seems related to the nature and outcome of sex-role development in childhood.

A major effect of the changing American cultural pattern is widespread interfamilial variability in adult sex-role and attitudes towards child variance. Since democratic and authoritarian attitudes are subject to cultural influences and would seem to be significant in influencing sex preferences, they have been selected for study.

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Sex-Role. Sex-role is that model system of responses which constitutes the culturally expected behavior of a member of a particular sex.

Identification. Identification is the becoming or making of oneself one with another in . . . interest or action.

Preference. Preference resemble the male or female sex pattern.

These definitions are similar and are frequently used interchangeably in the literature. Although the present study is primarily concerned with sex preference, the term sex identification is frequently used in this study because of its similarity to sex preference, and because the literature concerned with sex identification is more detailed than that related to sex preference.

II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Much has been written in regard to sex-role identification and little on sex preference; a brief summary of work done on problems closely related to the present problem will be given.

I. THEORIES CONCERNING SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION

According to Freudian theory, children identify with their like-sex parents because of fear. In boys this is the fear of punishment by the father and in girls it is a fear of losing the mother's love.¹ The following quotation shows how this emphasis on identification from fear has been described in the literature:

The superego, which . . . has taken over the power, the aims and even the methods of the parental function, is, however, not merely the legatee of parental authority; it is actually the heir of its body. It proceeds directly from it, and we shall soon learn in what way this comes about. First however, we must pause to consider a point in which they differ. The superego seems to have made a one-sided selection, and to have chosen only the harshness and severity of the parents, their preventive and punitive functions, while their loving care is not taken up and continued by it. If the parents have really ruled with a rod of iron, we can easily understand the child developing a severe superego, but, contrary to our expectations, experience shows that the superego may reflect the same relentless harshness even when the upbringing has been gentle and kind, and avoided threats and punishment as far as possible.²

¹ Anna Freud, "Psychoanalytic Theory in Sex Identification," New York,

This emphasis on fear has been, to some extent, modified by contemporary psychoanalytic theorists such as Anna Freud.

Mowrer maintains that children learn the ways of their social group, not only as a result of their elders' conscious efforts to teach them, but also through a less conscious but very powerful process of imitation. He suggests that if a child were cared for but never disciplined, he would presumably show only developmental identification and would develop skills, not character; if, on the other hand, a child were cared for quite impersonally, but were thoroughly disciplined, he would probably not develop either skills or character, as we commonly conceive them.³ (Loving care and indulgence which leads to defensive identification and effective, satisfying participation in the adult life of one's society is emphasized by this theorist.

In Mowrer's conception of the ideal family constellation, it is rewarding for the boy to model himself after his father's image. The father is gratified to see this re-creation of his own qualities, attitudes, and masculinity. The mother, loving the father, finds such a course of development acceptable in her son. Tentative explorations, conscious and unconscious, in the direction of

² Ibid.

³ Hobert O. Mowrer, Learning Theory and Personality Dynamics, "Identification: A Link Between Learning Theory and Psychotherapy." New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950, pp. 573-616.

being like mother, quickly convince the boy that this is not proper or approved behavior, and he speedily reverts to his identification with his father. Girls are seen to follow the same process. This process is disrupted when parental disharmony exists. If there is chronic antagonism between husband and wife, the boy discovers that if he identifies with his father it is at the price of losing his mother's love and approval. If she is antagonistic and disapproving of the husband, she will feel scant enthusiasm for seeing her son become just like him. If, on the other hand, the boy tries to take his mother as a personal model, he will almost certainly incur his father's displeasure and also risk the general opprobrium connected with being "sissy." The child can only respond with insecurity and puzzlement.⁴

Mowrer then has viewed sex-role identification as part of the general process of identification:

Personal normality presupposes that an individual has assimilated not only those values and ideals which are regarded as necessary and proper for all persons, but also those values and ideals which are uniquely appropriate to one's sex-role, as a man or woman.⁵

Sears conceived of identification as a secondary drive in the dependency relation of the child to his parents, especially to his mother. He must depend on her for his every need. However, during the second and third year,

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 612

as he becomes more able to take care of some of his own needs, his dependency is more and more frustrated by the mother as she forces the child to take care of some of his needs. Sears hypothesized that what then follows is a set of behaviors that are a kind of imitation of the mother. The child imitates her characteristic movements, her methods of giving affection and discipline, and in fact imitates her role.⁶

Sears and Mowrer are therefore in agreement in their emphasis upon loss of love in sex-role identification.

II. RESEARCH CONCERNING SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION AND PREFERENCE

After reviewing the literature on sex-role identification in 1933, Wellman concluded that the following questions were still unanswered:

Why sex differences exist, how they came about, how they develop genetically and under what conditions, a few authors here and there have made slight attempts to ascertain or have hazarded guesses. Controlled experiments attempting to measure differential conditions and their influence upon differences between the sexes are almost entirely lacking.⁷

Terman indicated that the research on sex-role identification was still incomplete thirteen years later in the following statement:

⁶ Robert R. Sears, Patterns of Child Rearing, Evanston, Illinois, 1957.

⁷ Lucy B. Wellman, Sex Differences In A Handbook of Child Psychology, Worcester: Clark University Press, 1933. Pp. 627-649.

There has been little scientific effort to measure the extent to which particular social pressures differ for the sexes or to assess the effects of such differences in molding sex temperaments. Investigations of our own culture are needed that would deal not only with cross-section influences but also with changing patterns of influence.⁸

A number of recent investigators in sex-role identification have been concerned with the relationship between various specific variables and sex-role identification.

Seward made the point that the individual is trained to his sex-role from the moment of birth when girls are placed in pink, and boys in blue bassinets.⁹

Further, he says:

Awareness of sex appropriate conduct makes its appearance early in life through observation and imitation of models in the home. . . . The child's acceptance of his social sex role is facilitated by identification with his like-sexed parent, provided that this parent represents the appropriate stereotype. . . . Not only does the family have the responsibility of providing the child with appropriate sex models, it also provides him with his first try-out of his sex role. . . . early successful family training is greatly reinforced by the sex-typing controls to which the individual is subject in school. The child gains prestige to the extent to which he learns the sex-appropriate code which incurs the severe censure of his group for infractions of the rules.¹⁰

⁸L. M. Terman and C. C. Miles, Sex and Personality: "Studies in Masculinity and Femininity". McGraw-Hill, New York, 1936.

⁹Georgene H. Seward, Sex and the Social Order, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1946.

¹⁰Ibid.

Hattwick investigated factors other than social conditioning which helped to make for differences in behavior of girls and boys. Although her study did not include subjects below two years of age, in her opinion social conditioning was known to be a potent determinant of behavior in infancy.¹¹

The subjects of Hattwick's study were two hundred eighty-three boys and two hundred ninety-six girls enrolled in the Winnetka Public School Nursery and in the W.P.A. Nursery Schools of Chicago. The children were rated on a specially devised form containing sixty behavior items indicative of routine habits and personality adjustments. These data were collected in two different years. A particular child's score on a given type of behavior was the average of three independent judgements made by teachers in daily contact with the child. Teachers' daily observations suggested that the family was the primary mediating agency, interpreting through the parents the details of culturally defined appropriate sex-role behavior.¹² She has summarized her findings as follows:

The child takes over the patterns of behavior of those whom he loves. . . This is a major clue to the process of becoming like one's parents and other associates and of taking over the culture of the group.¹³

¹¹ La Beratta A. Hattwick, "A Sex Difference in the Behavior of Nursery School Children," Child Development, No. 8, 1937, pp. 345-355.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 353.

Rabban tried to discover whether sex, age, class or the interaction of these were factors in sex-role patterning. He studied two groups of one hundred and fifty children. Each group was differentiated by occupational and community characteristics. One group consisted of children from working-class families. The other group came from upper middle-class families. The age range was thirty months to eight years.¹⁴

Eight pairs of toys suitable for boys and girls were used. The sets for both sexes included toys of manipulative interest that were of similar colors. The experimental session also included six dolls of equal size, three of each sex, all dressed differently.¹⁵

This study showed that boys are more clearly aware of sex-appropriate behavior than are girls in both middle-class and working-class groups. Boys and girls of the working-class group were earlier and more clearly aware of appropriate sex-role patterns than boys and girls of middle-class groups. Irrespective of class, three-year-olds in Rabban's study were still uncertain concerning some aspects of sex-role identification.

¹⁴ Mayer Rabban, "Sex-Role Identification in Young Children in Two Diverse Social Groups." Genetic Psychological Monograph, No. 42, 1950, pp. 81-158.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Working-class girls accept the sex-appropriate pattern by six years of age while middle-class girls do not fully accommodate to the definition of appropriate sex-patterning even by eight years.¹⁶

Daniel Brown developed a projective device for studying sex-role preference in children. His studies represented an attempt to investigate and analyze the nature and the extent of young children's preference for objects and activities characteristic of their own or the opposite sex. The projective device consisted of thirty-six picture cards, three by four inches, depicting various objects, figures, and activities associated with masculine or feminine role. Children were asked to select the picture card for a sexless figure named "It."¹⁷

The following results were observed: (1) large and significant differences occurred between boys and girls, suggesting the existence of definite, relatively dicotomous sex-role patterns in young children; (2) some children in both groups showed a strong opposite sex-role preference, this tendency being more frequent and more pronounced in girls than boys; (3) boys showed significantly greater preference for masculine role than girls showed for the feminine

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Daniel G. Brown, "Sex-Role Preference in Young Children," Psychology Monograph, Vol. 70, No. 14, 1956,

role; (4) by age three, most children were beginning to develop appropriate sex-roles.¹⁸

Ralph Epstein also investigated sex-preference by using the ITSC Scale. His findings showed that boys with a strong masculine ego-ideal perceived male adults as having more reinforcement value than female adults.¹⁹

Mussen and Luther hypothesized that the identification with the father depends on a positive affectionate relationship between father and son. Certain characteristics of boys are thought to result from identification with the father's sex-typed-behavior such as aggression, masculine interest and attitudes. Highly developed conscience, according to their hypothesis, tends to be associated with favorable father/son relationships.²⁰

In 1963, Mussen and Ruthford completed a study of parental personality in relation to young children's sex-role-preference. Forty-six girls and fifty-seven first-grade boys were given the ITSC test to measure sex-preference. A

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Epstein, Ralph, and Shephard Lovert, "Verbal Conditioning and Sex-Role Identification in Children," Child Development, Vol. 34, No. 1, March, 1963, pp. 99-106.

²⁰ Paul Mussen and Distler Luther, "Masculinity, Identification and Father-Son Relationships," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 59, No. 1, July, 1959, pp. 350-356.

TABLE

PAGE

X.	Mean PARI Scores of Fathers and Mothers of High and Low Scoring Children on ITSC	32
----	---	----

doll-play technique provided the basis for assessing the subjects' perceptions of their parents.²¹

Results showed that highly masculine boys and highly feminine girls perceived their like-sexed parents as significantly warmer, more nurturant, and more affectionate. The mothers of the highly feminine girls were rated significantly higher than the other mothers in warmth towards the child.²²

Lynn, in the most recent review of literature concerned with sex-role identification, summarizes the finding of research as follows:²³ (1) findings on figure drawing support the hypothesis that with increasing age the male child becomes more firmly in favor of same-sex-preference, and the female child relatively less firm with same-sex-preference;²⁴ (2) research of Allport - Vernen - Lindzey and Lazowic shows that similarity between mothers and their own children was greater than between mothers and children randomly matched.

²¹ Paul Mussen and Eldred Ruthford, "Parent-Child Relations and Parental Personality in Relation to Young Children's Sex-Role Preferences." Child Development, Vol. 34, No. 3, May 1963, pp. 589-618.

²² Ibid.

²³ David B. Lynn, "A Note on Sex Differences In The Development of Masculinity and Feminine Identification," Psychological Review, Vol. 66, 1959, pp. 126-135.

²⁴ Ibid.

Similarity between fathers and their own children was not significantly greater than between fathers and children randomly matched.²⁵

Lynn has interpreted these findings in the following manner. The same-sex parent gives the girl an initial advantage in progressing toward appropriate sex-role identification. In early childhood, as well as in infancy, the child's life is mainly peopled with women, rather than men, but the ideology of our culture in general, and the demands made on the little boy in particular, are masculine in nature. Unlike the situation for the boy, whose sex role is well spelled out for him, the girl, upon leaving infancy, does not receive adequate reinforcement through distinct rewards for adopting the feminine role, and definite punishment for adopting the masculine role.²⁶

Review of the literature suggests that parents and their personalities play an important role in sex-preference of children. Theorists seem to agree that both identification and sex-preference depend upon a positive-affection relationship between parent and child.

Review of the literature also suggests the following factors which emphasize the importance of parent-child relationships in sex-role-preference:

(1) pressure toward nurturance, obedience, and responsibility is most often

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

stronger for girls, whereas pressure toward achievement and self reliance is most often stronger for boys; (2) highly masculine boys and highly feminine girls perceived their like-sexed parents as significantly warmer, more nurturant, and more affectionate; (3) identification with the father depends upon a positive affectional relationship between father and son; (4) boys are more aware of appropriate sex-role than girls.

Since the family is so important in sex-role preference, it would seem desirable to investigate certain other familial factors through the use of instruments which have not been employed heretofore.

III

SAMPLE

The subjects of this study consisted of thirty children and their parents. There were thirteen girls and seventeen boys. All the children attended the Child Development Center at the University of Rhode Island, in the year 1963-1964. The children were between three and five years of age. Table I presents number of years in nursery school, age, and sex, of children and siblings.

Three of the children were three years old, two of them were five, and twenty-five of the children were four years old. There was a range in age of eighteen months. Ten of the children had only younger siblings, four did not have any sibling, five of the children had only elder siblings, and eleven of the children had younger and older siblings.

Table II presents the occupation, education and approximate age of the father. The age of the father was approximated by assuming twenty-one years of age at the time of graduation from college.

Twenty-five of the thirty fathers were professors. Almost all the fathers had higher education and most of the fathers were in their late thirties or early forties. All of the mothers except three had four years of college and the remaining mothers were high-school graduates.

The parents were therefore relatively homogeneous in fathers' education, age, and occupation.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF YEARS IN NURSERY SCHOOL, AGE AND
SEX OF CHILDREN AND SIBLINGS

No. of Child	Age	Number of Siblings, Age, and Sex							
		1	2	3	4				
1	3.9	M	1.4	F					
2	5	M	14	F 12		M	8		F
3	4.3	M	7.6	M					
4	4	F	6.7	F					
5	5	F	2.10	F					
6	3.10	F	9	F					
7	4.9	M	3.1	F 10 months		F	0		
8	5.1	M	2.8	M					
9	4.5	M	8.4	M 7		M	3.1		F 1.00 F
10	5.1	M	7.11	F					
11	4.3	M	NoSib.						
12	4.4	M	9.10	F 7.9		M	5.10		M
13	4.4	M	13	M 10		M	8		M
14	3.9	F	2	M					
15	4.4	M	NoSib.						
16	4.8	M	NoSib.						
17	4.3	M	7	F 5.4		F			
18	4.1	F	7.1	F					
19	4.8	M	7.5	M 2.1		M	9 months		F
20	4.8	F	3.7	F 2.5		F			
21	4.6	F	3.6	F					
22	5	M	9.1	F 8.4		F			
23	4.6	F	2.6	F					
24	4.5	F	NoSib.						
25	4.1	M	15	M 14		F	11.8		F 7 M
26	4.3	M	19.8	F 14.2		M	2		M
27	4.11	F	3.11	F					
28	4.7	F	10.6	F 8		F 2			
29	4.1	F	6.6	F 2		F 0			
30	4.8	F	8.	F					

TABLE II
OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, AND APPROXIMATE
AGE OF THE FATHERS

No. of Father	Occupation	Education	Age
1	Professor at university	Ph.D.	34
2	Deceased *	----	--
3	Psychologist	B.S.	39
4	Dairy farmer		
5	Professor at university	M.S.	36
6	Professor at university	Ph.D.	39
7	Professor at university	Ph.D.	33
8	Professor at university	M.S.	38
9	Professor at university	Ph.D.	37
10	Professor at university	M.A.	38
11	Professor at university	B.E.E.	38
12	Professor at university	M.S., M.E.	38
13	Professor at university	M.A.	37
14	Professor at university		
15			
16	Professor at university	Ph.D.	43
17	Soil conservationist		
18	Professor at university	M.F.A.	36
19	Professor at university	Ph.D.	38
20	Professor at university	M.S.	29
21	Professor at university	Ph.D.	37
22	Professor at university	Ph.D.	42
23	Professor at university	Ph.D.	35
24	U.S. Navy AT-2		
25	Professor at university	Ph.D.	43
26	Professor at university	Ph.D.	47
27	Professor at university	Ph.D.	35
28	Professor at university	Ph.D.	35
29	Automobile mechanic	4½ years of college	36
30	Professor at university	M.A.	35

IV

PROCEDURE

In order to investigate sex-role preference and certain parental attitudes, the following instruments were used:

"IT Scale for Children": ITSC scale is a projective device developed by Brown to measure children's sex-role preference.¹ A detailed description of this test and directions for administration is given in Appendix I. In taking this test, the child chooses between pictures of various objects commonly associated with one sex or the other, e.g., doll, gun, dump truck, household object. The choices are made by "IT" as a sexless child and not the child himself.

Brown has reported test-retest correlations of .71 and .84 in a sample of two hundred and eighty-four children who were tested after an interval of thirty days. Hartup and Zook obtained test-retest correlations of .6 for three-year-old girls and .7 for three-year-old-boys.

An estimate of reliability of the ITSC score in the present study was obtained by calculating product-moment correlations of scores of twelve children after an interval of one month. A correlation of .734 was obtained.

¹ Daniel G. Brown, "Sex-Role Preference in Young Children," Psychology Monograph, Vol. 70, No. 14, 1956.

Validity of the scale rests primarily on the assumption that what is socially regarded as, and actually associated with, masculine or feminine behavior is an adequate basis for defining sex-role patterns. The objects and activities that one sex shows an interest in, and liking for, in contrast to the other sex, would appear to be a valid criterion for defining sex-role behavior.

The ITSC was administered individually by the experimenter in the testing room of the nursery school. The experimenter began each session by giving the subject the picture of the sexless child. The following instructions were given:

"We are going to play a game with this child, "It", O.K. ? This game will be about "It." Here, you hold "It." Now we are going to show this child, whose name is "It," some cards with pictures on them." Throughout the administration of the test, the experimenter referred to the drawing as "It." The scoring procedure suggested by Brown was employed. Under this scoring system, the possible range for total scores was from zero to eighty-four.

Parental Attitude Research Instrument: This instrument was developed by Schaefer and Bell.² It consists of twenty-three, five-item scales. Details concerning this questionnaire are given in Appendix II.

² F. S. Schaefer, R. D. Bell, Development of a Maternal Behavior Research Instrument, " Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1959, pp. 95, 83-104.

Reliability was estimated with the Kuder-Richardson formula for the scales included in trial forms I and II for both multiparae and primiparae. In an attempt to develop a more efficient test, the five most reliable items for each scale were selected for Final Form. Internal consistency reliability coefficients were calculated for these five-item scales on new samples of sixty multiparae and sixty primiparae.

The scales were factor-analyzed by Zuckerman, Ribback, and Nertory, using a heterogeneous sample composed of two hundred twenty-two mothers in a normative sample, plus one hundred thirty-one mothers of disturbed children, and sixty mothers who were psychiatric patients. Three factors were extracted from the test:

Factor A — Authoritarian Control

Factor B — Hostility and Rejection

Factor C — Democratic Attitude

Similar loadings were found by Schaefer and Bell.

This questionnaire was given to the parents during enrollment for school to avoid consultation between parents. Scoring was done according to Bell and Schaefer's method.

The Husband-Wife-Decision Making Questionnaire was constructed by Blood, to measure the balance of decision making power between husbands and

wives.³ Eight areas of decision making frequently encountered by husbands and wives were surveyed.

In order to provide comparable answers, the respondents were given a choice of "husband always," "husband more than wife," "husband and wife exactly same," "wife more than husband" and "wife always," as response categories to the question "who usually decides about this." Scores were obtained by the experimenter according to Blood's scoring system.

The calculations were done with the help of a computer. The correlation between ITSC scores of children and PARI scores of parents and between ITSC scores of children and Blood Scale of parents were calculated. All these calculations were performed at the University Computer Laboratory. A sample Hollerith card is included in Appendix III. Tests of significance were computed to determine whether or not children with older siblings of the same sex have higher ITSC scores than children with no sibling or younger siblings or siblings of the opposite sex.

³Robert O. Blood Jr. and Donald M. Wolf. "Husbands and Wives," Illinois, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960.

RESULTS

Table III contains scores of boys and girls on the ITSC. Since high scores indicate masculinity, it may be seen that the scores of both sexes show a tendency towards masculinity. Among the lowest scorers in sex-preference, all four were girls, and among the highest six scorers only one was a girl. Masculinity seemed, therefore, to be esteemed by both sexes.

Table IV indicates the range of PARI scores above fifteen and below eight respectively. These scores were divided arbitrarily into "Highs" and "Lows", in order to test the hypothesis concerning the influence of parental attitude on sex preference. Scores of the entire sample of parents are given in Appendix III.

The PARI scores of mothers and fathers show little scatter due to the fact that some scales elicit few high or low scores, and that even fewer scales have elicited both high and low scores by members of the group.

A frequency distribution of decision-making scores of fathers and mothers is given in Table V.

Mothers' scores are seen to fall in the middle of the distribution, while fathers score lower than mothers, although this difference is not statistically significant.

TABLE III
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN'S ITSC SCORES

Sex	N	Score Intervals														
		9 - 13	14 - 18	19 - 23	24 - 28	29 - 33	34 - 38	39 - 43	44 - 48	49 - 53	54 - 58	59 - 63	64 - 68	69 - 73	74 - 78	79 - 83
Boys	17	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	1	1	3	3	4
Girls	13	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	1	0	0	1
Total	30	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	4	4	2	1	2	3	3	5

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS SCORING HIGH AND
LOW ON EACH OF THE PARI SCORES

Low Score — 1 - 7			High Score — 14 - 23		
Scale No.	Mother	Father	Scale No.	Mother	Father
2	3	7	1	28	26
3	6	7	2	1	2
4	11	11	3	2	4
5	17	9	4	2	1
6		3	6	9	6
8		4	7	14	16
10	7	7	8	11	9
		2	9	13	18
12	3	2	11	3	4
15		6	12		2
16	11	8	13	7	8
17	10	4	14	23	22
18	24	15	15	1	3
19	8	11	17		2
20	14	12	18		1
22	13	8	19	3	3
23	3	1	20		3
			21	29	24
			23	4	9

TABLE V

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE FATHER'S AND
MOTHER'S SCORES ON HUSBAND - WIFE DECISION MAKING QUESTIONNAIRE

	Score Intervals					
	30-29	28-27	26-25	24-23	22-21	20-19
Parents						
Mother	2	4	11	11	0	2
Father	2	6	7	8	6	0

In order to determine whether a relationship existed between ITSC scores and certain PARI scores, product - moment correlations were computed.

Tables VI, VII, VIII, and IX present the correlation of ITSC scores of children with scores of parents on PARI Factor 'A' (Authoritarian), and Factor 'C' (Democratic), scores of mothers and fathers in high and low scoring groups.

Since none of the correlations were significant at the five per cent level, there was no evidence of a relationship between PARI scores of high and low scoring parents and ITSC scores of their children. To verify the results, parents of the four children with the highest ITSC scores and four children with the lowest ITSC scores were selected to see if significant differences existed between parents of high and low scoring children on any of the PARI scales. The results are shown in Table X.

Fourteen out of twenty-three PARI scales showed a difference of eight or less. Nine other scales showed a difference of ten or more, and when tests of significance were done to determine if those differences were significant, no significant differences were found.

TABLE VI
CORRELATION OF ITSC SCORES OF CHILDREN WITH SCORES OF
MOTHERS IN HIGH AND LOW SCORING GROUPS
ON PARI FACTOR C (DEMOCRATIC)

	Low Score				High Score			
	f	r	1 % Less Greater	5 % Less Greater	f	r	1 % Less Greater	5 % Less Greater
Democratic								
1. Encouraging verbalization	28	.441	-.840	-.315	.685	-.139		
2. Equalitarianism	23	.443	-.859	-.325	.799	-.141		
3. Comradeship and sharing	18	-.095	-.537	.388	-.446	.281		

TABLE VII

CORRELATION OF ITSC SCORES OF CHILDREN WITH SCORES OF
MOTHERS IN HIGH AND LOW SCORING GROUPS ON

PARI FACTOR 'A' AUTHORITARIAN

AUTHORITARIAN	Low Score				High Score			
	f	1/2	Less	Greater	5/1	Less	Greater	5/1
2. Fostering dependency	3	.533	.996	-.962	.988	-.877		
3. Seclusion of the mother	6	-.230	-.938	.848	-.877	.714		
4. Breaking the will	111	-.348	-.854	.498	-.784	.318		
5. Martyrdom	17	.075	.643	-.545	.536	-.420		
6. Fear of harming the baby								
8. Strictness								
10. Excluding outside influence	7	-.018	-.863	.853	-.760	.745		
11. Deification								
12. Suppression of aggression	3	-.755	-.998	.920	-.994	.750		
15. Approval of activity								
16. Avoidance of communication	11	-.187	-.636	.355	-.549	.233		
17. Inconsideration of love	10	-.456	-.928	.577	-.878	.365		
18. Suppression of sex	12	-.103	-.767	.667	-.662	-.529		
19. Ascendence of the mother	8	-.381	-.879	.517	-.815	.327		
20. Intrusiveness	14	-.350	-.815	.388	-.742	.221		
22. Acceleration of development	13	-.060	-.704	.637	-.951	.507		
23. Dependency of mother	3	.408	.995	-.972	.983	-.909		
	9	-.459	-.913	.503	-.861	.294		
	11	.226	.814	-.591	.727	-.432		
	3	-.084	-.990	.986	-.967	.954		

TABLE VIII

CORRELATION OF ITSC SCORES OF CHILDREN WITH SCORES OF
FATHERS IN HIGH AND LOW SCORING GROUPS
ON PARI FACTOR 'C' DEMOCRATIC

	Low Score				High Score			
	f	r	Less Greater	5 % Less Greater	f	r	Less Greater	5 % Less Greater
Democratic								
1. Encouraging verbalization	27	.410	-.812	-.312	.670	-.146		
2. Equalitarianism	21	.210	.666	-.360	.580	-.232		
3. Comradeship and sharing	24	.460	.785	-.063	.728	.070		

TABLE IX

CORRELATION OF ITSC SCORES OF CHILDREN WITH SCORES OF
FATHERS IN HIGH AND LOW SCORING GROUPS
ON PARI FACTOR 'A' AUTHORITARIAN

Authoritarian	Low Score		High Score	
	r	4 % Less greater 5 % Less greater	r	4 % Less greater 5 % Less greater
2. Fostering dependency	-.146	-.892 .814 -.810 .681	-.221	-.992 .981 -.975 .939
3. Seclusion of the mother	-.135	.890 .818 -.806 .687		
4. Breaking the will	-.156	-.788 .637 -.691 .489		
5. Martyrdom	-.193	-.847 .694 -.759 .540		
6. Fear of harming the baby	-.419	-.995 .972 -.983 .907		
8. Strictness	.436	.995 -.970 .980 -.903	-.456	-.912 .506 -.859 .297
10. Excluding outside influence	.219	.907 -.787 .834 .639		
11. Deification			.553	.985 -.832 .964 -.642
12. Suppression of aggression				
15. Approval of activity	-.664	-.979 .596 -.958 .319		
16. Avoidance of communication	.895	-.989 -.288 -.981 -.577		
17. Inconsideration of love	-.772	-.998 .913 -.994 .732		
18. Suppression of sex	.033	.650 -.610 .536 -.487		
19. Ascendence of the mother	-.062	-.150 .689 -.638 .558		
20. Intrusiveness	-.292	-.920 .755 -.856 .590	.764	.998 -.916 .994 -.741
22. Acceleration of development	-.298	-.822 .501 -.704 .332		
23. Dependency of mother			-.282	-.872 .641 -.797 .469

TABLE X

MEAN PARI SCORES OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF HIGH AND LOW SCORING CHILDREN

ON ITSC

HIGH SCORING PARENTS

M	70	33	41	30	30	51	53	47	36	41	60	38	56	40	35	41	28	42	37	39	70	36	47
F	61	43	46	45	43	55	57	61	46	48	45	49	62	62	42	36	49	43	43	44	66	37	57
TOTAL	131	76	87	75	73	106	110	108	82	89	85	87	118	102	71	90	71	85	81	136	136	103	104

LOW SCORING PARENTS

M	71	32	40	31	31	38	44	48	35	43	40	40	46	60	41	35	40	31	49	36	67	29	34
F	65	34	41	32	37	41	46	54	45	46	38	38	42	58	41	35	38	29	35	34	61	34	43
TOTAL	136	66	81	63	68	79	90	102	80	89	78	78	88	118	82	70	78	60	79	60	128	63	77
DIFFERENCE	-5	10	6	12	5	27	20	-6	2	0	9	9	30	-16	-11	20	-7	15	2	76	8	40	27

When ITSC scores of children and decision making scores of mothers and fathers were correlated, results were not found to be significant.¹ There is, therefore, no evidence of a relationship between ITSC scores and husband-wife decision making scores. To determine the effect of the presence of a sibling on sex-preference, a 't' test of significance of difference between ITSC scores of children with an elder sibling, and ITSC scores of children with no sibling or younger sibling, was computed. Since same-sex children score significantly higher, evidence for the importance of the older sibling in sex-role preference is seen.²

¹ Since $r = .593$ for fathers and $r = .316$ for mothers, and both are less than $r = .685$, results are required for significant at 5 per cent level.

² Since $t = 2.06$ and is greater than 2.04, it is significant at 5 per cent level.

VI

DISCUSSION

The statistical analysis presented in the previous chapter provided no evidence of a relationship between the two instruments given to the parents, PARI and the Blood Scale, and the instrument given to children to measure sex preference. Careful consideration must be given to any factors other than absence of the hypothesized relationships which might account for these negative findings.

PARI items are transparent in nature and the socially acceptable answer would be especially evident to sophisticated parents of the kind included in the present sample. Some indication of this awareness was observed during the administration of the test.

Then too, actual observations of some of the parents with high scores, and their high scoring children, suggest that the parents may not be as democratic as they indicated on the test. On the other hand, occasional observations of this sort do not provide any basis for rejecting an hypothesis. Indeed, some seemingly authoritarian parents, on the basis of impressional observation, had high scoring children on ITSC scale and some had low scoring children.

Another factor to be considered is that only three of the twenty-three PARI scales are positively oriented. Do such negative scales offer a measure of positive attitudes which may be possessed by some parents? It is significant

in this connection that some subjects resisted this questionnaire with the statement that they were unable to register all their feelings.

Elder siblings of the same sex were shown to contribute to the sex preference of both boys and girls. Brown's study has also shown that presence of brothers favorably influences sex role preference of boys. It would seem probable that the older sibling presents an effective model for sex preference. In some way the older sibling might be even more influential than the parent because the age difference is not so great, so that the model presented is clearer and more attainable.

The present study shows that boys score significantly higher than girls. The presence of the elder sibling among girls was found to be less influential. This may be due to the fact that the mother is more likely to be present as a model, so that the sister has less to contribute to sex preference.

The difference between scores of girls and boys in the present study was also found in studies by Brown and Rabbon. They have accounted for this difference in terms of cultural factors which ascribe more importance to masculinity. It is of special interest that such a difference appears in this study, since parents of the educational status represented in this group might be considered to be exempted from traditional attitudes toward masculinity and femininity.

VII

CONCLUSIONS

The fundamental concern of this study has been to investigate the relation between parental attitudes and sex-role preference of children.

The analysis shows that there is no relationship between a measure of parental attitudes and a measure of sex preference in children; furthermore, no relationship between a measure of husband-wife decision-making and sex preference was found. Same-sex elder siblings seemed to have significant effects on sex-preference. Boys scored significantly higher on a measure of sex-role preference than girls.

Certain reactions of these highly educated parents suggested that PARI may lack validity with this group. Possibly PARI would be more acceptable to parents of lower socio-economic class and a replication with such a group would be of interest.

An instrument yet to be devised which contains more positively oriented scales and more scales measuring the variables identified in this study, would also seem to provide for a better test of these hypotheses.

The findings concerning the influence of the older sibling, same sex, are of much interest. A study designed to investigate various aspects of this relationship seems warranted.

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APPENDIX I

DETAIL INFORMATION ABOUT ITSC

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ADMINISTERING THE IT SCALE FOR CHILDREN

Introduction: We are going to play a little game with this child here. See this child? Let's call this child "It." Let's play like the name of this child is It. O.K.? So this game will be about It. Here, you hold It. Now, we're going to show this child, whose name is It, some cards with pictures on them. [If child asks about the sex of It, say: "It's just a child, isn't it? Let's just say It's a child."]

1. *Toy pictures:* Look, here are some pictures of toys. These are all nice toys, aren't they? Yes. Now, let's play like It could play with all of these toys. Which toy would It like the best? Put It on the toy It likes the best. . . . Now put It on another toy It likes. [Repeat until eight choices are made.] Are you having fun playing with It? Fine. Now we have some other pictures we're going to show It.

2. *Eight paired pictures (a) Indians:* Here are pictures of Indians. Let's play like It could be an Indian too. Put It on the Indian that It would rather be. *(b) Clothes:* Here are pictures of some clothes. Let's play like It could have any clothes It wanted. Put It on the clothes It would rather have. *(c) Sewing-airplane:* Here are pictures of

things to use in making an airplane and things to use in making a handkerchief. Which would It rather make, an airplane or a handkerchief? Put It on the one It would rather make. *(d) Face articles:* Here are pictures of things to use on our face. Now, let's play like It could play "grown-ups" and It had all these things to play "grown-ups" with. Put It on the one It would rather play "grown-ups" with. *(e) Mechanical tools and household objects:* Here are pictures of some objects to use in washing and ironing and some objects to use in fixing things that are broken. Let's play like It had all of these things to work with. Put It on the ones It would rather work with.

(f) Shoes: Here are pictures of some shoes. Now let's play like It could "dress up" and "play house." Put It on the shoes that It would rather "play house" with. *(g) Children playing:* Here are pictures of children playing together. Let's play like It could be in one of these pictures too. Put It on the picture It would rather be in. *(h) Building tools and baking articles:* Here are pictures of things to bake and cook with and things to build with. Let's play like It could work with all of these things. Put It on the things It would rather work with.

3. *Four child-figures:* Here are some pictures of children. Let's play like It could be any one of these It wanted to be. Put It on the one It would rather be.

A scoring sheet was used for each subject for recording purposes. Administration of the entire scale averaged about seven or eight minutes for each child.

The Toy Pictures Section of the ITSC included the following items:

Necklace	Cradle
Tractor	Racer
Doll	Dishes
Dump truck	Earthmover
Train engine	Soldiers
Purse	Doll buggy
Gun (rifle)	Knife (pocket)
High chair	Baby bath

The Eight Paired Pictures Section of the ITSC included the following picture pairs:

Indian princess—Indian chief
Trousers and shirt—Dress
Sewing materials—Airplane parts
Cosmetic articles—Shaving articles
Mechanical tools—Household objects
Men's shoes—Women's shoes
Girls playing—Boys playing
Building tools—Baking articles

The Four Child-Figures Section of the ITSC included the following:

Girl
Girlish boy (boy dressed as girl)
Boyish girl (girl dressed as boy)
Boy

The order of presenting the various sections and items of the scale, and their spatial arrangement, were randomly determined, with the restriction that male and female items be alternated.

For scoring purposes the following values were assigned to items comprising the scale:

Toy pictures: One point was given for each choice of a male toy picture and zero for each choice of a female toy picture. Each child made eight choices so that the range was from 0 (all female choices) to 8 (all male choices).

Eight paired pictures: Eight points were given for each male preference and zero for each female preference; since there are eight paired items, the range is from 0 (all female preferences) to 8 (all male preferences).

Four child-figures: Preference for the boy was given 12 points, for the girlish boy 8 points, for the boyish girl 4 points, and for the girl, zero.

The total range of the ITSC is from zero, an exclusively feminine score, to 84, an exclusively masculine score. A score of 42 would represent a relatively intermediate preference between masculine and feminine roles as defined in the present study. Deviations above and below a score of 42 would be in the direction of greater masculinity and greater femininity, respectively.

APPENDIX II

INVENTORY OF ATTITUDES ON FAMILY LIFE AND CHILDREN

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4
strongly agree	mildly agree	mildly disagree	strongly disagree

Indicate your opinion by placing a black mark in the space provided below the option of your choice. For example, you would place a black mark under column 1 if you strongly agree with an item, under 2 if you mildly agree, under 3 if you mildly disagree, under 4 if you strongly disagree.

There are no right or wrong answers, so answer according to your opinion. It is very important to the study that all of the questions be answered. Many of them will seem alike, but all are necessary to show slight differences of opinion.

1. Children should be allowed to disagree with their parents if they feel their own ideas are better.
2. A good mother should shelter her child from life's little difficulties.
3. The home is the only thing that matters to a good mother.
4. Some children are just so bad they must be taught to fear adults for their own good.
5. Children should realize how much parents have to give up for them.
6. You must always keep tight hold of baby during his bath for in a careless moment he might slip.
7. People who think they can get along in marriage without arguments just don't know the facts.
8. A child will be grateful later on for strict training.
9. Children will get on any woman's nerves if she has to be with them all day.
10. It's best for the child if he never gets started wondering whether his mother's views are right.
11. More parents should teach their children to have unquestioning loyalty to them.
12. A child should be taught to avoid fighting no matter what happens.
13. One of the worst things about taking care of a home is a woman feels that she can't get out.
14. Parents should adjust to the children some rather than always expecting the children to adjust to the parents.
15. There are so many things a child has to learn in life there is no excuse for him sitting around with time on his hands.
16. If you let children talk about their troubles they end up complaining even more.

- A young child should be protected from hearing about sex.
- If a mother doesn't go ahead and make rules for the home the children and husband will get into trouble they don't need to.
- A mother should make it her business to know everything her children are thinking.
- Children would be happier and better behaved if parents would show an interest in their affairs.
- Most children are toilet trained by 15 months of age.
- There is nothing worse for a young mother than being alone while going through her first experience with a baby.
- Children should be encouraged to tell their parents about it whenever they feel family rules are unreasonable.
- A mother should do her best to avoid any disappointment for her child.
- The women who want lots of parties seldom make good mothers.
- It is frequently necessary to drive the mischief out of a child before he will behave.
- A mother must expect to give up her own happiness for that of her child.
- All young mothers are afraid of their awkwardness in handling and holding the baby.
- Sometimes it's necessary for a wife to tell off her husband in order to get her rights.
- Strict discipline develops a fine strong character.
- Mothers very often feel that they can't stand their children a moment longer.
- A parent should never be made to look wrong in a child's eyes.
- The child should be taught to revere his parents above all other grown-ups.
- A child should be taught to always come to his parents or teachers rather than fight when he is in trouble.
- Having to be with children all the time gives a woman the feeling her wings have been clipped.
- Parents must earn the respect of their children by the way they act.
- Children who don't try hard for success will feel they have missed out on things later on.
- Parents who start a child talking about his worries don't realize that sometimes it's better to just leave well enough alone.

- It is very important that young boys and girls not be allowed to see each other completely undressed.
- Children and husbands do better when the mother is strong enough to settle most of the problems.
- A child should never keep a secret from his parents.
- Laughing at children's jokes and telling children jokes makes things go more smoothly.
- The sooner a child learns to walk the better he's trained.
- It isn't fair that a woman has to bear just about all the burden of raising children by herself.
- A child has a right to his own point of view and ought to be allowed to express it.
- A child should be protected from jobs which might be too tiring or hard for him.
- A woman has to choose between having a well run home and hobnobbing around with neighbors and friends.
- A wise parent will teach a child early just who is boss.
- Few women get the gratitude they deserve for all they have done for their children.
- Mothers never stop blaming themselves if their babies are injured in accidents.
- No matter how well a married couple love one another, there are always differences which cause irritation and lead to arguments.
- Children who are held to firm rules grow up to be the best adults.
- It's a rare mother who can be sweet and even tempered with her children all day.
- Children should never learn things outside the home which make them doubt their parents' ideas.
- A child soon learns that there is no greater wisdom than that of his parents.
- There is no good excuse for a child hitting another child.
- Most young mothers are bothered more by the feeling of being shut up in the home than by anything else.
- Children are too often asked to do all the compromising and adjustment and that is not fair.

- . Children pester you with all their little upsets if you aren't careful from the first.
- . When a mother doesn't do a good job with children it's probably because the father doesn't do his part around the home.
- . Children who take part in sex play become sex criminals when they grow up.
- . A mother has to do the planning because she is the one who knows what's going on in the home.
- . An alert parent should try to learn all her child's thoughts.
- . Parents who are interested in hearing about their children's parties, dates and fun help them grow up right.
- . The earlier a child is weaned from its emotional ties to its parents the better it will handle its own problems.
- . A wise woman will do anything to avoid being by herself before and after a new baby.
- . A child's ideas should be seriously considered in making family decisions.
- . Parents should know better than to allow their children to be exposed to difficult situations.
- . Too many women forget that a mother's place is in the home.
- . Children need some of the natural meanness taken out of them.
- . Children should be more considerate of their mothers since their mothers suffer so much for them.
- . Most mothers are fearful that they may hurt their babies in handling them.
- . There are some things which just can't be settled by a mild discussion.
- . Most children should have more discipline than they get.
- . Raising children is a nerve-wracking job.
- . The child should not question the thinking of his parents.
- . Parents deserve the highest esteem and regard of their children.
- . Children should not be encouraged to box or wrestle because it often leads to trouble or injury.
- . One of the bad things about raising children is that you aren't free enough of the time to do just as you like.
- . As much as is reasonable a parent should try to treat a child as an equal.
- . A child who is "on the go" all the time will most likely be happy.

- . If a child has upset feelings it is best to leave him alone and not make it look serious.
- . If mothers could get their wishes they would most often ask that the husband be more understanding.
- . Sex is one of the greatest problems to be contended with in children.
- . The whole family does fine if the mother puts her shoulders to the wheel and takes charge of things.
- . A mother has a right to know everything going on in her child's life because her child is part of her.
- . If parents would have fun with their children, the children would be more apt to take their advice.
- . A mother should make an effort to get her child toilet trained at the earliest possible time.
- . Most women need more time than they are given to rest up in the home after going through childbirth.
- . When a child is in trouble he ought to know he won't be punished for talking about it with his parents.
- . Children should be kept away from all hard jobs which might be discouraging.
- . A good mother will find enough social life within the family.
- . It is sometimes necessary for the parents to break the child's will.
- . Mothers sacrifice almost all their own fun for their children.
- . A mother's greatest fear is that in a forgetful moment she might let something bad happen to the baby.
- . It's natural to have quarrels when two people who both have minds of their own get married.
- 0. Children are actually happier under strict training.
- 1. It's natural for a mother to "blow her top" when children are selfish and demanding.
- 2. There is nothing worse than letting a child hear criticisms of his mother.
- 3. Loyalty to parents comes before anything else.
- 4. Most parents prefer a quiet child to a "scrappy" one.
- 5. A young mother feels "held down" because there are lots of things she wants to do while she is young.
- 6. There is no reason parents should have their own way all the time, any more than that children should have their own way all the time.

07. The sooner a child learns that a wasted minute is lost forever the better off he will be.
08. The trouble with giving attention to children's problems is they usually just make up a lot of stories to keep you interested.
09. Few men realize that a mother needs some fun in life too.
10. There is usually something wrong with a child who asks a lot of questions about sex.
11. A married woman knows that she will have to take the lead in family matters.
12. It is a mother's duty to make sure she knows her child's innermost thoughts.
13. When you do things together, children feel close to you and can talk easier.
14. A child should be weaned away from the bottle or breast as soon as possible.
15. Taking care of a small baby is something that no woman should be expected to do all by herself.

NAME _____ DATE _____ NUMBER _____

PARENTAL ATTITUDE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

1	24	47	70	93	Scale Score	Stanine	Sub-Test Title
2					_____	_____	Encouraging Verbalization
3					_____	_____	Fostering Dependency
4					_____	_____	Seclusion of Mother
5					_____	_____	Breaking the Will
6					_____	_____	Martyrdom
7					_____	_____	Fear of Harming the Baby
8					_____	_____	Marital Conflict
9					_____	_____	Strictness
10					_____	_____	Irritability
11					_____	_____	Excluding Outside Influence
12					_____	_____	Deification
13					_____	_____	Suppression of Agression
14					_____	_____	Rejection of Homemaking
15					_____	_____	Equalitarianism
16					_____	_____	Approval of Activity
17					_____	_____	Avoidance of Communication
18					_____	_____	Inconsiderateness of Husband
19					_____	_____	Suppression of Sex
20					_____	_____	Ascendancy of Mother
21					_____	_____	Intrusiveness
22					_____	_____	Comradeship and Sharing
23	46	69	92	115	_____	_____	Acceleration of Development
					_____	_____	Dependency of Mother

APPENDIX III

RAW SCORES OF FATHERS ON PARI

Father (Parents)	No of scales																						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
31	16	6	14	13	12	11	18	13	16	8	9	10	15	16	11	7	11	9	9	9	15	16	13
2	20	17																					
3	20	17	6	7	11	14	17	9	16	11	11	11	10	14	13	11	13	8	10	10	15	10	13
4	17	11	9	7	11	14	17	9	16	11	10	10	11	13	14	10	10	8	13	11	15	10	13
5	15	18	10	9	7	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	15	15	13	11	11	11	10	10	10	10	10
6	19	6	7	7	5	6	12	15	14	6	15	8	12	16	7	7	5	5	5	6	13	5	8
7	15	10	11	12	11	11	12	12	17	10	11	11	14	12	10	12	11	9	11	10	14	9	10
8	16	11	14	10	8	12	17	13	16	13	12	14	15	13	12	9	12	10	14	11	16	11	10
9	19	7	7	7	9	8	12	8	12	7	8	10	11	18	9	8	11	6	5	5	20	5	15
10	20	8	5	8	5	5	17	5	14	5	5	8	5	11	5	5	5	5	5	20	5	5	5
11	13	11	8	8	11	15	18	14	13	12	11	12	13	14	12	8	13	8	10	11	16	11	15
12	16	12	10	13	10	14	15	14	14	15	16	13	12	16	8	10	14	12	11	11	17	8	15
13	16	10	7	6	12	13	14	13	17	10	11	9	13	16	11	6	8	5	6	5	17	7	11
14	19	6	9	8	10	10	15	14	12	7	13	8	11	15	10	8	16	7	9	8	16	10	14
15	16	5	8	8	8	10	20	5	5	17	5	8	6	14	11	15	5	8	5	5	8	5	17
16	15	14	10	14	8	11	15	13	11	10	10	9	11	16	13	10	13	9	8	12	15	14	13
17	18	10	14	11	9	6	16	13	15	7	13	8	7	11	6	5	10	7	7	7	18	9	15
32	18		8	9	6	6	8	9	7	8	10	10	6	6	15	7	7	6	6	5	7	14	8
19	15	11	9	11	12	12	12	15	11	15	13	11	12	14	12	11	12	10	14	11	15	11	12
20	17	9	8	7	10	9	18	12	14	11	14	11	14	14	13	9	12	8	12	14	16	9	15
21	20	9	7	5	5	8	19	6	15	5	5	7	15	17	11	8	10	5	8	6	13	10	8
22	20	5	7	5	8	15	13	6	18	6	9	8	16	18	7	5	10	6	5	6	19	6	13
23	17	7	9	5	7	10	14	10	12	10	10	12	9	7	19	7	10	6	7	6	16	7	11
24	14	12	9	9	9	11	13	11	14	8	9	10	12	14	10	10	9	7	9	9	11	9	11
25	19	7	7	9	5	9	16	14	14	10	10	9	10	17	7	8	10	6	7	10	17	6	10
26	15	9	12	11	13	12	17	17	15	12	15	9	13	14	15	9	11	8	12	11	17	10	13
27	20	8	13	8	10	15	16	13	17	11	10	8	14	16	16	11	11	6	11	15	19	13	11
28	19	11	10	10	8	12	17	11	16	7	10	10	13	16	12	10	13	6	11	5	18	9	11
29	16	14	14	11	10	15	15	16	17	13	12	10	9	16	11	11	11	14	13	13	18	10	14
30	16	8	6	6	7	9	12	18	13	10	13	14	8	12	10	10	8	5	6	6	17	10	14

APPENDIX III

RAW SCORES OF MOTHERS ON PARI

Mother (Parents)	No. of Scales																						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
2	20	9	7	7	6	11	13	8	18	7	8	8	16	16	8	8	10	5	6	6	19	5	11
3	15	8	10	7	9	10	15	13	16	11	11	12	14	12	10	9	13	8	13	10	10	7	15
4	17	7	8	5	7	13	14	12	16	11	10	10	14	13	10	10	9	7	10	5	18	8	9
5	14	11	10	11	11	8	13	18	12	9	11	12	10	15	14	9	9	9	11	13	18	10	12
6	20	11	12	12	8	18	16	14	15	10	17	13	14	17	10	11	9	7	19	12	19	7	13
7	17	8	11	9	8	11	12	15	14	10	13	9	13	13	10	10	12	8	12	7	16	6	7
8	20	11	11	8	5	13	16	14	15	15	9	10	9	17	10	10	6	7	10	5	19	8	16
9	16	10	8	9	7	10	13	10	13	9	9	10	10	15	12	7	8	7	9	10	16	6	10
10	20	17	16	7	6	10	14	10	12	8	12	8	13	5	8	6	6	6	8	6	17	9	10
11	18	8	10	8	8	12	14	13	10	10	10	10	10	16	12	13	7	13	10	16	11	10	11
12	18	8	7	8	5	9	12	11	9	6	10	8	5	13	9	7	9	5	7	6	19	10	11
13	19	8	8	8	6	9	7	10	14	5	9	7	10	18	9	5	5	5	5	5	19	10	11
14	20	10	8	10	9	15	15	11	18	9	11	10	14	14	12	10	11	6	13	8	17	7	7
15	17	10	8	14	7	15	18	14	18	18	7	13	10	16	10	15	11	6	11	15	17	10	11
16	16	8	11	9	5	13	12	14	12	8	10	9	12	14	12	7	7	7	7	19	7	11	
17	18	8	9	7	7	14	10	9	8	9	6	11	10	10	5	9	5	5	6	20	9	9	8
19	19	7	11	9	7	14	14	17	15	18	9	12	12	17	19	11	13	6	14	7	16	8	14
20	19	9	11	9	5	10	15	18	15	7	9	8	8	11	10	7	7	5	13	18	18	7	10
21	19	8	5	5	9	12	17	10	7	7	5	5	20	6	5	5	5	8	5	5	14	5	8
22	18	8	10	5	8	15	17	9	16	9	8	9	14	19	10	7	13	7	15	8	19	6	9
23	19	6	9	7	8	9	13	10	12	6	9	9	10	15	10	8	8	7	12	9	16	6	11
24	18	9	6	7	7	14	18	16	17	8	9	10	15	13	9	5	7	5	8	6	14	9	7
25	19	8	8	7	7	10	12	12	13	9	10	10	13	19	10	8	10	7	9	9	19	7	11
26	17	11	13	9	9	10	11	10	11	11	11	13	10	17	10	11	10	11	10	10	18	10	9
27	16	9	9	7	7	12	12	13	11	9	9	9	11	16	12	9	6	9	9	11	8	8	8
28	16	11	10	7	8	12	14	10	13	9	9	9	13	17	11	9	10	6	13	12	17	9	11
29	19	9	14	12	8	14	9	16	12	9	10	10	9	15	9	9	6	8	9	11	19	9	10
30	15	11	12	19	10	10	13	16	13	12	15	13	13	16	14	8	12	9	13	9	16	12	9
31	17	9	16	14	11	15	11	14	12	11	12	10	9	14	10	15	9	7	7	12	19	16	15
32	18	7	7	6	6	8	10	10	12	8	10	9	13	15	11	11	10	5	10	10	17	7	7