

**AN INVESTIGATION OF PARENTAL ATTACHMENT
RELATIONSHIPS;
PERCEIVED PARENTAL GENDER ATTITUDES; AND
RESPONDENTS' GENDER-ROLE BEHAVIOUR
IN THE FORMATION OF GENDER ATTITUDES**

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in

Psychology

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I Ethelwyn Eleonore Rebelo declare that this Thesis is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

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PRESENTATIONS

Topic

**Gender Dysphoria, DSM-V and the latest research and experience that genes are
insufficient factors in determining biological sex.**

Presented at South African Litigation Centre Symposium on 3 October, Hyatt Hotel

Rosebank, 2016;

and at

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Health and Human Rights in Africa on 15 November, Hotel Capital Empire, Sandton, 2016.

ABSTRACT

This research is a two-part study incorporating the development of the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale and the application of this scale in an investigation of parental attachment relationship; perceived parental gender attitudes; and respondents' gender-role behaviour in the formation of gender attitudes. The following hypotheses were examined: that there is an association between an individual's recalled attachment style to his or her parental figures and that individual's gender attitudes and beliefs; that the attitudes and beliefs of an individual's parents with regard to gender roles in the home and the workplace play a part in influencing their gender ideology; that recalled attachment styles in relation to parental figures affect an individual's identification with gender roles; that an individual's gender role identification is related to his or her gender attitudes and beliefs; and that there is an association between race, age, gender, educational level and gender ideology.

A cross-sectional study was designed, making use of convenience sampling and drawing respondents from the respective parent groups of an urban Johannesburg private school and an urban Johannesburg government school.

The Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale, utilizing a 5-point Likert Scale was developed for this purpose by the researcher in the first part of the study. In the second part of the study, four questions were added to the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale to assess respondents' recollections of their parents' respective attitudes towards gender equality in the home and the workplace. Other questionnaires used as measuring instruments were: the Relationship

Structures Questionnaire, used to assess respondents' recalled attachment styles in relation to each parental figure; and the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, used to categorize respondents' gender roles in terms of acknowledged traits of instrumentality and expressiveness.

Results were subjected to chi-square correlation studies. T-tests were conducted to determine the significance of the mean differences at the $p=0.05\alpha$ level. More conservative analyses of variance such as Fisher's LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means and Levene's Test for the Homogeneity of Variance were also used.

Four key factors were found to influence Gender Attitudes and Relationship scores:

(i) Respondents' relationships with their father-figures. There was a significantly positive association between reported fearful-avoidant attachment styles towards a father-figure and higher scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale, denoting a more egalitarian gender ideology in these respondents.

One of the psychological implications of this result is that the relationship between attachment and gender attitudes and beliefs is complex. The influence of a secure attachment cannot be dismissed given the high number of secure attachments identified in the sample and the liberal mean obtained for the sample as a whole. However the finding that a fearful-avoidant attachment in relation to a father figure is associated with significantly higher gender egalitarianism suggests that an experience of trauma in this relationship has consequences for the development of later attitudes and beliefs in this domain.

Inconsistency in parental attitudes. It was found that respondents whose parents believed in equality in the workplace but not in the home were significantly more likely to obtain high scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale. Thus, an experience of inconsistency in parental attitudes with regard to gender equality in the workplace and the home is associated more powerfully with egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs than consistency in parental attitudes. This is irrespective of whether these beliefs are consistently traditional or consistently progressive.

The impact of sex-role. While Androgynous individuals tended to obtain higher scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale, respondents categorical as Undifferentiated (i.e. low in traits of both instrumentality and expressiveness), scored significantly lower on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale.

While no association was found to exist between attachment style and sex-role, it was found that respondents categorical as Androgynous (i.e. high in traits of both instrumentality and expressiveness) on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, were significantly associated with relationships of low avoidance in relation to both of their parental figures.

(iv) Demographic Factors. Age, sex, race and education were all associated with scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale. Females, white people, those with a tertiary qualification and older respondents obtained significantly higher scores, reflective of a more progressive gender ideology. The greater conservatism of men in this fundamentally middle-class sample points to a degree of persistence of a traditional gender schema.

In contrast to findings from the rest of the world, a positive correlation between more egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs and increasing age was identified. The reasons for this are uncertain.

The above findings have to be understood as existing within an urban population whose mean score of 74.5 on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale was indicative of fairly liberal gender attitudes and beliefs, a finding which contrasts with data pointing to extreme conservatism emanating from research in the areas of violence against women and HIV transmission.

Given the demographics of the samples, the findings of this study can be generalist to an urban, Johannesburg-based population consisting of Black and White middle-class individuals. The Coloured and Asian groups were insufficiently represented in the study for valid conclusions concerning their gender ideology to be reached. The findings are also limited to individuals able to speak and understand English.

Nevertheless, the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale may likely have utility with the parents of Children with Disorders of Sex Development, in Premarital Counseling and in the selection of senior managers, or in other settings where issues of gender are considerations. The Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale should be further researched in such settings.

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1. CHAPTER ONE - Introduction

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Clinical Motivation for the Research

1.1.1.1 *Initial Impetus: Work in the Pediatric Endocrinology Department*

This thesis was motivated by work at the Pediatric Endocrinology Department of Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital, with children born with Disorders of Sex Development. It was the practice there, at the time, that all babies with ambiguous genitalia were assigned a particular gender, on the understanding that it might be the wrong one and that they might require surgery at puberty to allow for transitioning to the opposite sex¹. While there were instances of parental acceptance, tolerance and flexibility, in many instances a child's non-conforming gendered behaviour was observed to evoke parental anxiety. A young person's decision to transition in adolescence was also often associated with a fear of social ridicule and censure from the extended family. Individuals who straddle the accepted gender dichotomy in terms of their gender or sexual identifications have to deal with a degree of interpersonal unease in South Africa, and this unease is particularly amplified in the case of those born with ambiguous genitalia (Rebelo, Szabo and Pitcher, 2008).

The gender ideologies of the parents of these young South Africans with Disorders of Sex Development appeared to play a pivotal role in whether those who transgressed gender stereotypes were able to grow up with a sense of self-worth and confidence. It was accordingly decided to explore the gender attitudes and beliefs that a sample of this population adhered to. However there were no known questionnaires or scales of gender attitudes and beliefs that had been normed on a South African population.

To this end the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (GABS) (Appendix C) was developed and validation studies were carried out on patients attending a psychology clinic at Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital and on the parents of children at a crèche in Orange Grove, Johannesburg. A further demarcation of norms was achieved with the second part of the study.

¹The term: 'sex' is used to designate the biological aspect of a person, for example in terms of whether they produce gametes as spermatozoa or ova. 'Gender' is associated with cultural or attitudinal characteristics (as opposed to physical characteristic) distinctive to the sexes (Diamond, 2002). In addition to this clarification, it should be noted that this research is not concerned with issues of gender identity or sexual orientation. The focus of this study is gender role expectations and gender ideology.

It is proposed that this scale may assist with therapeutic work with the families of children with Disorders of Sex Development, with premarital counseling and with the selection of senior managers (as per abstract).

1.1.1.2 *Second Impetus: The Condition of Women*

The validation studies having been completed, motivation for additional research was fueled by a desire to obtain more information relating to the gender ideologies of South Africans. The second impetus for the research thus derived from a need to obtain more information relating to the gender attitudes and beliefs of people in urban areas. South Africa is fortunate to be in possession of a progressive constitution which promotes the equality of all individuals in law, irrespective of race, gender, sex, colour, sexual orientation, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, or age. At the same time, South African women continue to contend with a number of difficulties. Three women are killed every day by their partners (Davis, 2013; Faul, 2013; Cohen, 2015). Moreover, a persisting gender pay gap ensures that women's salaries tend to be 15% to 17% lower than those of their counterparts (Bosch, 2015).

The problem of women's rights, of course, extends beyond the borders of South Africa. Despite evidence that demonstrates the importance of women's empowerment with regard to reducing poverty and promoting development, gender equality remains an unfulfilled promise in many areas of the world (United Nations Population Fund, 2016).

Nevertheless, it is also true that societies throughout the globe have changed in both Liberal and Conservative directions. Furthermore, a country with a progressive Constitution such as South Africa, contains within it people who are Conservative with regard to gender (Davis, 2013; Faul, 2013; Cohen, 2015). Similarly, Feminist practices may be found in areas of the world dominated by traditional cultures (see, for example Chaki-Sircar's study of Meitei society, 1986).

The influences of family relationships and early childhood experiences in the formation of ideologies have not been greatly researched since Adorno's work on the authoritarian personality (1950). There has also been a dearth of research in this area with regard to the South African context. It is this lack that the present research attempted to address.

1.1.1.3 *Third Impetus: Attachment Work*

It was accordingly decided to explore the influence of attachment to parental figures; those figures' gender attitudes and beliefs; respondents' gender roles; together with other demographic variables - on the development of gender attitudes and beliefs. Concern regarding these demographic factors together with an awareness of studies linking the quality of early attachments to primary caregivers with other factors such as later intimate relationships (Hazan and Shaver, 1987) and social competence (Pearce & Pezzot-Pearce, 2001), added further impetus to this research. The addition of a subsidiary goal to explore the influence of attachment on gender role was motivated by a desire to more fully understand possible environmental factors that might contribute to the etiology of transgenderism.

There has been a great deal of research into the effects of early attachment relationships, and even the effects of early attachment relationships on political ideology as a whole (for example, by Buck, 2014; Doty et al, 1991; Lakoff, 2002; Haidt, 2003; Wolfe, 2005). Little attention has, however, been paid to the connection between early attachment relationships and gender attitudes and beliefs. This factor was an additional motivator for the research.

The primary aims of this research were therefore:

1. To determine whether attachment styles with regard to both parental figures influenced gender attitudes and beliefs;
2. To investigate whether the development of an individual's gender attitudes and beliefs was influenced by his or her parents' attitudes with regard to the equality of men and women in the workplace and in the home;

3. To determine whether an individual's active expression of gender, in other words, his or her gender-role behaviour, influenced his or her attitudes and beliefs in this area; and
4. To investigate the association between the demographic factors of race, sex, age and educational level and gender attitudes and beliefs.

Secondary aims included:

1. The investigation of an association between attachment and gender role; and
2. The further demarcation of norm variations for the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale.

1.1.2 Society and Gender

If associations were to be found between the above variables and gender attitudes and beliefs it was considered that these could never be the whole story. Religious and other social influences have the power to affect all spheres of societies (as noted under *1.1.1.2*). The questions asked by this research were qualified, therefore, by an understanding that they were valid only in contexts in which people have a choice as to what gender attitudes and beliefs they may pursue.

1.1.2.1 *Traditional Versus Modern Societies*

Traditional societies have been defined as societies that are essentially characterized by an orientation to the past, a lack of distinction between family and business, a reliance on custom and habit and a division of labour based on gender, status and age (Langlois, 2001). Modern and cosmopolitan societies such as that of South Africa, may be defined as characterized by people possessing qualities of informed and participatory citizenship; an experience of independence and autonomy in relation to traditional sources of influence, a sense of personal efficacy, irrespective of gender; and an open-mindedness in relation to new experiences (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). In such societies, people tend to consider themselves presented with a range of possibilities and choices with regard to culture and ideologies.

These include the more egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs that are a consequence of the various waves of Feminist thought.

Perhaps as a result of the variety of cultures and ideologies available to South Africans, many Black South Africans adopt a hybrid explanatory system incorporating both Western and traditional beliefs in the area of cosmology (Eagle, 2005). This is not uncommon in modern cosmopolitan societies. Black South Africans who adhere to such hybrids or who commit to African traditional religion alone are not significantly different from many modern people throughout the world. In all modern societies people are to be found who adopt combinations of modern and traditional perspectives, or those relating to alternative cosmologies. People in industrialized and modern nations believe in astrology, the use of crystals and treatments based on discredited notions of bodily energy systems. Cosmological enclosure is, as noted by Huon Wardle (2010), only ever a partial condition in cosmopolitan societies. Even in less cosmopolitan societies, such as modern China, conflicting cosmologies are to be found (Bruun, 1996).

The fact that South Africans protest government decisions; work hard at elections; challenge the leadership of the country; and contain within them groups who are committed to a variety of perspectives, proclaim them as modern (Inkeles and Smith, 1974, Worden, 2012). One of these viewpoints include the more egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs that are a consequence of the various waves of Feminist thought.

1.1.3 Feminist Thought

The widespread dissemination of various waves of Feminism in the Western world have conveyed the view that women are most happy when they are able to choose the occupation, life-style and gender-role that best suits them.

First-wave feminism, which prevailed from the early nineteenth century to the early to middle twentieth century, focused on the promotion of equal contract, marital, parental and property

rights for women. By the end of the nineteenth century, the right of women to vote and their right to pursue political power had also come to the forefront of Feminist concerns (Freedman, 2003).

The mid-twentieth century gave rise to a second wave of feminism which viewed women's socio-cultural and political inequalities as linked. Carol Hanisch (1970) coined the now famous slogan: "The personal is political". This perspective encouraged women to understand that aspects of their personal lives were reflective of sexist power structures and to challenge the expectations associated with them.

The second wave was followed by a third wave, which emerged in the United States in the 1990's. This wave of Feminism has tended to oppose essentialist definitions of femininity, embracing post-structuralist interpretations of the fluidity of gender and sexuality and contending that gender roles are due mostly to social conditioning (Gilligan, 1993).

This research, in its concern with the personal relationships between men and women and their perspectives of gender-roles, is to be viewed as founded upon the concerns of the second and third waves of Feminism. It is assumed that people who do not view men and women as equally capable of pursuing occupations that interest them and of being entitled to equal pay; who believe that women should adopt subservient roles to men in the home; and who subscribe to strict rules regarding the expression of gender, have conservative gender attitudes and beliefs.

1.1.4 Cognition and Emotion

To posit a possible relationship between attachment style in relation to parental figures and gender attitudes and beliefs implies an expectation that the emotions engendered by that attachment style have an influence on an individual's gender attitudes and beliefs. It implies

a connection between the neurological functions associated with cognition and emotion. For example, as Bartholemew and Horowitz (1991) have pointed out, secure attachment connotes a well-developed capacity for empathy. This facilitates cognitions associated with a recognition of the humanity and the rights of others.

It also implies a persistence of emotional trends over time. This has been confirmed by neurological studies (Goldberg, 2009). Not only are the processes which determine cognitions, emotions and perceptions not independent (in a healthy brain), emotions attach intensity and value to our cognitions and perceptions. (Damasio 1994, 2010; Newberg and Walman, 2006). By means of this emotional effect, perceptions are bound to our conscious beliefs, making whatever we are thinking about seem more real at the time. Strong emotions can radically change our perceptions of reality. At the same time, if a thought or perception does not stimulate an emotional response, it may not even reach consciousness (Newberg and Walman, 2006; Damasio, 2010). Rationality (which would include attitudes and beliefs) and emotion are hence inextricably linked. Damage to the prefrontal cortex, the lateral orbitofrontal and ventromedial regions, with their links to the amygdala and hippocampus, interferes with our capacity to regulate our emotions and to choose our responses.

1.1.4.1 Beliefs and Attitudes

Beliefs have been defined as any perception, cognition or emotion that the brain assumes to be true, for example the belief that women need to be led by men (Maio and Haddock, 2010). Attitudes have similar compositions in that they may be defined as overall evaluations of people or events that are based on cognitive, affective and behavioural information (Maio and Haddock, 2010). An example here would be the attitude that women cannot be relied on to take the correct decisions in times of crisis.

Attitudes form some of the building blocks of beliefs. Hence the attitude that women cannot be relied on to take the correct decisions in times of crisis becomes a building block of the belief that women need to be led by men.

A succession of cognitions and emotions which become associated with each other in memory become automatic and form an attitude. When attitudes are repeated or maintained long enough, a belief is created. Essentially, beliefs are attitudes that you experience over and over again until you hard wire them in your brain (Dispenza, 2014).

Similarly to the attitudes that constitute them, as Daniel Dennet (2013) has pointed out, beliefs exist holistically in systems in which they are interconnected with other beliefs and ideas to form ideologies.

Another factor that plays a role in the creation and maintenance of attitudes and beliefs is perception. This is the end-result of sensory information processed by the brain and it may alter attitudes and beliefs. It may, however, also be affected and altered by attitudes and beliefs in turn. A man who believes that women need to be led by men observes a woman weeping as she makes decisions in a crisis. This confirms his belief that women need to be led and casts doubt on his perceptions that she is making the correct decisions. Someone else who believes that women are capable of handling crisis situations may marvel at her capacity to take action and make decisions despite her distress. The act of processing perception is linked with cognition and emotion in consciousness, self-awareness and memory.

1.1.4.2 Beliefs and Memory

Certain researchers (e.g. Schacter and Scary, 2000) have argued that memories should be considered a form of neural belief, since there is no way the brain can prove what did or did not happen in the past. As memory is fundamentally a constructive process that is sometimes prone to error and distortion, it makes sense that such beliefs are occasionally misguided (Newberg and Walman, 2006). Ultimately, emotional events tend to be written into memory more strongly than non-emotional events and when faced with similar perceptions or ideas, these neural imprints will later reactivate the circuit with associated cognitions and emotions (Newberg and Walman, 2006). Hence the memory of a sense of safety and trust in relationship with your mother is likely to reactivate those feelings later, in similar relationships.

1.2 First Primary Aim: The Long Term Consequences of Attachment Styles on Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

The quality of a child's attachment to a parental caregiver carries with it a great deal of emotion and accompanying cognitive predispositions with regard what to expect from others in close relationships (Bowlby, 1977). It was hypothesized that the template of the world that the child develops from these relationships may influence his or her gender attitudes and beliefs, a hypothesis which will be discussed in greater detail below.

1.2.1 Developmentalists

A possible association between recollections of parental attachments and gender attitudes and beliefs has not been the focus of much research. In the past, developmentalists (particularly those adhering to Piagetian or Kohlbergian approaches) tended to view the formation and change of gender-type cognitions, predilections and behaviours as instances or outcomes of more general cognitive-developmental processes and have paid inadequate attention to both the overt and covert variants of environmental influences, such as child-parent relationships (Eckes and Trautner, 2000). It was hoped that the focus on: attachment experience; the gender attitudes of parental figures; and the gender-role behaviours of individuals, would introduce these important dimensions of interpersonal context into consideration with regard to the evolution of the gender attitudes and beliefs researched.

1.2.2 Attachment Research and the Development of Working Models

Attachment research, founded on the work of the British psychoanalyst, John Bowlby (1977) has revealed links between attachment styles in infancy and later relationships (Hazan and Shaver, 1987); social competence (Pearce and Pezzot-Pearce, 2001); and morality (Churchland, 2008), to name a few associations. However there has been a dearth of literature on the possible connection between attachment and gender attitudes and beliefs. In order to explain why there might be such a connection it is necessary to examine certain of the findings of attachment work and the implications of these findings.

Bowlby (1977) hypothesized that attachment systems (developed by the parenting behaviours of primary caregivers in relation to infants) evolved as a means of maintaining the proximity of children to these caregivers in conditions of danger. He viewed attachment systems as functioning to provide a sense of felt safety, facilitating exploration in the child.

Ainsworth et al (1978), drawing on Bowlby's work, conducted the now famous research in which children were videotaped in strange or unfamiliar situations in which the mother was initially present and then absent. As a result of this study, it was noted that the quality of early attachment relationships was associated with the extent to which the child had learned to depend on the attachment figure as a source of security (Ainsworth et al, 1978; Main and Solomon, 1990; Schore, 1994; Zeanah et al, 2000). It was found that securely attached children tended to smile and hug their returning parent; anxious-resistant children tended to show resistance on their mother's return; and anxious-avoidant children ignored or even backed away from their respective mothers.

The characteristics and the maintenance of infant attachment patterns has also been found to be related to continuity in the quality of primary attachment relationships (Lamb, Thompson, Gardner, Charnov and Estes, 1985). This is because over time children internalize experiences with their parents or other caregivers so that early attachment relations form the prototype for later relationships outside the family (Hazan and Shaver, 1987).

Bowlby (1977) identified two important features of these prototypes or working models of attachment. These were: (a) whether or not the attachment figure was judged to be the sort of person who in general responds to calls for support and protection; and (b) whether or not the self was understood to be the sort of person toward whom anyone, and the attachment figure in particular, would be likely to respond to in a helpful way (p 204). For Bowlby (1977) the child was thus provided with two templates or schemas with regard to his/her expectations of the other. The first related to what they might expect from future attachment figures, this might include implicit premises concerning whether it is safe to approach or get close to the other on an emotional level or whether avoidance and distance should be maintained. The second concerned their image of the self. These two templates then constituted a prototype or

‘internal working model’ for the child with regard to his or her sense of self in the world and what might be expected with regard to others to whom he or she was attached (Fraiberg, 1943). Internal working models are thus representations of early attachment relationships, reflecting internalized cognitive and affective schemata which incorporate positive or negative beliefs about the self and about significant others.

Bowlby (1977) maintained that during early childhood, internal working models were relatively flexible (hence the term ‘working’). However he noted that interactions of a similar kind strengthened the emerging working models for better or worse and in the process rendered them less susceptible to change. This finding was substantiated by certain researchers (Lamb et al, 1985), but debated by others (Fraiberg et al, 2011). The latter have postulated that certain life events, particularly those which alter the nature of a relationship fundamentally such as breakups or transitions to marriage and parenthood, have the potential to either intensify attachment-related effects or to produce change. However all the factors resulting in both the sustenance of working models and the instigation of changes still need to be understood.

1.2.3. Neurobiological Perspective: Working Models and the Homeostatic Regulation of the Social Brain

Working models (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991) may be understood, from a neurobiological perspective, as affecting the homeostatic regulation of the social brain, influencing the autonomic nervous system and biochemical processes associated with states of positive and negative emotions (Cozolino, 2002). These states, based on experiences of safety and danger with caretakers during early sensitive periods, become stored as implicit memories. Networks of linked associations then form schemas which suggest safety, danger, relaxation, vigilance etc. As such, they then come to assume a central role in affect regulation, triggering rapid, unconscious approach-avoidance decisions in interpersonal situations and becoming particularly apparent in stressful contexts.

The prefrontal cortex plays an important role in these functions, guiding us with regard to whether an individual or context is safe and approachable or to be avoided. It assists us in

selecting what can be said and what cannot be said to that person and so on. This is because as Goldberg (2009) explains, emotions are moulded into patterns by our frontal lobes. When presented with new people or contexts, we respond emotionally to these novel stimuli in a similar way to the way we respond to unfamiliar objects when we recognize them as members of familiar categories.

Attachment theory's emphasis on the implications of early primary caregiver behaviour on the later emotional well-being of the child could obtain some validation from future epigenetic research. For example, Weaver et al (2004) carried out research on the epigenetic programming that takes place through maternal behaviour. They found that levels of pup licking, grooming and nursing by rat mothers altered their offspring's epigenome at a glucocorticoid receptor gene promoter in the hippocampus. The implications of varying rat maternal responses to their pups had both health and behavioural consequences. Work on the epigenetic mechanisms of transgenerational care has also been explored by Champagne (2008). However more research needs to take place to determine whether insecure attachment is associated with epigenetic consequences in humans, as it is in other animals.

1.2.3.1 Oxytocin

This neuropeptide and peptide hormone is a facilitatory substance associated with the homeostatic regulation of the social brain. Research has suggested that a person's early relationship with his or her parents shapes their oxytocin system. In 2010, Bartz et al gave a group of men a puff of oxytocin and asked them to think about their mothers. Men who had good, close relationships with their mothers remembered them as even more positive, while men who had difficult relationships with their mothers remembered them as even more negative. Bakermans-Kranenburg et al (2011) found that women who had loving parents tended to donate more generously to charity when given oxytocin, as against a placebo. On the other hand, women who had withdrawn parents donated less money to charity when exposed to the oxytocin rather than the placebo. Bakermans-Kranenburg et al (2011) looked at women's responses to the sound of a baby crying. They were asked to squeeze a bar or relax their grip intermittently when given puffs of oxytocin. Women who had been disciplined harshly as children did not relax their grip when hearing the baby cry while women who had not been harshly disciplined relaxed their grip to the sound of wailing.

It would seem, therefore, that the release of oxytocin might function to sustain attachment-related associations and feelings within the working model that an individual carries of intimate relationships within their interpersonal world.

1.2.4 Demarcation of Attachment Styles

1.2.4.1 Attachment Demarcations in Childhood

Four different attachment classifications have been identified in children: Secure attachment, anxious-ambivalent attachment, anxious-avoidant attachment and disorganized attachment (Ainsworth et al, 1978). These different classifications are to be understood as reflecting different working models in action.

Secure attachment in childhood

Securely attached children feel secure and able to depend on their caregivers. When the latter leaves them, they feel assured that he or she will return. They receive comfort from these attachment figures and hence are comfortable seeking them out in times of need.

Anxious -ambivalent attachment in childhood

Such children feel unable to depend on their caregiver being available to them in times of need.

Anxiously-avoidant attachment in childhood

Anxiously-avoidant children are likely to have been punished for relying on a possible attachment figure and may have experienced a degree of abuse or neglect so that they avoid their caregivers.

Disorganized attachment in childhood

When parents or caregivers become a source of both comfort and fear, a disorganized attachment ensues as a result of which children respond with confusion in their relationships (Ainsworth et al, 1978).

1.2.4.2 Attachment Demarcations in Adulthood

Bartholemew and Horowitz (1991) identified four styles of attachment in adults: Secure; Anxious-Preoccupied; Dismissive-Avoidant and Fearful-Avoidant which correspond roughly to the above infant demarcations. These were used in Fraley et al's (2011) construction of the Relationship Structures Questionnaire and are therefore the categories used in this research.

Secure Attachment in Adulthood

The relationships of securely attached people are characterized by low levels of both anxiety and avoidance. They tend to feel comfortable depending on others and having others depend on them. They are able to care for others and do not tend to experience anxiety regarding whether the other person cares for them or not.

Preoccupied Attachment in Adulthood

Preoccupied individuals also have low levels of avoidance, but they suffer from high relationship anxiety and tend to invest a good deal of energy worrying whether the other person will be available to them when they need them to be. Their low levels of avoidance ensure that they are happy to have the other person depend on them but they experience anxiety regarding whether their feelings of emotional dependence are reciprocated.

Dismissive-Avoidant Attachment in Adulthood

People with low levels of anxiety but high levels of avoidance are dismissive-avoidant. They don't care too much about whether others care for them or not. They do not open up or allow themselves to feel dependent on others and they also prefer others not to depend on them, in return.

Fearful-Avoidant Attachment in Adulthood

Fearful-Avoidant people have high levels of both anxiety and avoidance. They experience interpersonal anxiety and struggle to trust that they can rely on others to care for them. The idea of being dependent on another, vulnerable in a relationship, or of having another depend on them emotionally makes them uncomfortable and so they tend to avoid intimacy.

1.2.5 Views of the Self and Others

Summarizing adult attachment demarcations, as Bartholemew (1990) has understood them to be, the valuations of the self and others are generally positive in secure attachments. With preoccupied attachments: the valuation of others is positive, but the view of the self is not. dismissive individuals possess positive valuations of the self but not of others, while fearful-avoidant individuals have negative views of both the self and of others.

1.2.6 The Repetition Compulsion and Attachment Stability

Stability in working models and later attachment styles may be maintained through the tendency of individuals to search for affiliation with those who are likely to confirm their internal models (Collins and Read, 1990). A related process, termed ‘interactional continuity’ by Caspi and Elder (1988) refers to the notion that social interactions are unconsciously structured so as to induce others to engage in self-confirming interaction patterns. Internal working models function as templates which organize and filter new information and influence the recollection of past experiences. In this way also, ambiguous interpersonal feedback (which may form a great part of social stimuli) is assimilated into existing models (Greenwald, 1982; Swann, 1983). This research is based on the expectation that a portion of such feedback is likely to involve gender and gender-related associations (see Block, 1984; Pollack, 1995).

The possible maintenance of attachment styles has associations with Freud’s (1923/1961) notion of the repetition compulsion and the subsequent attempts of other theorists to explain the continuation of interpersonal expectations of others through life.

1.2.6.1 General Psychology Literature

General psychology literature has tended to categorize these repetitive behaviours both as cognitive structures that reflect a person’s organization of the world into a system of beliefs, concepts, attitudes and expectations (Lewin, 1951); as well as aspects of unconscious relational patterns (Andrews, 1988; Beitman, 1992; Kelly, 1955; Thelan and Smith, 1994).

1.2.6.2 Adler

For Adler, these recurring childhood patterns constituted a 'life style' (Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 1956).

1.2.6.3 *Gestalt Theory*

Gestalt theory posited that repetitive, self-confirming patterns and conclusions constituted a 'life script' (Perls, 1944; Perls and Baumgardner, 1975) based on an 'early scene' and a consequent 'life-plan' (Perls, Hefferline and Goodman, 1966).

1.2.6.4 *Transactional Analysis*

The transactional analysts (see Berne, 1961, 1972), following Perls (1944), pursued the notion of the infant's significant primal experiences with caretakers as forming a 'script'. More specifically, he referred to 'scripts' as ongoing programs, developed in early childhood under parental influence, which directed an individual's behaviour in the most important aspects of his or her life. He was accompanied by other authors within this theoretical orientation who emphasized the coercive power of parents' overt messages with regard to shaping a child's life; and who provided examples of script decisions which they explained as instances of explicit memories of childhood scenes in which a parental injunction is identified and the child's decision to comply with the injunction carried out (Goulding and Goulding, 1978).

1.2.6.5 *Erskine: Attachment Theory and Transactional Analysis*

In 2007, partially influenced by attachment research's 'internal working model' (Bowlby, 1977; Ainsworth and Bowlby, 1991), Erskine integrated transactional analysis with attachment theory. He thereby provided a fairly comprehensive definition of 'scripts'. For Erskine (2007), scripts were 'a complex set of unconscious relational patterns based on physiological survival reactions, implicit experiential conclusions, explicit decisions, and/or self-regulating introjections, made under stress, at any developmental age, that inhibited spontaneity and limited flexibility in problem-solving, in health maintenance and in relationships with people' (Erskine, 2007: p 1).

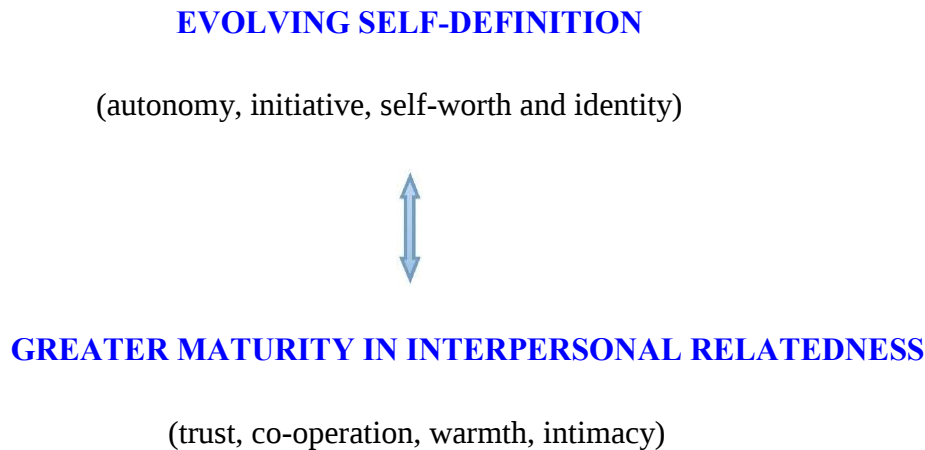
1.2.6.6 Levy and Blatt: Attachment Theory and Object Relations Theory

Attachment theory's internal working models are analogous to the mental representations of object relations theory in that they are understood to process both conscious and unconscious components of relationships, organizing information so that new experiences are assimilated into existing mental structures (Levy and Blatt, 2003).

According to Levy and Blatt (2003) they differ from the mental representations of object relations theory, however, in that the latter are understood to proceed through a developmental sequence in which they grow in complexity, becoming more abstract, symbolic and verbally mediated. Levy and Blatt (2013) cite Kernberg (1976) who has proposed that internalizations of early relationships to primary caregivers consist of three parts: firstly, representations of the self; secondly, representations of others; and thirdly, the affective tone associated with these representations. For Kernberg (1976), important aspects of the individual's personality structure are defined by the extent to which these representations are differentiated and integrated. This means that as representations become more mature, both positive and negative feelings about others are accommodated. Greater tolerance of ambivalence and contradiction in feelings about the self and others become possible. This leads to a greater richness and sense of complexity in the mental representations of psychologically mature individuals.

As Levy and Blatt (2003) have noted, psychological developments leading to a greater maturity of representations of other people (as identified by Kernberg, 1976) necessarily required two fundamental developmental tasks. On the one hand, an individual needs to have established the ability to form stable, enduring and mutually satisfying, interpersonal relationships. On the other hand, he or she needs to have managed to achieve a differentiated, consolidated, secure and realistically positive identity. Normal development is to be understood as involving a complex, reciprocal interaction between these two developmental tasks or sequences (Figure 1.1): satisfying interpersonal relationships and possessing a realistically positive identity. This is relevant to the study at hand because mature and nuanced representations of women are important factors in ensuring that women are treated with fairness, both privately and publicly.

Figure 1.1: Interaction between developmental sequences



Levy and Blatt (2003), in their view of these internal working models as developmental sequences, describe the self-definitional developmental sequence as characterized by concerns with autonomy, initiative, self-worth and identity, while the relatedness developmental sequence as typified by concerns regarding trust, co-operation, warmth and intimacy.

Both developmental sequences range from relatively simple, undifferentiated levels lacking in integration to richer, more complex, highly differentiated and integrated levels.

Similarly, Levy and Blatt (2003) have pointed out that distortions and exaggerated emphases within either developmental sequence lead to various configurations of psychopathology. Inherent to an understanding of this process is an approach to attachment styles that views them as dimensional rather than categorical as is the case with the Ainsworth (1969) tradition. Levy and Blatt (2003) have criticized this tradition's insistence that people differ only with regard to attachment quality, citing evidence that individuals differ not only in terms of quality, but also in terms of degree of differentiation and integration of mental representations.

They differ also with regard to their positions on the anxiety and avoidance axes. West and Sheldon (1988), writing from a clinical perspective, discussed how a preoccupation with

relatedness associated with high anxiety could be expressed as either compulsive care-seeking or compulsive care-giving. Schaffer's (1993) work revealed that compulsive care-seekers reported significantly higher levels of dependency and self-criticism and lower levels of self-efficacy than compulsive care-givers. Schaffer (1993) notes that compulsive care-giving is a pattern of attachment which emerges from role-reversal in which the child assumes the role of the care-giving parent. The compulsive caregiver provides care in the way that he or she wants to be cared for. This style may have greater potential for establishing a sense of relatedness, leading eventually to reciprocity and mutuality.

With regard to varying levels of differentiation and integration: Secure attachment is an indication of increasingly mature levels of interpersonal relatedness with regard to the relatedness developmental sequence and of autonomy and individuation with regard to the self-definitional developmental sequence. As such, secure attachment is associated with the integration of these two developmental lines, allowing for a nuanced and contextual understanding of the individual's experience, the complexity of other people and of the social world (Levy and Blatt, 2003).

Levy et al's (1998) study of the relationship between young adult's attachment style and the content and structure of the mental representations of their parents found that the descriptions of parents made by dismissive respondents were significantly less differentiated, less conceptually complex and with fewer attributes than those of fearful-avoidant respondents. While the latter viewed their parents as more malevolent and punitive than their dismissive counterparts, they expressed greater ambivalence suggesting an increased acknowledgment of the negative aspects of their feelings regarding their parents and a capacity to tolerate contradiction, as is the case with securely attached individuals.

Studies have indicated that variation in the degree of differentiation and integration of mental representations within attachment patterns are to be linked to the different levels of object relations and adaptive potentials of individuals with varying personality disorders. As Blatt and Levy (2003: p 141) note:

“Borderline, histrionic and dependent individuals (anaclitic individuals) are all concerned with bonding and relatedness; however, these disorders represent a wide

range of functioning within the anxious-preoccupied attachment pattern. Likewise, fearful-avoidant attachment is related to obsessive-compulsive, avoidant and schizoid personality disorders and dismissing avoidant attachment is related to narcissistic, antisocial and paranoid personality disorders (introjective disorders) – in patients with exaggerated concern and an extensive defensive effort to preserve a sense of self, but at different levels of functioning.”

1.2.7 The Influence of Working Models on Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

Returning to the moulding of gender attitudes and beliefs: one may question, therefore, whether the integration of mental representations within attachment patterns does not facilitate the development of certain gender attitudes and beliefs. One may question also whether the image of the self which develops from these representations might not also include notions of gender roles. Evidence exists for an association between early childhood relationships and later behaviours in relation to others. For example a possible association between dismissive or fearful-avoidant attachment styles and violent behaviour is reflected in the studies of certain researchers who found a strong correlation between authoritarian fathers who make use of strong violence in child-rearing and later criminally violent or abusive behaviour in the latter (Minsky, 1998; Dutton, 2000). This association was revealed again, more recently, in a study by Schimmenti et al (2014) who found a significant relationship between psychopathy and childhood abuse in their study of violent offenders.

1.2.8 Attachment Styles in Relation to Different People

In contrast to Bowlby’s (1977) initial focus on attachment styles in relation only to mother figures, Fraley et al (2011) based the Relationship Structures Questionnaire on the understanding that individuals might experience different attachment styles in relation to different people. This test therefore demarcates attachment styles in relation to a mother figure, a father figure, a best friend and a romantic partner. For the purposes of this research, however, only two attachment styles were considered: attachment style in relation to a mother figure and attachment style in relation to a father figure.

1.2.9 Some Initial Critiques of Attachment Theory

1.2.9.1 *Feminist Theory: The Focus on the Mother*

In the early 1980's, 'mother blaming' formed the basis of the first major critical assessment of attachment work by people such as Thomas and Chess (1977) and by those from within feminist approaches generally, such as Franzblau (2002). These critiques attacked the postulation of attachment theory at the time that one attachment figure, namely the mother, was pivotal to the infant's future development. This was a limitation of the theory that Bowlby (1988) himself recognized in his later works when he started using the terms 'principal' or 'primary caregiver' instead of 'mother'.

1.2.9.2 *Integrative Approach: Transactional Analysis and Attachment Theory*

Erskine (2013) had also observed that children develop more than one attachment pattern. He noted that a specific pattern of attachment might be formed in relationship with a mother that was uniquely different from that formed with a father. Alternative patterns or models of the self-in-representation might emerge in other dependent relationships and be significant in establishing and maintaining relationships throughout life. Individuals might have one relationship pattern with women and a distinctly different one with men. Alternatively, a person might have one pattern with those who are in the same age range and a remarkably different pattern with someone who is much older. More than one relational or attachment pattern might be encoded in a client's stories or fantasies about family members, friends, or co-workers.

Most attachment researchers would now agree that while children generally form a primary attachment with a primary caregiver, they also form additional attachments with more than one adult so that the absence of one attachment figure can often be compensated for by another. It has also been noted that there is a great deal of within-person variation in the assumptions and expectations that people hold about significant others in their lives (Main and Weston, 1981; Baldwin et al, 1996; Cook, 2000; La Guardia et al, 2000).

As Hrdy (2009) has pointed out, until very recently in our evolutionary history, the average number of adults taking care of children was around four, so that it has been 'mothers and

others' rather than just mothers, who have been the mainstay of a child's physical and emotional development for aeons. The contribution of attachment theory is that it explains the mechanisms by which such bonds are created and maintained as well as what might happen if they are damaged in childhood.

1.2.10 Attachment and social competence

Research has demonstrated an association between children's attachment patterns or organizations and their functioning across several domains. One of these domains is social competence. Secure infants are likely to become more socially competent than their insecure peers (Pearce and Pezzot-Pearce, 2001). This increased social competence then has a snow-balling effect in that classification of children's peer status (popular, neglected or rejected) has been found to predict subsequent adjustment (Pearce and Pezzot-Pearce, 2001). One may hypothesize further that increased social competence and adjustment result in individuals becoming better able to tackle relationships across the gender divide, being more empathic, more able to comprehend the experiences of the opposite sex and more willing to view the sexes as entitled to equal opportunities and treatment.

1.2.11 Attachment and Morality

As has been discussed, an individual's attachment experiences, has significant implications for their self-definition and their sense of interpersonal relatedness. As such, attachment has to be viewed as playing an important role with regard to influencing the stance taken by individuals in relation to benevolent actions in relation to others, within, off course, various cultural systems of values.

The neurophilosopher, Patricia Churchland (2008), has carried out work connecting attachment (vis-à-vis the neurobiology of parental caring for offspring) and morality. Her work is based on findings in the biological and social sciences, beginning with her now legendary research on the neurobiology of attachment in voles in which one of the findings was that when oxytocin levels are lower, the degree of bonding between voles decreases (Insel and Fernald, 2004).

Morality, for Churchland (2008), is among other things, the capacity or the motivation to care about others and to incur a cost to yourself in order to benefit someone else, the person benefiting from a sacrifice often being someone known to us. The view she presents is that attachment, and associated feelings of trust are the basic foundations of all systems of morality. As she puts it:

“These emotions spur the brain to find harmonious solutions to the complexities of social life. Attachments per se do not specify exactly what action should be performed in what conditions. They may be best conceived as dispositions that contour social-problem space.” (Churchland, 2008, p 410).

Like morality which is concerned with conformity to moral principles regulating conduct (Sykes, 1984: p 677), all gender ideologies are also concerned with the regulation of conduct, in this instance, specifically with regard to the relations between men and women. It is the understanding of the author of this thesis, therefore, that both categories of thought are conceptually linked in that they are both concerned with what actions are good and which ones are bad; what is considered to be harmful to men and women and what is believed to be good. This argument can be extended to other areas of thought, such as those regarding what sorts of societies are more beneficial than others. Indeed, gender attitudes and beliefs have tended to be associated in the literature within the rubric of political ideology as a whole. The latter too has been analyzed with reference to attachment theory (Buck, 2014; Doty et al, 1991; Lakoff, 2002; Haidt, 2003; Wolfe, 2005).

1.2.12 Attachment and Political Ideology

The posited connection between attachment and gender attitudes and beliefs in this research, is to be understood as also drawing inspiration from the work of Adorno et al (1950). The study of the authoritarian personality carried out by these theorists of the Frankfurt School has, as its central idea, the view that authoritarianism is caused by punitive parenting which engenders anger and fear in children. According to this understanding, children repress their anger, aggression and sexual feelings, displacing them onto weaker groups. Their fear ensures that they do not confront their parents but grow up rather to identify with them.

As an explanation for prejudice this work had certain problems. It was unable to predict racism in South Africa (Seager, 2014). When ethnic cleansing has been perpetrated it is inconceivable that the entire-aggressor nation has suffered over-strict parenting. As Seager (2014) has also pointed out, some individuals who have been raised harshly do not grow up to be harsh themselves.

Adorno et al's (1950) work has further been criticized for its methodological failings: its non-existent sampling, the flawed wording of the questionnaire, subjective coding and lack of coherence (Wolfe, 2005).

These studies were also carried out in the 1960's (over sixty years ago), a time when parenting styles, roles and expectations were different, so that findings on similar issues might be expected to be divergent today.

Nevertheless Wolfe (2005) has noted that it anticipated events in post-war politics in the United States with regard to right-wing authoritarianism's links with sexuality and homosexuality, which is a central factor in those authors' understanding of the dynamics of authoritarianism.

In recent years, some work (for example, by Buck, 2014; Doty et al, 1991; Lakoff, 2002; Haidt, 2003; Wolfe, 2005) has followed on from the work of Adorno et al (1950) in associating parental relationships and attachment with an individual's ideological biases. This research too has tended to associate harsh parenting with a negative and pessimistic view of human nature, which has, in turn, been associated with conservatism (Buck 2014).

Directing the lens on negativity, Hibbing et al (2014), using eye-tracking equipment and skin conductance detectors, observed that Conservatives tended to have a negativity bias. In contrast to people with Liberal persuasions, it was noted that they usually experience more intense emotional reactions to negative stimuli such as photographs of people eating worms, burning houses or maggot-infested wounds. Taking into account the work of other

researchers, they found that, across research methods, samples and countries, Conservative people were quicker to focus on the negative, to be more distracted by it and to invest more time in considering it. They thus questioned whether this negativity bias did not help define the difference between Conservatives who tend to be most comfortable with stability and order, in contrast to Liberals who emphasize progress and motivation.

In his commentary on the above, Buck (2014) suggested that the negativity bias was secondary to the more fundamental emotional organizing element, namely that a Liberal socio-political ideology emerged from secure attachment with attendant low levels of anxiety and avoidance in relation to others in relationship. Conservative ideology, on the other hand, reflected insecure attachment patterns.

Buck (2014) then went on to note that where political views are concerned, some of the most relevant negative features of the environment are other people, and there is evidence that the responses of Liberals to other persons is quite different from that of Conservatives. Buck (2014) reflected that, historically, Conservatives have tended to adhere to a more Hobbesian (Hobbes, 1651/1982) view of human nature as essentially selfish and requiring constraints by authority and tradition. Liberals, in contrast, have tended to hold optimistic views of human perfectibility and to advocate individual freedoms.

These differences have implications for social emotions, particularly in contexts where the other is in a less powerful position to the responder. Lakoff (2002) suggested that the greater attachment security of Liberals ensures that their thought centres around the nurturing parent model of the family while Conservative thought was based on the strict father model of morality. This notion is consistent with Haidt's (2003) analysis of Conservatives as possessing a moral order underlain with condemning emotions of anger, disgust and contempt. Buck (2014) goes on to point out that the attachment-security argument also helps to explain why times of insecurity including social threat tend to give rise to Conservative tendencies, while times of security encourage Liberal orientations.

1.2.13 Difficulties with a Single -Value Understanding of Ideology

There are degrees of Conservatism (Scruton, 2001) and many researchers such as Hibbing et al (2014) and Buck (2014) do not define in sufficient detail what degree of Conservatism they are referring to. Furthermore, the above perspectives (Buck, 2014; Doty et al, 1991; Lakoff, 2002; Haidt, 2003; Wolfe, 2005) of what may bias people to become globally Conservative or Liberal have been found to be problematic on another level. Feldman and Johnston (2014) have cautioned that ideology cannot be reduced to a single value which accurately represents every dimension of the political beliefs of all citizens. They have argued that empirical examinations of Liberalism and Conservatism that disregard the complexities in meaning and structure of those approaches obscure certain important determinants of ideology and their consequences for politics.

They point out that there is heterogeneity in the meanings that citizens impose on the left-right continuum. While people may use the Liberal-Conservative distinctions to guide their political behaviour, they may differ in the way they comprehend this dimension when it comes to substantive policy content. Some people may understand Liberalism and Conservatism to denote perspectives on social issues, others may comprehend these political concepts in terms of economics, and yet others may understand both dimensions to be related to ideological categorizations.

With regard to American politics, Feldman and Johnston (2014) analyzed interview data from the 2000, 2004 and 2006 American National Elections and obtained confirmation of their multidimensional understanding of political ideology. They found that the psychological variables that had been used to explain differences between Liberals and Conservatives, had different effects on economic and social ideology.

Thus, a different picture was revealed when the predictors of separate dimensions of economic and social ideology were examined. For example, increasing income is associated with greater economic conservatism, but not with greater social conservatism. Increasing education is linked to greater social liberalism but also to greater economic

conservatism. Authoritarianism and religiosity have significantly large effects on social conservatism, but no substantive effect on economic conservatism.

Weeden and Kurzban (2016) in their review study of the political responses of Americans, agreed that there was less correlation and alignment than had been previously assumed between various aspects of political ideology such as economic policy, health care, attitudes towards gender issues and religion etc. In contrast to the General Orientations Model used by such theorists as Haidt (2003) and Hibbing et al (2014), Weeden and Kurzban (2015) argue that an evolutionary approach to political ideology is best served by a Domain-Specific Model, according to which people's varying interests are understood to differ on different domains of policy. In keeping with this altered understanding, the focus of this study is accordingly limited to the domain of gender ideology.

1.2.14 Difficulties with a Categorical View of Attachment Style

Certain of the above conclusions and perspectives (such as those of Lakoff, 2002) are also rooted in a categorical understanding of attachment. It has been argued that attachment is best understood in dimensional terms. For example, Blatt and Levy's (2003) approach integrating an object relations approach with attachment research posited a dimensional rather than categorical understanding of attachment styles.

This has found confirmation in the work of Fraley et al (2011). These authors conducted a study using taxometric analyses of two samples in which the Relationships Structures Questionnaire was utilized. This questionnaire accesses reported attachment styles with regard to various close relationships and was utilized in this research. They found that individual differences in attachment are more consistent with a dimensional rather than a categorical model. This was true, both for the general attachment representations of adults as well as for their attachment representations in specific relationship contexts.

Fraley et al (2015) explained that a theoretical limitation of making use of a categorical model is that any understanding of the dynamics of adult attachment is distorted so that the various categories are viewed as mutually independent and distinct rather than on a

continuum. Etiological models involving categorical constructs have tended to be based on the assumption that there is a single or a limited number of causal variables that give rise to individual differences.

Historically, much weight has justifiably been attached to parental sensitivity (see, for example Ainsworth et al, 1978). However parental sensitivity is one of many factors. Fraley et al (2015: p 365) point out that recent research has shown that the etiology of adult attachment styles is relatively complex, potentially involving interpersonal experiences in the family of origin, peer relationships, relationship-specific dynamics, and potential genetic antecedents. Furthermore, attachments may vary from attachment style, which is not particularly problematic, to attachment pattern which is more pervasive and finally to attachment disorder, permeating every aspect of an individual's life (Erskine, 2011).

Our assumptions as to whether differences in attachment are categorical rather than continuous limits the sorts of questions asked about individual differences and results in a lack of measurement precision. This limitation may be less critical when respondents obtain extreme scores with respect to attachment dimensions, but may be problematic with regard to people who score near category boundaries. The use of categorical models thus makes it difficult to detect gradual, yet real variation so that much data is lost.

As has been discussed, an individual's attachment experiences has significant implications for their self-definition and their sense of interpersonal relatedness. As such, attachment has to be viewed as playing an important role with regard to influencing the stance taken by individuals in relation to benevolent actions in relation to others, within, off course, various cultural systems of values.

1.3 Second Primary Aim: Influences of Parental Gender Attitudes and Beliefs on those of their Children

Belief in the importance of parental influences in moulding children's responses to the world is probably as old as humanity itself. Socialization theory has provided an account of how attitudes may be transmitted across generations (Arditti, Godwin and Scanzoni, 1991; Fan,

2000; Moen, Erikson and McClain, 1997; Starrels, 1992). A significant perspective of socialization theory: symbolic interactionism, posited that we, like actors, learn roles such as gender roles from the actions and modelling of others such as our parents (Bohannon & Blanton, 1999; Cunningham, 2001; Moen, Erikson and McClain, 1997; Starrels, 1992). Some theorists have taken the view that the strongest gender attitudes are formed during early childhood (Cunningham, 2001). Other theorists have viewed gender attitudes as forming during teen years when offspring begin thinking about marriage and family (Kapinus, 2004).

Wood (1994) attempted to explain how family influence as a whole might play an important role in shaping children's attitudes to gender. She highlighted several processes such as the unconscious identification and internalization of parents; explicit and implicit communications and modelling. The consequence of this, according to the author, was that children's initial views on gender roles were likely to reflect the attitudes and biases of their parents, at least initially.

Taken as a whole however, the literature has been ambivalent with regard to the importance of parental gender attitudes and beliefs on those of their offspring. White and Brinkerhoff (1981) found that the sex and age of offspring were more influential than family background or structure in determining sex-typing. Kiecolt and Acock (1988), making use of survey data, explored a possible association between family structure in adolescence and later adult gender-role attitudes. They found that adults from both intact and broken family structures held similar views regarding traditional gender-roles. However adults who had lived in a single-parent household, headed by a divorced mother, as teenagers, tended to favour greater political power for women.

On the other hand, Thornton, Alwin and Camburn (1983) found that mothers' gender-role attitudes and experiences played an important role in shaping their offspring's attitudes. These attitudes and experiences were moulded by the more egalitarian conceptions of women's roles which emerged through the 1970s and 1980s. During this time women attained higher educational levels and obtained greater experience of the labour force.

These findings were substantiated by Moen, Erickson and McClain (1997) who carried out a study examining the intergenerational transmission of two gender attitudes (gender role ideology and work role identity). Their research drew on a life course perspective and panel data on mothers to assess the relationships between daughters' attitudes and (a) mothers' attitudes and employment experience, as well as (b) the daughters' own life experiences. Their work revealed that mothers' gender role ideology in the 1950's was positively related to their daughters' gender role ideology as adults in 1988 and that social change over this period had contributed to greater mother-daughter congruence on gender role ideology and work role identity. With regard to predicting work role identity, however, it emerged that daughters' own occupational status was a more important variable, a finding pointing to the importance of both historical changes and behaviour in moderating intergenerational transmission processes.

Wood's (1994) identification of modelling as a possible factor in the intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes was confirmed by Halpern and Jenkins (2016). These researchers made use of longitudinal, self-report data from a sample of 109 dual-earner, working class couples. Their study revealed that parental behaviour, rather than their gender ideologies, was a better predictor of childrens' gender attitudes and beliefs.

1.4 Third Primary Aim: The Association Between Gender Role and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

1.4.1 The Formation of Gender Roles

A question considered by this research was whether the gender role of an individual plays a part in the development of the gender attitudes and beliefs he or she may ascribe to. Prior to answering this question it was considered relevant to consider possible explanations of how gender roles are formed and their associations with behavioural characteristics.

1.4.2 Intrauterine Influences

Gender role and gender identity are separate constructs. However gender identity is often associated with gender role (Bem, 1981). A number of theorists have argued that gender identity is most likely determined by both biological factors such as foetal androgen exposure

and environmental factors such as rearing. (Diamond, 2000; Reiner and Gearheart, 2004).

A question which follows from this then relates to what aspects of rearing inform children's internalization and interpretation of gender?

1.4.3 Gender Schema Theory

Gender schema theory has provided us with a partial answer. According to this perspective, children derive their concept of gender from their culture of origin. Gender-role identity is formed by means of a network of gender-related cognitive associations. So, for example, girls learn that they are expected to play with dolls, to be dainty and to exhibit nurturing behaviour. Boys come to associate rough games, motor cars and action heroes with masculinity. As children perceive gender-related information, they learn to select and organize it into a cognitive schema. This internalized schema then functions to mould inherent behavioural predispositions in accordance with the culture's definitions of femininity and masculinity (Bem, 1981).

1.4.4 The Influence of both Mothers and Fathers on Gender Identity and Role

The physical and emotional connectedness that the child experiences with its mother or primary caregiver and the psychological ramifications of this, have received a great deal of attention in psychodynamic literature, as has also been noted earlier in this chapter.

Until recently, there has been less focus on the role of fathers. A great deal of literature on the influence of the paternal function has, however, emerged of late (Diamond, 2004, 2006; Davies and Eagle, 2013; Faimberg, 2014).

Diamond (2005) has shown that both a mother's recognition of her son's masculinity as well as an involved father-son relationship are important for the development of a flexible sense of masculine gender identity. The dis-identification from the mother that Freud (1924) believed was important for the gender identity of males, leads only to a rigid and fragile sense of masculinity. Rather, identifications with both parents in terms of their behaviours and gender attitudes and beliefs play an important role in a boy developing a more realistic and emotionally balanced sense of his gendered self.

1.4.5 Gendered Personality Dispositions and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

A few studies have explored the relationship between gender-role behaviour and gender ideology. Frable (1989) carried out three studies testing the hypothesis that gendered personality dispositions were related to gender attitudes. In the first study, it was found that sex-typed people (people whose gender-role behaviour accorded with their biological sex) were more likely than androgynous, undifferentiated and cross-sex-typed individuals to accept gender rules designating culturally Conservative behaviours for men and women. In the second, sex-typed individuals more frequently attended to sex of job applicants and then devalued the interview performances of the female candidates. In the third, only sex-typed men tended to endorse sexist language.

Kulik (2000) examined the impact of gender identity on gender role ideology and occupational gender-role behaviour among 166 Israeli adolescents. Females, in general, expressed less typed evaluations for occupations and less traditional perspectives of gender than did male respondents, a finding confirmed also by Davis and Greenstein (2009). Kulik (2000) noted, however that gender identity had a definite effect on the gender ideology of the male respondents, so that sex-typed and undifferentiated males expressed more traditional evaluations of feminine-typed roles than did androgynous and cross-sex-typed subjects.

O'Neill (1990) has explained gender role conflict in men as a negative consequence of male gender role socialization, occurring when the gender roles learned during socialization have been sexist and constrictive. This has been understood as resulting in a devaluation and perhaps violation of the male individual's sense of self and sense of other people associated with these role restrictions.

Specifically, as noted by Sideris (2013) in relation to South African men, their socialization results in the following emotional dynamic:

“Men who embrace rights are confronted with the contradiction between equity in the household and the dominant idea that being the head of the household is a principal mark of manhood. Embracing equity without alternative role models and

social support, they are left feeling uncertain about what it means to be a man.” (p 175)

Hence South African men who aspire to hegemonic ideals of masculinity are confronted by the limitations placed on male authority by the constitutional endorsement of gender equality. This, together with the continuation of harsh economic factors for many who are working class or unemployed, has tended to leave them feeling diminished and betrayed with regard to post-apartheid promises of greater access to power (Sideris, 2013: p 175).

However gender-role socialization has been shown to be amenable to change by means of certain programs. Kruger (2000), evaluating the efficacy of exposure to a Men As Partners program in South Africa, found that within a control group not exposed to this program, only 25% of men believed that women should have the same rights as men. Of those men who had participated in the program, however, the percentage increased to 71% of men who believed that women were entitled to the same rights as women. EngenderHealth, who developed this program, made use of an active approach involving the use of workshops focusing on sexual health and gender equity (Peacock and Levack, 2004). They also encouraged community involvement and engaged in various forms of advocacy.

As Greig (2001) has noted, men, like women, are heterogeneous and the connections between their sense of gender identity and their lives are complicated by relations of power, economic class, social status, race or ethnicity, sexuality and age.

Regrettably, with the exception of research into violence against women and the associated exploration of the gender ideologies of men, there is insufficient data on the influence of the other complicating factors cited by Greig (2001) on gender ideology in South Africa.

1.5 Fourth Primary Aim: Demographic Factors and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

Given that the association between gender identity and people's lives are complicated by relations of power, economic class, social status, race or ethnicity, sexuality and age, variables which are all fluid, it is understandable that the associated gender ideologies too may be dynamic. Life experiences are important sources of change (Vespa, 2008). Vespa (2008) found that marriage exerts an egalitarian influence on Black people, but a less

egalitarian one on White people. Parenthood, on the other hand, was found to have a less egalitarian effect for all married parents but an egalitarian one for most unmarried parents. Other research has revealed a trend of increasingly egalitarian gender beliefs with youth. Dorius and Alwin (2010) investigated changes in gender attitudes from the mid 1900s to the mid 2000 across 75 countries representing over 70% of the world population and identified age as a significant predictor of gender ideology. They found that gender belief systems exhibited a high degree of uniformity across countries and that recent birth cohorts espoused more progressive beliefs about the extra-familial role of women than earlier-born cohorts.

Fazli et al (2015) noted that educational level, among other factors, was associated with improved egalitarianism in gender role.

1.6 Secondary Aim: The Influence of Attachment on Gender Role

O'Neill (1990) has explained gender role conflict in men as a negative consequence of a constrictive and sexist socialization process. This finding was enriched with attachment research by Schwartz, Waldo and Higgins (2004) who studied one hundred and seventy male undergraduate students using the "Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al, 1986) and the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholemew and Horowitz, 1991). They found that men with Secure attachment styles (who would have felt low levels of anxiety and avoidance in relation to parental figures) had significantly less gender role conflict and restrictive emotionality when compared with men with preoccupied, dismissive, or fearful attachment styles. In 1995, Haigler et al examined the association of attachment level with gender and gender-role identity in 218 middle-class college students. They found that feminine and androgynous individuals of both sexes reported significantly higher levels of parental attachment than those classified as masculine or undifferentiated.

Alonso-Arbiol, Shaver and Yarnoz (2002) used gender, gender-role and attachment style to predict emotional and instrumental dependency in a sample of 602 Basque students. Psychometrically sound Spanish adaptations of English-language measures of dependency and attachment were created and administered. As predicted, the researchers found that women were more emotionally and instrumentally dependent than men, but that these sex differences were mediated by masculine and feminine gender-role identifications. In other

words, a woman's masculine gender-role identification weakened her emotional and instrumental dependence. It was revealed that emotional dependency was a function of high levels of anxiety in attachment styles and of femininity, while instrumental dependency was a function of a fearful-avoidant attachment style and low masculinity. Thus they found a connection between the extreme dependency of stereotypically highly feminine gender-roles and Fearful-Avoidant attachment.

1.6.1 Gender Role and Pathology

Masculinity has been traditionally associated with instrumental behavioural traits encompassing a sense of effective agency while femininity has been traditionally associated with emotional expressiveness. Undifferentiated individuals are considered to be low in both these masculine and feminine traits and androgynous individuals are considered to be high in both these masculine and feminine traits. This is very much also how the traits on the Bem Sex Role Inventory are conceptualized. This questionnaire was used in this study and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Prakash et al (2010), in their cross-sectional study conducted to assess levels of masculinity and femininity in relation to perceptions of stress and various aspects of psychopathology such as anxiety and depression, found that androgyny was a protective factor. Psychological masculinity in feminine individuals were found to be associated with increased resilience and coping capacity rendering them less vulnerable to psychopathology in general.

On the other hand undifferentiated individuals appear to be associated with psychological dysfunction. For example, in 1977, Kelly et al put together a set of socially undesirable but sex-typed characteristics and asked subjects who had already been categorized on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory to rate themselves in relation to these traits. One of their findings was that androgynous males endorsed the fewest undesirable characteristics and undifferentiated males endorsed the most.

In their research on the interaction of sex-role concept with relationship beliefs in married, heterosexual, cohabiting, gay and lesbian couples, Kurdek and Schmitt (1986) found that sex-

role self-concept was a robust factor in appraisals of relationship quality. Couples in which one or both partners were androgynous or feminine reported the highest relationship quality, while those in which one or both partners were undifferentiated or masculine reported the lowest relationship quality.

1.6.1.1 *Kohut's Self-Psychology*

The connection of Bem's undifferentiated sex-role classification with emotional difficulties may be understood with reference to Kohut's self psychology. According to Kohut's theory, the self is a structure consisting of grandiosity at one pole and dependency at the other (Watson et al, 1989, p 175). Where emotional development takes place appropriately, grandiosity becomes a mature ambitiousness and early dependencies result in the adoption of ideals. When healthy emotional development is sabotaged, a pathological narcissism may emerge.

Watson et al (1989) carried out a project to orient sex-role measures and narcissistic characteristics based on Westin's (1985) analysis of Kohut's theory. According to Westin (1985) individuals may be differentiated according to whether they have internal, external, synthetic or archaic self styles. Internal narcissists are boastful, arrogant and view themselves as superior to others in order to maintain a cohesive self; external narcissists are servile and look up to powerful others in order to feel merged with them and so to sustain a worthwhile sense of self. Healthy narcissism, termed 'synthetic narcissism' is without the pathologies of the other two representing a balanced and more reality-based sense of the self; and an archaic narcissistic self-style represents a prior narcissistic self-structure (Watson, 1989, p 180).

Watson et al (1989) hypothesized that these forms of narcissism existed and could be paralleled with the various gender-roles. He therefore administered a number of questionnaires and scales on undergraduates from an introductory psychology class. Their research instruments included the Costello and Comrey Scales (Costello & Comrey, 1967) to assist in defining the mental health effects of the various sex-role and narcissism measures.

As the researchers expected, their investigation revealed a relationship between masculinity and grandiosity; and femininity and dependency. Androgyny was linked with

synthetic or healthy narcissism. Undifferentiated individuals were more associated with variants of pathological narcissism. The essential conclusion of Watson et al's (1989) study, was that androgyny was representative of healthy psychological functioning

1.7 Conclusion of Introduction Chapter

This chapter has considered research related to the formation and possible impact of attachment styles, parental influences, gender role and demographic factors such as sex, race, and education, on gender ideology. These variables form the associations that constitute the primary aims of this study, the objective of which was to contribute to the understanding of some of the elements predisposing people towards particular gender ideologies as represented by the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale. Research pertaining to the secondary aim of investigating the connection between attachment and gender role was also presented.

2. CHAPTER TWO - Methodology

The previous chapter presented the theoretical bases of the questions explored in this research. This chapter sets out the specific hypotheses; objectives; population involved; sample selection, composition and size; and the various assessment measures utilized.

2.1 Hypotheses

2.1.1 Primary Hypotheses

Gender attitudes and beliefs are influenced by:

- the recalled attachment style of participants in relation to both parents;
- their parents' gender attitudes and beliefs;
- the gender-roles of participants; and
- demographic factors of race, sex, age and educational level.

2.1.2 Secondary Hypothesis

Attachment factors affect the development of gender-role.

2.2 Objectives and Goals

The objectives of this research were as follows:

OBJECTIVE 1

To determine whether there is an association between respondents' attachment styles (incorporating levels of anxiety and avoidance) and their gender attitudes and beliefs.

Goal : The statistical exploration of a possible association between respondents' scores on the Relationship Structures Questionnaire (Appendix B)) and their scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C).

OBJECTIVE 2

To determine whether there is an association between the gender attitudes of respondents' parental figures and their gender attitudes and beliefs.

Goal: The exploration of possible correlations between respondents answers to the Four Additional Questions (Appendix C) and their scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C).

OBJECTIVE 3

To determine whether there is an association between respondents' gender attitudes and beliefs and their gender-roles.

Goal :The exploration of possible associations between respondents' scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C) and their classifications on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Appendix A).

OBJECTIVE 4

To determine whether there is an association between respondents' attachment styles (incorporating levels of anxiety and avoidance) and their gender roles.

Goal: To investigate a possible association between respondents' scores on the Relationship Structures Questionnaire (Appendix B) and their scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Appendix A).

OBJECTIVE 5

To investigate the relationship between demographic factors and gender attitudes and beliefs.

Goal: To determine whether there is an association between age, race, sex and educational level and respondents' scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C).

OBJECTIVE 6

To further demarcate norm variations in traditional and Liberal gender ideology for the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C).

2.3 Method

The study was cross-sectional and included the development of the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (GABS) (Appendix C), the details of which will be described below.

2.3.1 The Development of the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (GABS)

The development of the GABS constituted a study within a study in order to establish the basis for its inclusion as an instrument in this research. The scale enrolled patients attending Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital and the parents of children attending a multiracial crèche in Johannesburg.

Final statistical studies conducted revealed a strong internal consistency (Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.837) and criterion-related validity (Pearson Correlation of 0.656 with the Attitudes Toward Women Scale, a test measuring similar but not identical traits).

2.3.2 Item Development

With regard to the initial construction of the statements, guidance was obtained from the work of Prasad and Baron (1996) who developed a questionnaire that measured policy

attitudes towards gender equality; beliefs about differences in the suitability of males and females for various roles and general moral principles concerning gender equality and inequality. As in their work, a syllogism form was utilized as a template for generating items for the GABS. For example: BELIEF: Boys do not exhibit masculine tendencies from an early age. THEREFORE: There is nothing wrong with a boy who plays with toys for girls.

It was hoped that the statements developed would be reflective of the patriarchal attitudes viewed as common to traditional African societies and Conservative communities in general (Gasa, 2007; Mapetla and Schlyter, 1997). These were interspersed with items such as ‘A man does not always have to be the head of the house (Item 3)’ and ‘the sexes were created to be equal (Item 13)’, which evoke attitudes and beliefs concerning the equality of the sexes in capacity and role. Philosophically they reflected issues pertinent to most strands of Feminism (Bryson, 2007, p 35).

2.3.3 Item Selection

The questionnaire originally consisted of thirty questions, an exploratory study of which revealed poor internal consistency. A factor analysis which accounted for approximately 72% of the original set of questions, together with repeated conceptual analyses of these questions resulted in the original set of thirty questions being reduced to twenty (see Table 2.1). Ultimately the scale was reduced to four components which may be conceptualized as follows:

Component 1: NATURE.

This component (questions: 1, 6, 7, 11, and 20), pertains to beliefs regarding the inherent natures of the sexes and was inspired by studies such as those of Mapetla and Schlyter (1998) and Khoza (1998) who identified essentialist perspectives which served to validate unequal situations in their studies. The statement ‘Girls cry more easily than boys’ (Item 1) is an example. Other examples are: ‘Boys are more active than girls.’ (Item 6) and ‘Girls are less aggressive than boys’ (Item 20).

Component 2: **INTELLECT.**

This, second category of belief (questions: 4, 9, 13, and 16), relates to the perception of equality of capability. It was inspired by the work of Rubin et al (2004, p 12; p 16 and p 44) who found that females were viewed to have different capabilities and that, by and large, they tended to receive lower wages than men. Examples of items attempting to tap into this belief were: ‘A woman can learn to do anything a man can learn to do.’ (Item 9) and ‘A woman’s brain is as good as that of a man’ (Item 4).

Component 3: **ROLE.**

This concept was associated with the expectation that men and women should adhere to traditional gender roles and behavioural characteristics (questions: 3, 8, 10, 12, 15, 18, and 19). Novelette (2000), Connelly (2001), Earn (1996), Sorrel (2002) and Shelton (1997) noted that men were seen to be in charge of women domestically. Gangway (1998) found that men, even when they do not contribute financially, are viewed as the heads of households. Items such as ‘Sisters should learn how to cook and clean for their brothers’ (Item 8) and ‘A wife should always obey her husband’ (Item 15) were inspired by these studies. In each instance, items were generated in accordance with themes raised by Prasad and Baron (1996).

Component 4: **REARING.**

This area of thought relates to notions regarding differences in child rearing with regard to the sexes (questions: 2, 5, 14, 17, and 19). With regard to this component: items were inserted which investigated whether parents tended to bring up girls and boys differently and whether they expected their children to adhere to strict gender stereotypes. Examples are: ‘If I were expecting a child, I would not care whether my baby was a boy or a girl’ (Item2); ‘There is nothing wrong with a boy who plays with toys for girls’ (Item 7) and ‘A boy should be brought up to enjoy boxing and wrestling’ (Item 14). (Significantly, Flotilla et al (2014) using a community sample of first-time mothers found that conscientious mothers who espoused more egalitarian gender role beliefs were less likely to want to know foetal sex.)

2.3.4 Direction of Beliefs and Attitudes Assessed By the Scale

Items reflecting beliefs and attitudes of a generally traditional or Conservative nature were 1, 5, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19 and 20. Non-traditional beliefs and attitudes were then reflected in items 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16 and 17. These were all derived from the four components of gender differences described above.

All items were worded in English and the language idiom associated with a specific social grouping was also avoided so as to make the questionnaire relevant and accessible to a range of respondents.

2.3.5 Ethics

The GABS validation study was submitted to and approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa (Protocol Number M050350).

All respondents gave informed consent to participate in the study. Confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed. Participants were also informed that they were free to terminate participation at any given point.

2.3.6 Sampling Procedure

Convenience sampling for this part of the Phd was employed to elicit the responses of a multi-ethnic group comprising adults from both genders, ranging in age from 18 to 69. Respondents were sought from all the race groups attending a psychotherapy clinic at Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital and parents of children attending a crèche in Orange Grove, Johannesburg. Virtually all the subjects approached were willing to complete the questionnaire.

Once the initial validation study was completed, research into the influence of parental attachment; parental gender attitudes; respondents' gender-role behaviour and the

demographic factors of age, sex, race and educational level on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale was undertaken. A possible association between gender role and parental attachments was explored; and the further norms on the GABS were determined.

2.4 Population

The population consisted of male and female adults literate in English, constituting the families of children attending two urban Johannesburg schools, the one private (Sacred Heart College in Observatory) and the other government (Fairways Primary School). Respondents were aged 18 and upwards.

2.4.1 Sample Selection

Convenience sampling was utilized.

2.4.2 Sample Composition

It was expected that the majority of respondents would be Black, as is representative of ethnic proportions in the country as a whole, where 81% of people are Black, 8% are White, 9% are Coloured and 2% are Asian (Statistics South Africa, 2016: p 21). Hence, at least 206 respondents would be Black respondents, at least 26 would be White and at least 29 would be Other (die Coloured or Asian). (In the validation study of the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C) the ethnic proportions were as follows: 60% Black, 27% White and 13% Asian.

There is an association between educational level and social class in South Africa (Roberts, 2009), so respondents were asked to indicate whether they had completed high school or had a tertiary qualification. According to government statistics (Statistics South Africa, Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 2: 2016) 58.5% of Black people and 67.9% of Coloured people who have not obtained a Matric are unemployed. While among the White and Indian populations, those who have only a Matric constitute the biggest proportion of the unemployed (48.7% of Whites and 56.8% of Indians).

2.4.3 Sample Size

This was calculated on the basis of the three ethnic group scores used in the pilot-study of the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C) (White: 77; Black: 64 and Asian: 66). The minimum sample size was calculated to be $n = 161$ with $\alpha = 0.05$ and a power of 90%. In order to find a possible difference between males and females, the minimum sample size would have to be increased to: $N = 261$.

2.5 Other Instruments

The questionnaires were all of the self-report variety and consisted of; a) the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (GABS) (Appendix C) with four added questions (Appendix D) included to assess the views of respondents' recollections of their parental figures' attitudes in relation to the domestic division of labour and equality of women in the workplace; b) the Relationship Structures Questionnaire (RSQ) (Appendix B) which investigates attachment patterns directed at paternal and maternal figures; and c) the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) (Appendix A) to identify respondents' gender-role behaviours i.e. the extent to which respondents identify with traits traditionally considered either masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated.

2.5.1 Additional Four Questions (Appendix D)

The addition of Four Questions to the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix D) pertained to the gender attitudes of respondents' primary caregivers with regard to expectations regarding the ability of women in general to a) achieve success in the workplace; and b) to enjoy equality in the division of labour in the home. This was to obtain some measure of peoples' recollections of their parents' gender attitudes and beliefs. In each instance, answers were to be interpreted in terms of percentage of 'yes' and percentage of 'no' answers. These are categorical variables and so scores would be presented as frequencies and percentages. The items were:

YES/NO Answer regarding mother's attitude towards equality in the workplace;

YES/NO Answer regarding mother's attitude towards equality in the home;

YES/NO Answer regarding father's attitude towards equality in the workplace;

and YES/NO Answer regarding father's attitude towards equality in the home.

The questions were considered to be reflective of gender-role issues pertinent to both the Second and Third Waves of Feminism. Second Wave Feminism encouraged women to view aspects of their personal lives, such as the distribution of labour in the home, as reflective of sexist social power structures (Hanisch, 1970). Third-Wave Feminism challenged essentialist notions of femininity, contending that gender-roles were the result of social conditioning (Gilligan, 1993).

2.5.2 The Relationship Structures Questionnaire (RSQ) (Appendix B)

The Relationship Structures Questionnaire (RSQ) was developed to assess attachment patterns in certain significant relationships (Fraley et al, 2011). In this questionnaire, nine identical items are used to assess attachment styles in relation to a mother or mother-figure, a father or father-figure, a romantic partner and a best friend. These attachment styles are ‘Secure’, ‘Dismissing’, ‘Fearful-Avoidant’ and ‘Preoccupied’. The items are worded in such a way as to make them applicable to the various interpersonal targets and also to various age groups.

Preliminary work indicates test-retest reliability (over 30 days) in terms of a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient of 0.65 for romantic relationships and 0.80 for the parental domain, which, given that these scores are above 0.5 indicates high correlation and reliability. Further research has also revealed that the scales are meaningfully related to each other as well as to various relational outcomes such as relationship satisfaction; the likelihood of experiencing a break-up and the perception of emotional experiences (Fraley et al, 2006).

Fraley et al (2011), set about to create a measure containing items that were not specific to only one kind of relational domain. They initially included a mother-figure, a father-figure, a romantic relationship and a close friend, and later extended the questionnaire to encompass responses with regard to close relationships in general. Fraley et al (2011) noted that the items were designed in such a way that they could be limited to one or more interpersonal targets. For the purposes of this research, therefore, respondents were asked to respond only to questions relating to the parental domain.

It should be noted that in instances where respondents were answering questions relating to relationships that were no longer in existence as a result of death or geographical distance, the validity of the results are unlikely to have been affected. Simpson et al (2010) found that romantic partners recalled their responses to conflict-resolution discussions in terms of biases that reflected their attachment orientations. Anxious individuals remembered being less emotionally distant, more avoidant individuals remembered being less supportive and so on. They concluded that working models formed by attachment orientations tend to twist memories in model-congruent ways. It is unlikely therefore that the recalled attachment styles of respondents in this study deviated from their actual attachment experiences.

A limitation of the Questionnaire, as Fraley et al (2011) pointed out, is that, as is the case with most other attachment measures, it is good at differentiating people on the insecure end of the spectrum, but relatively poor at differentiating people on the secure end.

2.5.3 Scoring Procedure of the RSQ

The test yielded two scores for the interpersonal targets (mother or mother-figure and father or father-figure) associated with every test respondent. One score was for attachment-related avoidance and the other was for attachment-related anxiety. Attachment-related avoidance is defined as the capacity to feel comfortable or not in one's dependency on others and in being willing to open up. Attachment-related anxiety relates to anxiety regarding whether one is really loved or not and to a fear of rejection.

The avoidance score was achieved by averaging items 1 - 6, while reverse keying items 1, 2, 3, and 4; The anxiety score was then computed by averaging items 7 - 9 (Fraley et al, 2006). Scores here would then be presented in terms of a mean and standard deviation and were to be sub-divided into the following variables:

1. Attachment related anxiety towards a mother figure;
2. Attachment related avoidance towards a mother figure;
3. Attachment related anxiety towards a father figure; and
4. Attachment related avoidance towards a father figure.

Relationships are characterized as secure if both the anxiety and the avoidance score is low. In other words, the respondent experiences low anxiety and a low need for avoidance in relation to the individual with whom he or she is enjoying a close relationship. He or she feels comfortable depending on the person in question and in turn, in having the person depend on them. Relationships that are low in avoidance but high in anxiety are termed 'preoccupied' in that people in such relationships worry that the other person will not be available to them should the need arose. While they would like to depend on the other person and have that person depend on them, they feel that such dependence is not reciprocal. High avoidance and low anxiety give rise to dismissive relationships in which people are not comfortable opening up to others and in having others depend on them. Furthermore, they are not concerned with the question of whether the other person truly cares about them or not. Finally, relationships that are high in both avoidance and anxiety give rise to people who feel fearful and avoidant. They are uncomfortable depending on others and worry that the other person will not be there for them should they be needed.

2.5.4 Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) (Appendix A)

This scale was developed in order to facilitate empirical research into gender-role behaviour. Psychometric analyses of the test have revealed strong internal consistency and test-retest reliability (Bem and Allen, 1974). Validity studies have also proven to be positive (Bem, 1975; Bem and Lenney, 1976; Bem, Martyna and Watson, 1976). A short, thirty-item version of the original form of sixty items was used. Ten of the items denote traits associated with masculinity. These have been described as associated with instrumentality or a sense of agency encompassing such traits as assertiveness, independence, ambition and the need to dominate. Ten items are associated with femininity, which was considered to be associated with expressiveness or the need for communion and to be associated with sensitivity to the needs of others, warmth and co-operativeness (Bem and Allen, 1974; Spence, 1991). The remaining ten items are filler items. In other words, these items were originally selected because they were judged to be no more desirable for one sex than the other (Bem and Allen, 1974). However, the so-called reliability of these items has been called into question and are not rated (Walkup and Abbott, 1978).

In a reassessment of the items and their classification in the Bem Sex Role Inventory, Ballard-Reisch and Elton (1992) found that many of the items that constituted the Bem Sex Role Inventory Masculinity Scale were no longer considered to be masculine. Similarly a significant proportion of items on the Femininity Scale were no longer considered to be feminine. The university students in their study had perceived the items very differently to the students who had served as judges in Bem's development of the test in the 1970's. Hoffman and Borders (2001) made the point that the basis for classifying individuals in such terms was thus eroded and that the Bem Sex Role Inventory might now best be used to examine instrumentality (self-identification with purposeful behaviour or behaviour associated with a sense of agency - originally considered to be masculine) and expressiveness (willingness to express emotion - originally considered feminine), provided that these are described as human characteristics traits rather than as indications of gender roles.

As suggested by Hoffman and Borders (2001), the results obtained on the Bem Sex Role Inventory in this study are to be understood in terms of instrumentality and expressiveness. The masculinity scale is, thus, to be viewed as an indication of high instrumentality and low expressiveness; the femininity scale is to be viewed as an indication of high expressiveness and low instrumentality; androgyny is to be understood as encompassing high instrumentality and high expressiveness; and undifferentiation is to be viewed as characterizing low instrumentality and low expressiveness.

Bem (1981b) termed her questionnaire the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) However, the term 'sex' has come to be understood to refer to biological sex and 'gender' to the expression of sex in cultural and social contexts (Diamond, 2002). For the purposes of this research, therefore, the classifications obtained on this test will be referred to as 'gender roles' rather than 'sex roles' to maintain consistency and avoid confusion.

2.5.5 Scoring Procedure of the BSRI

The person taking the test was asked to indicate on a 7-point scale how well each of the items describes herself or himself. A male score and a female score were respectively calculated and transformed into Standard Scores. The Male Score was subtracted from the

Female Score and the corresponding T-score identified. The two scores were then compared to the relevant means for both male and female scores.

Scores that were significantly below the mean for femininity and above the mean for masculinity pertained to a masculine sex-role identification. A high feminine score but low masculine score in relation to the respective means and standard deviations pertained to a feminine sex-role identification. Scores that were low in both masculinity and femininity represented an undifferentiated sex-role identification. Scores that were high in both masculinity and femininity indicated an androgynous sex-role identification (Bem, 1981b).

After the questionnaires were completed and scored, subjects would be designated as feminine (low instrumentality and high expressiveness); masculine (high instrumentality and low expressiveness), androgynous (high in both instrumentality and expressiveness), and undifferentiated (low in both instrumentality and expressiveness).

2.6 Statistics

Descriptive statistics relating to the distribution of the scores associated with variables of age; sex; education; attachment style; anxiety and avoidance levels in relation to each parental figure; parental gender attitudes; and respondents' gender roles were conducted. Race as a variable was only explored on the Fairways Primary School sample. The intent initially was not to explore race as a variable, hence it was not considered in the Sacred Heart sample. In the following sample, deriving from Fairways Primary, it was decided that race should be added as a factor for exploration and they constituted 34% of the respondents.

A Q-Q plot of Gender Attitudes and Beliefs scores was plotted against a normal distribution to determine whether further parametric studies were appropriate. This was found to be the case and further investigations were carried out. In each instance, results were viewed as valid if the respective means were not correlated with their standard deviations and the residuals were normally distributed.

Pearsons' Chi-Square Analysis and the Maximum Likelihood Chi-square tests were utilized to determine whether there was a significant difference between the expected frequencies and the observed frequencies in the various categories researched. This was to obtain an indication of how likely it was that observed differences within categorical data arose by chance.

Univariate Tests of Significance were carried out in order to determine whether differences were genuine or due to chance factors. Significance was sought at the $p=0.05$ α level.

Given the reliance of these tests on only two samples and their consequent susceptibility to chance factors, results were also exposed to more stringent investigations. These included post-hoc comparison techniques which encompassed the means of all the samples involved, such as Levene's test for the homogeneity of variance to find out whether differences across samples were equal or Fisher's Least Significant Difference post-hoc comparison of means test to compute the smallest significant difference between two means and to declare as significant any difference larger than the LSD.

2.6.1 Analyses of Variance Conducted (ANOVA)

The above analyses of variance were used to determine the relationships between:

1. The four attachment scores of respondents and their scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale;
2. Levels of anxiety and avoidance in relation to parental figures and scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale;
3. The four attachment scores and the gender-role categories obtained by respondents on the Bem Sex Role Inventory;
4. The gender-role categories and the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale; and
5. The associations between variables of race; sex and educational level and the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale scores.

2.7 Ethical Issues

Subsequent to the development and validation of the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C), a further proposal for subsequent elements of the study was submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee in the Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand and approved by their Ethics Committee (Protocol Number M10811). Each participant was presented with a letter containing information and an invitation to participate in the study (See Appendix E).

Certain pragmatic decisions were made to assist in obtaining a sufficiently large sample. An agreement was sought with the governing bodies of the relevant schools that parents would be asked to respond to the set of questionnaires in return for a fee of R20 donated to the school by the researcher for each set completed. If, in a class of thirty children, thirty parents each completed a set, then a donation for R600 on behalf of that class would be made. Hence there was no personal gain for parents who chose to respond. Envelopes were provided for the completed forms which were then to be delivered, sealed and posted in a central, sealed box to prevent the identification of respondents and non-respondents by the class teacher involved.

2.8 Conclusion of Methodology Chapter

This study was launched with the development of the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale which had been administered to a sample of respondents consisting of patients from a psychotherapy clinic at Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital and the parents of children attending a Johannesburg nursery school.

As with the development of the Gender Attitudes and Belief Scale, this research also utilized convenience sampling, in this instance within a prospective, cross sectional study design, to garner respondents from two Johannesburg schools: one a private, day school (Sacred Heart College); and the other, a state primary school (Fairways Primary). In each instance the respondents were the late teen and adult relatives and parents of children attending these respective institutions.

The primary objectives of the research were to explore the influences of attachment style in relation to parental figures; parental gender attitudes and beliefs; gender role identifications; race; sex and educational level on the scores of respondents on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale.

Four questions were added to the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale to categorize the attitudes of respondents' parents to gender-role equality in the workplace and in the home.

Secondary objectives included the investigation of a possible association between attachment – related factors and gender role identifications. In order to explore the influence of attachment-related factors, the Relationship Structures Questionnaire was used, and the Bem Sex Role Inventory was the instrument utilized to class respondents' gender-role identifications.

Finally, a subsidiary objective of the study was the further demarcation of norm variations on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale.

3. CHAPTER THREE - Results

In Section One of this chapter, the results of the initial validation study of the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (GABS) (Appendix C) will be set out. The results relating to the second part of the study will be presented in Section Two.

3.1 Section One: Participants of the GABS Validation Study (Table 3.3)

Of the 168 initial respondents, 17 were excluded as a result of non-completion so that the final number of respondents was 151. Women constituted 63% percent and men 37% of the sample, of which 27% were White, 59% were Black and 11% were Asian. Only a few Coloured people were accessed, a mere 3% of the total. Therefore, while they still contributed to the results of the overall sample, no conclusions were attempted regarding their attitudes and beliefs.

As it was considered that there might be important distinctions between the views of the different race groups with their associated cultures, in the selection of the remaining items, those that revealed significant differences between the race groups were retained.

3.2 Reliability and Validity of the GABS

Cronbach's alpha was used to establish internal consistency. This is a numerical coefficient providing a measure of the reliability of a test relative to other tests measuring the same construct. Alpha coefficients may range in value from 0 to 1. The higher the score, the more reliable the generated scale is. Nunnally (1978) has shown that a reliability coefficient of at least 0.7 is desirable. A covariance matrix conducted on the GABS yielded a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.837. As this is high, the final version of the scale consisting of 20 items was accepted. Cronbach's alpha increases as the correlations between items increase. Hence the coefficient may be viewed also as an index of the internal consistency of the test. Table 3.1 presents the item-total correlations which refer to the correlation between the sum of responses to each item and the total score and the impact on Cronbach Alpha if each respective item were to be deleted from the scale.

3.3 Scoring of the GABS (Appendix C)

A self-report Likert scale was created. Possible responses were initially categorized as: strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree and strongly agree. However, in order to obtain a clearer and more distinct statistical sense of areas of agreement and disagreement, the five categories were later collapsed into three sections: one relating broadly to agreement, the second to uncertainty, and the other to disagreement.

The sequences of these responses were organized in different directions to prevent response bias. The maximum obtainable score is 100 and the minimum is 20. See Table 3.4 for an indication of what the scores represent. The development of this scale will be discussed in greater detail below.

On each item, a highly egalitarian response reflecting a view of the genders as similar, received a score of 5, while a traditional response reflecting notions of imbalance with regard to gender characteristics received, a score of 1. A less egalitarian response was then a 4 and a less traditional response, 2. Uncertain responses scored 3. High scores on the GABS Scale were hence indicative of egalitarianism and low scores of more traditional views on gender differences. The highest possible score was 100 and the lowest was 20.

The final product was a twenty-item, self-report inventory which could be completed by both literate and illiterate persons. In the case of illiteracy, a questioner might read the questions and tick the appropriate answers on behalf of the respondent. The entire scale could be completed in ten minutes.

3.4 Meaning of the Scores

The categorization of overall scores was calculated by averaging the possible scores across the twenty items. A score of 3 (denoting uncertainty or ambivalence) for all twenty statements would obtain an overall score of 60. The range of ambivalence was calculated as falling between 60 and 69 as scores less than 60 would indicate that a good number of items

had been endorsed in a conservative direction. Scores above 69, on the other hand, could only have been achieved had at least nine or more items been endorsed in an egalitarian direction. An overall score beyond 80, is indicative of most of the responses having been reflective of egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.1: Item Analysis of the GABS (Appendix C)

GABS	Corrected	Cronbach Alpha
Item Number	Item-total Correlation	if item deleted
1	0.187	0.842
2	0.201	0.844
3	0.461	0.831
4	0.536	0.829
5	0.595	0.825
6	0.329	0.838
7	0.561	0.827
8	0.599	0.824
9	0.413	0.834
10	0.174	0.842
11	0.399	0.835
12	0.431	0.833
13	0.514	0.829
14	0.293	0.839
15	0.607	0.823
16	0.450	0.833
17	0.512	0.829
18	0.217	0.843
19	0.502	0.829
20	0.311	0.838

Table 3.2: Gender Ideology Represented by Mean Scores

80-100	Extremely Liberal (Extremely Egalitarian)
70-80	Liberal (Egalitarian)
60-69	Uncertain or Ambivalent
<59	Conservative or Traditional(Non-egalitarian)

Responses to each of the twenty items were then interpreted in terms of descriptive statistics. Data was separated and analyzed in relation to age, race and gender (Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 below). Levels of education and occupational status were not taken into account.

Table 3.3: Ages Represented in the Initial Study Sample of the GABS

Age	N	%	Mean	Standard Deviation
0-29	51	34	23.86	0.47
30-39	55	36	33.90	1.32
40-49	27	18	44.07	4.49
50-69	18	12	55.11	1.53
TOTALS	151	100		

Table 3.4: Means and Standard Deviations of GABS Scores Across Gender and Race

Whites Mean 77.2		Blacks Mean 64.2		Asians Mean 66.5	
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Means					
77.3	77.2	60.1	66.2	63.6	69.5
Standard Deviations					
8.2	8.7	9.8	9.9	6.6	12.4

3.5 Construct Validity

Construct validity, the extent to which a test measures a particular theoretical construct, (Neale and Liebert, 1980, p 40), was pursued through an analysis of the available literature relating to gender (see Hearn, 1996; Skelton, 1997; Mapetla and Schlyter, 1998; Khosa, 1998; Gwagwa, 1998; Vetten, 2000; Connell, 2001; Morrell, 2002; and Rubin, 2004). It was based on the inclusion of items relating to essentialist perspectives of gender, as these were reflected in the sociological descriptions of Mapetla and Schlyter (1998) and Khosa (1998); as well as the inclusion of items accessing traditional perspectives of the respective roles, positions and capabilities of males and females in the family and in society as a whole (Rubin, 2004).

3.6 Criterion Validity

In order to establish criterion validity, the degree to which test scores predict an individual's behaviour in situations to which they should predict - if the test is measuring what it purports to measure (Neale and Liebert, 1980, p 40), responses on the GABS were then correlated with the answers of respondents to a fifteen-item version of the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (ATWS) (Appendix F). This questionnaire was developed by Spence and Helmreich (1972) in order to assess the degree to which people hold traditional or egalitarian sex-role attitudes (Yoder et al, 1982) (see Table 3.5 below).

3.6.1 Scoring of the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS) (Appendix F)

Similarly to the GABS, subjects had to respond to the 15 items of the AWS by indicating on a 4 point scale whether they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed or disagreed strongly. This scale also took no more than ten minutes to complete. The highest possible score on this test was 60 and, as with the GABS, a high score was indicative of egalitarianism and a low score of more traditional values relating to gender.

3.6.2 Result of the Criterion Validation Study

The Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (GABS) was found to measure attributes that are similar but not identical to that of the Attitudes Towards Women's Scale (ATWS), which focuses mostly on gender roles. Pearson's correlational analysis applied to the GABS and the ATWS revealed a moderately high positive relationship between the two (0.656). As an index of criterion validity, Anastasi (1982: p 145) has pointed out that correlations between a new test and similar tests should be moderately high but not too high. If a new test correlates too highly with an available test without any added advantages such as brevity or ease of administration, then its development represents unnecessary duplication.

3.7 Statistical Analyses

The GABS was validated against the ATWS by using the same sample. The SPSS for Windows version 9.0 was used to conduct the descriptive statistical analysis for this study. Frequencies and the percentage of responses to items were analyzed and cross-tabulated along variables of age, gender and race group.

Following this, measures of central tendency and of variance were calculated. The mean score for the GABS was 68.3 and the standard deviation was 11.2. The interquartile range (which refers to the difference between the 75th and 25th percentiles) fell within the score of 60 (at the 25th percentile) and 76 (at the 75th percentile). The mean for the ATWS was 46.2 and the standard deviation was 9.7, with the interquartile range falling between scores of 41 and 54 (See Table 3.5).

Table 3.5: Means and Percentiles of GABS and the Attitudes Toward Women Scale

Scale	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum	Lower Quartile	Upper Quartile	Percentile 10	Percentile
GABS	68.28	11.24	41	94	60	76	54	84
ATWS	46.15	9.67	0	69	41	54	37	56

The relationship between the total scores of these two scales were measured by means of Pearson's Correlation Analysis. This measure reflects the degree of linear relationship between two variables. Values range from +1 to -1 so that a correlation of +1 is an indication of a perfect positive linear relationship between two variables, 0 points to an absence of relationship and -1 reflects a perfect negative linear relationship (Neale and Liebert, 1980: pp 74-75). A coefficient of 0.656 was obtained which points to a moderately high positive relationship, significant at both the 0.01 and 0.05 levels.

3.8 Results of the Statistical Analyses

White respondents scored the highest and were hence the least traditional, they were followed by Asians and then Black respondents (see Table 3.4). This appeared to confirm previous findings pointing to a greater relative conservatism in Black communities (Gasa, 2007; Mapetla and Schlyter, 1997). An analysis of this group's responses to certain individual items on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale however indicated that attitudes were far more egalitarian than the above studies would lead one to expect, at least in the urban areas of Johannesburg. Sixty nine percent of Black respondents would not care about the sex of their unborn child; 66% believed a man did not always have to be the head of the house; 78% viewed women's brains to be as good as those of men; 60% disagreed that sisters should learn how to cook and clean for their brothers; 90% agreed that a woman could learn to do anything a man could do; and 97% believed that couples should make important decisions jointly.

While most people tended to view the sexes as equal in capability, there appeared to be a sense that the sexes differed with respect to certain emotional traits. Most respondents agreed that girls cried more easily than boys (Item 1) and that they were less aggressive (Item 20). Respondents also tended to feel that gender distinctions should be perceived in outward presentation and behaviour as most agreed that girls should be dressed to look like girls (Item 19) and women should always be feminine (Item 12).

When viewed from the vantage point of age and race, the results were equivocal with regard to family roles. Although the majority of people agreed that married people should make important decisions jointly (Item 10) and that a man did not always have to be the head of

the home (Item 3), where a husband was present, there was less certainty across the age groups regarding the status of his authority, reflected in a split relating to whether a wife should always obey her husband (Item 15). Roughly half of the Black respondents agreed (55,4%). Asians were also split on the matter with 50% disagreeing that a wife should always obey her husband; 20% agreeing and 30% indicating uncertainty. A very small percentage of Whites (9.5%) agreed with the statement.

In conclusion, the overall picture obtained was that of a society in which it was considered acceptable for most that men and women work at the same career and even compete for the same jobs (Items 9, 13, 16). Results further suggested that the majority of men, irrespective of race, in the urban areas of Johannesburg were happy to obtain wives with a good education and career and there appeared to be a fairly widespread acknowledgment of women's capacity to do the same kinds of work as men and to learn the same kinds of skills (Items 4, 9, 11, 13).

3.9 Section Two: Second Part of the Research

The validation study having been completed, the second part of the research was carried out. The main hypothesis underlying this research was that in a modern society such as that of South Africa, where there is a level of choice with regard to gender attitudes and beliefs, the formation of gender attitudes and beliefs is influenced by early attachment relationships to parental figures; those figures' gender ideologies; and respondents' gender role behaviours. The possible influence of race; sex; age and educational factors were also considered.

This section will accordingly present the results obtained with regard to the investigation of these factors.

3.9.1 Study Design

A cross-sectional study design was chosen, and samples were obtained from two schools: Sacred Heart College (n = 247) and Fairways Primary School (n = 328) respectively. Individuals from these two institutions comprised a total sample of 575, biased in favour of female, tertiary-educated respondents, mostly aged from 31 to 40 years and above. (This data will be presented in greater detail later in this chapter.)

3.10 The Suitability of Parametric Statistical Studies

A Q-Q plot (Figure 3.1) was used to chart the observed values on the entire sample against a normal distribution. The fact that a normal distribution of GABS scores, with a little variation at both ends, was found to exist, indicated the suitability of parametric statistical studies for further analysis of the data. Statistical tools to be used included Correlation Measures, Pearson's Chi-Square Analyses, Univariate Tests of Significance, Levene's Test of the Homogeneity of Variances and Fisher's LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means Test.

Figure 3.1: Q-Q Plot

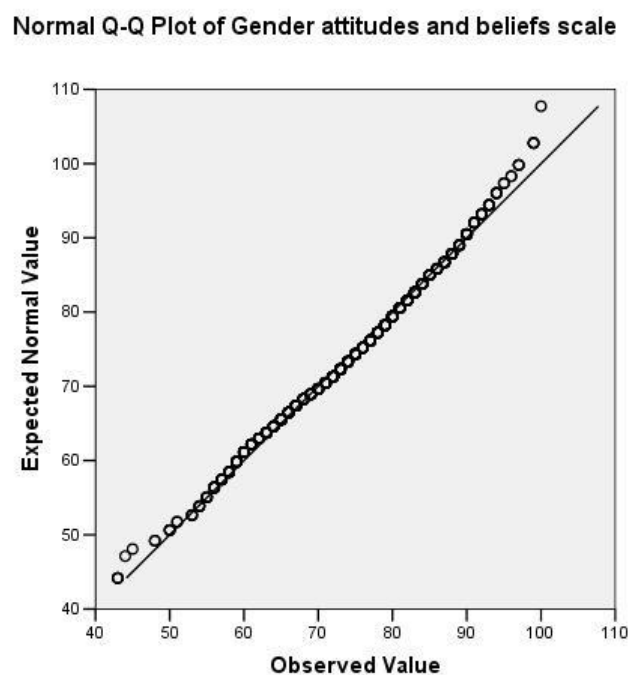


Table 3.6: GABS Means and Variation

Variable	Valid N	%Valid Obs	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
GABS	575	99.8264	74.53043	43.00000	100.00000

The mean Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale score of 74.5 obtained in this research is to be contrasted with the less egalitarian mean of 68.3 obtained in the original validation study (Tables 3.5 and 3.6).

3.11 Demographics of the Study

- **Race**

The racial composition at Sacred Heart College at the time of the research was as follows: Black 45%; White 15%; Asian 19%; Coloured 9%; Other 12%. However race was identified only on the Fairways Primary questionnaires and not on the Sacred Heart College questionnaires (n = 247). Hence statistical analyses involving race were carried out only on the Fairways Sample (n = 328). The race percentages obtained on the Fairways sample were: Black 34%; White 43%; Asian 17%; and Coloured 6%. (Based on the race percentages at Sacred Heart College at the time that the questionnaires were distributed, together with the race identifications obtained from the Fairways sample, one may deduce that, with regard to the total sample, the race group percentages for the entire study were probably: Black 40%; White 28%; Asian 18%; Coloured 8%. However this is only an inference and cannot be confirmed.)

- **Age**

All scores were adjusted for age to include only those aged 18 years and upward (Table 3.7). Both school samples were subdivided into the two sex categories of male and female (Figure 3.2) and then further subdivided into educational levels.

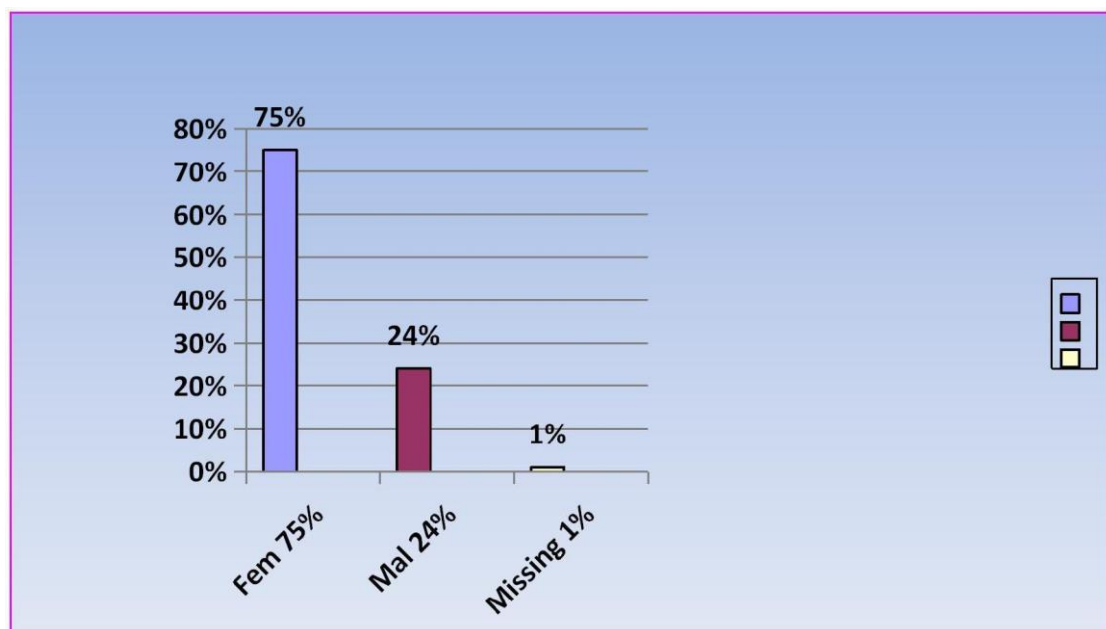
Table 3.7: Age Percentages in Entire Sample

Age Range	18-20	21-30	31-40	41+
	3%	8%	43%	46%

- **Sex**

The term ‘sex’ is used to refer to biological sex, whereas ‘gender’ refers to a person’s expression of sex in social and cultural contexts (Diamond, 2002) (See 2.6.4.) Both school samples were subdivided into the two sex categories. Female comprised 75% of the sample; 24% comprised males; and 1% did not indicate their sex (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Percentage of Males and Females in Entire Sample



- **Education**

Respondents from both school samples were further categorical into those who had not obtained a Matric; those with Matric and those with a Tertiary Qualification which might include a university qualification, a post-Matric diploma or technical college qualification (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8: PERCENTAGES OF EDUCATIONAL LEVELS IN ENTIRE SAMPLE

Educational Level	No Matric	Matric	Tertiary	Unknown
	5%	23%	69%	3%

3.12 Investigation of the Independent Variables on the Dependent Variable: The GABS

As is evident from the above, a predominantly female, older and well-educated sample was obtained.

Associations between the scores of each respondent on the GABS, the dependent variable, and the following independent variables were then investigated on both school samples:

- Attachment style, as measured on the RSQ (Appendix B) comprised ‘Secure’ (low avoidance and low anxiety) attachments; ‘Dismissive’ (low anxiety and high avoidance) attachments; ‘Fearful-Avoidant’ (high anxiety and high avoidance) attachments; and ‘Preoccupied’ (high anxiety and low avoidance) attachments;
- The above attachment style categories were then broken up into: avoidance level towards mother; avoidance level towards father; anxiety level towards mother; and anxiety level towards father;

- Parental beliefs with regard to gender equality in the home and the workplace were categorical by means of the Four Additional Questions (Appendix D);
- Respondents gender role as measured on the BSRI (Appendix A) were identified according to whether they were Masculine, Feminine, Androgynous or Undifferentiated;
- Age;
- Sex; and
- Educational Level.

The influence of Race was investigated only on the Fairways sample.

3.13 Results: Association of Attachment Factors and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

The first objective was to determine whether there was an association between respondents' attachment styles on the RSQ and their scores on the GABS. Eighty percent reported secure attachment to mother figures; twelve percent reported dismissive attachment to mother figures; three percent reported fearful-avoidant attachment to mother figures; and four percent reported preoccupied attachment to mother figures (Figure 3.3).

With regard to father figures: sixty-six percent reported secure attachment to father figures; nineteen percent reported dismissive attachment to father figures; ten percent reported fearful-avoidant attachment to father figures; and four percent reported preoccupied attachment to father figures (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.3: Distribution of Attachment Styles in Relation to a Mother-Figure

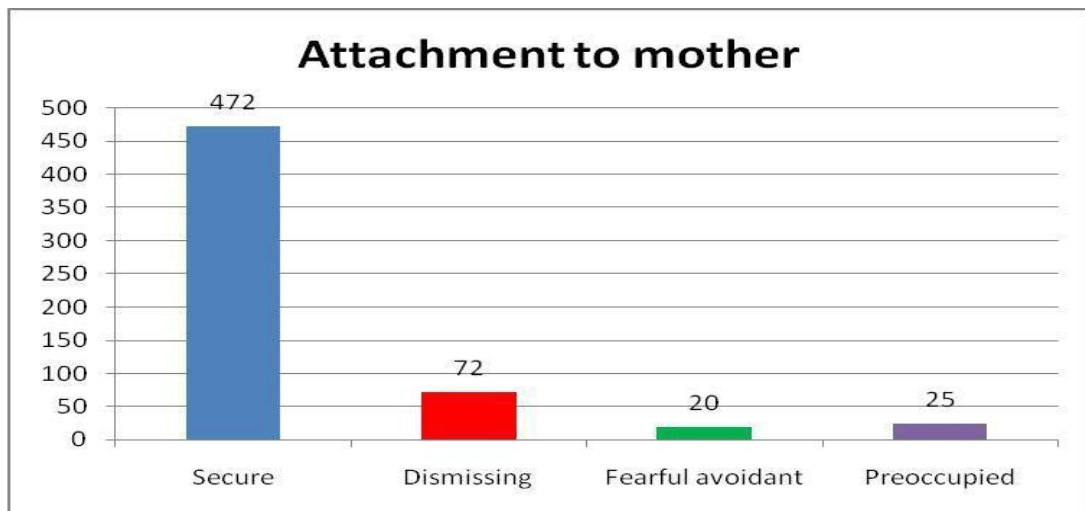
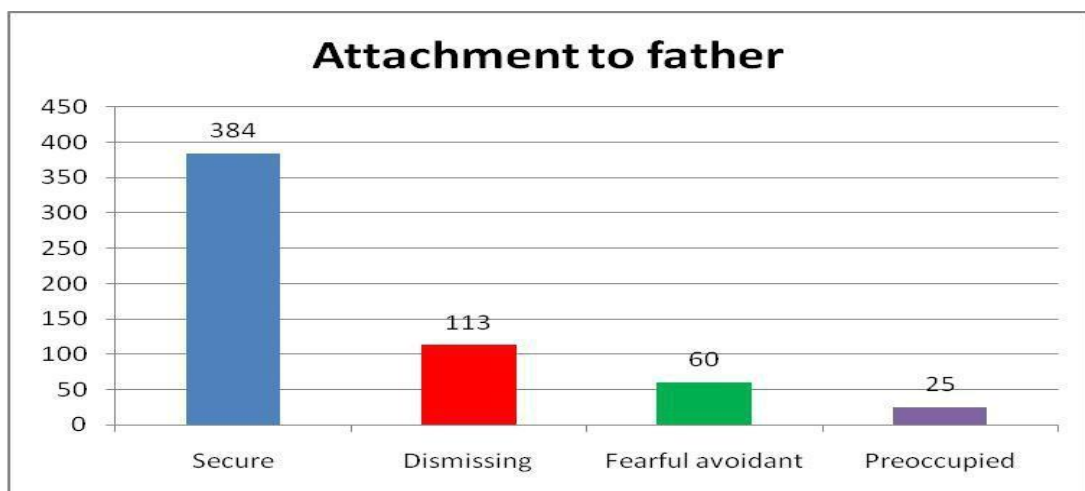


Figure 3.4: Distribution of Attachment Styles in Relation to a Father-Figure



A Chi-Square Analysis with significance sought at the $p=0.01$ α significance level, compared the GABS scores of respondents and their attachment styles (categorical on the RSQ) in relation to both parents (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Chi-Square Comparisons of Gender Attitudes and Beliefs with Regard to Attachment to Parents

		Count	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	P-value
Attachment to mother	Secure	472	43	100	74.66	10.55	0.294
	Dismissing	72	48	99	73.79	12.26	
	Fearful-Avoidant	20	56	91	72.65	9.63	
	Preoccupied	25	55	94	70.84	11.36	
Attachment to father	Secure	384	43	100	74.79	10.87	0.007
	Dismissing	113	50	94	73.30	10.39	
	Fearful-Avoidant	60	54	99	77.17	10.58	
	Preoccupied	25	58	85	68.88	8.41	

This analysis proved the null hypothesis to be correct with regard to attachment style in relation to mother-figures in that it revealed that attachment to mothers was not a significant predictor of scores on the GABS. With regard to attachment style in relation to father figures, the null hypothesis was disproved as attachment style to father-figures was found to be a significant predictor ($p < 0.01$) (Table 3.9). In each instance the means were uncorrelated with the standard deviation and Levene's test for the Homogeneity of variances indicated that the variances were equal, hence the results were valid.

In order to determine whether the differences obtained were genuine or due to chance factors, further analyses of variance exploring associations between gender attitudes and beliefs and parental attachment were explored. The finding that respondents with fearful-avoidant attachments to father-figures were likely to obtain higher scores on the GABS was therefore subject to Univariate Tests of Significance. This confirmed that anxiety in relation to a father-figure was not a significant predictor. However avoidance towards a father-figure and avoidance in interaction with anxiety in relation to this figure (which forms a fearful-avoidant

attachment style) was found to be a highly significant predictor ($p < 0.01$) of high scores signifying greater egalitarianism on the GABS. This means that respondents who recalled a fearful-avoidant attachment style to their father figure were significantly more likely to view women and men as equal, both in their abilities, and in the contexts of work-place and home.

3.14 Results: Association Between Parental Attitudes and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

The second objective was to determine whether there is an association between the gender-role attitudes of respondents' parental figures (Four Questions - Appendix D) and their scores on the GABS (Appendix C).

It was found that thirty-one percent of respondents' mothers believed in equality of gender roles in the home; sixty-eight percent of respondents' mothers did not believe in equality in the home; and one percent of respondents did not know what their mother's attitude to this question was. On the other hand, eighty percent of respondents' mothers believed in equality in the work place; nineteen percent of respondents' mothers did not believe in equality in the work place; and one percent of respondents were unable to identify their mother's attitude.

As regards father's attitudes to equality in the home, thirty-four percent of respondents' fathers believed in equality in the home; sixty-five percent of respondents' fathers did not believe in equality in the home; and one percent of respondents did not know what their father's attitude to this question was. A substantial seventy-seven percent of respondents' fathers believed in equality in the workplace; twenty-two percent of respondents' fathers did not believe in equality in the workplace; and one percent of respondents were unable to identify their father's attitude.

Therefore, most respondents reported that both parents believed in equality in the workplace but not in equality in the home. A Chi-Square analysis with significance sought at the $p = 0.01$ α level, showed that respondents who reported that their mothers believed in equality in the

workplace but not the home produced significantly higher GABS scores; and that respondents whose fathers believed in equality in the workplace but not the home also produced significantly higher GABS scores (Table 3.10). The means were uncorrelated with the standard deviations indicating that the results were valid.

Table 3.10: Chi-Square Analysis of Both Parents' Attitudes towards Equality in the Home and at Work

		Count	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	P-value
Mother = Home	Yes	186	43	94	70.99	11.65	0.000
	No	405	43	100	76.04	10.07	
	Don't know	3	50	75	61.33	12.66	
Mother = Work	Yes	476	43	100	75.10	10.59	0.002
	No	116	44	94	71.70	11.37	
	Don't know	3	50	82	63.67	16.50	
Father = Home	Yes	202	43	94	71.13	10.95	0.000
	No	381	51	100	76.15	10.40	
	Don't know	7	50	93	71.29	14.75	
Father = Work	Yes	452	43	100	75.16	10.81	0.004
	No	133	43	94	71.77	10.54	
	Don't know	5	50	93	69.40	17.62	

3.14.1 Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means Test (Parental Attitudes)

The Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means, a set of t-tests in which the power of a result to be statistically significant is reduced, confirmed that the group of respondents whose mothers believed in equality in the workplace but not equality in the home were likely to score more highly on the GABS (Table 3.11). This group was found to be significantly different to the other three groups (i.e. those who believed in equality in the workplace and home; those who did not believe in equality in the workplace or home; and those believed in equality in the home but not the workplace). The other groups were found not to be significantly different from each other.

Table 3.11: Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means Test: (Mother's Attitudes to Equality in the Workplace and Home and GABS)

Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests Error:

Between MS=111.65, df= 564.00

CELL NO	MOTHER = HOME	MOTHER = WORK	(1) 71.1	(2) 71.7	(3) 76.6	(4) 72.5
1.	YES	YES		0.7	0.0	0.4
2.	YES	NO	0.7		0.0	0.7
3.	NO	YES	0.0	0.0		0.0
4.	NO	NO	0.4	0.7	0.0	

This same test also confirmed that respondents whose fathers who believed in equality in the workplace but not in the home were also likely to score more highly on the GABS (Table 3.12). This group was significantly different from the other three groups, again comprising different combinations of attitudes towards equality in the contexts of workplace and home.

Table 3.12: Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means Test: (Father's Attitudes to Equality in the Workplace and Home and GABS)

Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests Error:

Between MS=111.23, df= 558.00

CELL NO	FATHER = HOME	FATHER = WORK	(1) 71.2	(2) 71.6	(3) 76.8	(4) 72.9
1.	YES	YES		0.8	0.0	0.3
2.	YES	NO	0.8		0.0	0.5
3.	NO	YES	0.0	0.0		0.0
4.	NO	NO	0.3	0.5	0.0	

In summary, respondents where both parental figures exhibited an inconsistency in their gender attitudes and beliefs across the different contexts of home and workplace were likely to obtain more egalitarian scores on the GABS than respondents whose parents believed in equality in the home but not in the workplace; those whose parents believed in equality in both contexts; and those whose parents did not believe in equality in both contexts.

3.15 Results: The Influence of Gender Role on Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

The third objective of this study was to determine whether there was an association between the gender-roles of respondents as classified on the BSRI (Appendix A) and their gender attitudes and beliefs on the GABS (Appendix C).

The percentage breakdown with regard to gender-role, as measured by the BSRI with regard to female respondents was as follows: 18% of females were masculine; 23% of females were feminine; 47% of females were androgynous; and 5% of females were undifferentiated.

As regards the male respondents, 26% of males were masculine; 13% of males were feminine; 45% of males were androgynous; and 16% of males were undifferentiated. The largest group for both sexes was thus the Androgynous group.

A chi-square analysis, with significance sought at the $p=0.01$ α level, revealed that androgynous individuals were likely to score higher on the GABS (i.e. emerge as more liberal or egalitarian), and undifferentiated individuals to score lower (i.e. emerge as more conservative) (Table 3.13). The means were uncorrelated with the standard deviations and Levene's Test for the Homogeneity of Variances showed that the variances were equal indicating that the results were valid (Table 3.14).

Table 3.13: Chi-Square Comparisons of Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Across Gender-Roles

		COUNT	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	P-value
Gender Role	Masculine	112	43	94	74.52	11.04	0.000
	Feminine	117	53	97	75.58	8.77	
	Androgynous	258	43	100	76.34	10.71	
	Undifferentiated	69	48	91	68.97	9.82	

Table: 3.14 Levene's Test for the Homogeneity of Variances (GABS)

Effect: Sex Role; df for all F's= 3.533

	MS Effect	MS Error	F	p
GABS	89.47	37.25	2.40	0.07

3.15.1 Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means Test (Androgyny and GABS)

The association between androgyny and higher scores on the GABS was found not to have sufficient power. The Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means Test indicated that the undifferentiated group was significantly different from the other three groups. The other three groups (i.e. masculine, feminine and androgynous) were not significantly different from one another (Table 3.15). Post Hoc investigations strengthen the confidence with which results may be induced by lessening the probability of Type I errors (false positives) in which a true null hypothesis is incorrectly rejected (Jaccard and Becker, 1984).

3.16 Results: The Influence of Attachment on Gender Role

The following question was to determine whether there was an association between respondents' attachment related avoidance and anxiety scores, as measured by the RSQ and their sex-role scores on the BSRI. It had been determined that individuals classified as undifferentiated, who are low in reported traits of instrumentality and expressiveness, were likely to obtain scores that were reflective of greater conservatism on the GABS (see 3.16). The question now was whether attachment to parents had an influence on gender-role, and thereby also a further, indirect influence on gender attitudes and beliefs. On a Chi-Square analysis no association was found to exist between perceived attachment styles in relation to parents and sex-role (Table 3.16).

However a further Chi-Square analysis (Table 3.17) revealed a strong association between low levels of avoidance (rather than any specific attachment style) in relation to both parents and androgyny ($p < 0.01$).

Table 3.15 Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means Test: (Sex Role and GABS)

Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests

Error: Between MSE=106.21, df=533.00

<u>SEX ROLE</u>	Androgynous	Feminine	Undifferentiated	Masculine
Androgynous	76.4	75.8	69.1	74.6
Feminine		0.5	0.0	0.1
Undifferentiated	0.0	0.0		0.0
Masculine	0.1	0.4	0.0	

Table 3.16: Chi-Square Analysis of Attachment Style in Relation to Gender-Role

	Chi-Square value	P-value
Attachment to Mother	16.252	0.057
Attachment to Father	12.775	0.173

Table 3.17: Avoidance and Anxiety in Relation to both Parental Figures and Androgyny

	Chi-Square value	P-value
Avoidance of mother	14.8	0.0
Anxiety in relation to mother	1.6	0.7
Avoidance of father	11.5	0.0
Anxiety in relation to father	2.4	0.5

3.17 Results: Demographic Influences on Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

The final questions explored by this research were whether there were any associations between age; race; sex; and educational level, and gender attitudes and beliefs.

A Correlation Analysis indicated a positive correlation between GABS scores and age at the $p < 0.05$ α level (Table 3.18).

Table 3.18: Correlation Coefficient Between Age and Scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Entire Sample)

Correlation coefficient	0.091
P-value	0.030

A Chi-Square Analysis, with significance sought at the $p=0.01\alpha$ level, on the Fairways sample (Table 3.19) was utilized to determine whether there was a significant difference between the expected frequencies and the observed frequencies in the demographic factors of race and educational level. This revealed that race and education were significantly associated with higher scores on the GABS, with White people and tertiary-educated people obtaining the highest means.

Table 3.19: Pearson's Chi-Square Analysis of Race and Education in the Fairways

Sample

		Count	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	P-value
Race (Fairways Only)	Black	99	43	93	68.242	9.919	0.000
	White	122	43	97	77.099	9.128	
	Coloured	19	55	82	69.211	7.779	
	Asian	47	48	99	73.596	9.877	
Total Education level	Matric	133	45	99	73.36	10.20	0.000
	Diploma	118	53	97	75.36	10.47	
	University degree	281	43	100	76.33	10.52	
	Unfinished school	34	48	85	67.03	9.40	

3.17.1 Univariate Tests of Significance for the Effect of Sex, Age and Race on the GABS

This test revealed that sex, race and age were significant main effects predictors of GABS. The interaction of sex and age was also found to be significant (Table 3.20).

Table 3.20: Univariate Tests of Significance for Sex, Race and Age (Fairways Sample)**Sigma-restricted parameterization****Effective hypothesis decomposition; Std. Error of Estimate: 8.9957**

Effect	SS	Degr. Of Freedom	MS	F	p
Intercept		0			
Sex	1047.3	1	1047.3	12.9	0.0
Race	475.0	1	475.0	5.9	0.0
Age	331.2	1	331.2	4.1	0.0
Sex in Interaction with Race	79.4	3	26.5	0.3	0.8
Sex in Interaction with Age	898.5	3	265.9	3.3	0.2
Race in Interaction with Age	898.5	6	149.7	1.9	0.1
Error	20716.3	256	80.9		

3.17.2 Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means Test (Race and Sex in Fairways Sample) (Table 3.21)

The Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means Test (Table 3.21) confirmed that the groups white and female (GABS = 78.5) were significantly different to all the other groups. Hence the white group, female sex and the older in age produced scores on the GABS reflective of greater egalitarianism. Older white women were likely to obtain the highest scores.

Table 3.21: Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means Test: (Race and Sex)

Probabilities for Post Hoc Tests

Error: Between MSE=79.65, df=253.00

Race	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		70.8	64.8	78.4	72.3	74.4	70.7	71.9	65.0
Black	F		0.0	0.0	0.5	0.1	1.0	0.7	0.2
Black	M	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	1.0
White	F	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
White	M	0.5	0.0	0.0		0.4	0.6	0.9	0.1
Asian	F	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.4		0.2	0.4	0.0
Asian	M	1.0	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.2		0.7	0.2
Coloured	F	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.4	0.7		0.1
Coloured	M	0.2	1.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	

3.18 Summary of Significant Findings

1. The mean of 74.5 obtained on the GABS for the total sample suggested the adherence to an egalitarian gender ideology for the sample obtained from the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg. The sample obtained was skewed in favour of women, tertiary-educated individuals and respondents between the ages of thirty-one and forty.

3.18.1 Association of Attachment Factors and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

1. Most respondents reported secure attachments to both parental figures. Eighty percent reported a secure attachment to a mother figure and sixty-six percent reported a secure attachment to a father figure.

2. Attachment style in relation to a mother figure was found not to be associated with scores on the GABS. However, an association was found between attachment style to a father figure and scores on the GABS (Chi-Square Analyses, $p=0.007$).

3. Respondents with a high levels of avoidance in relation to a father figure obtained higher scores on the GABS signifying greater egalitarianism. Where high levels of avoidance interacted with high levels of anxiety forming a fearful-avoidant attachment style in relation to a father figure, the scores were even higher (Chi-Square Analyses; Univariate Tests of Significance).

3.18.2 Association Between Parental Attitudes and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

1. Most respondents reported that both parents believed in equality in the workplace but not in equality in the home. Eighty percent of mothers believed in equality in the workplace and seventy-seven percent of fathers believed in equality in the workplace. On the other hand, sixty-eight percent of mothers did not believe in equality in the home and sixty-five percent of fathers did not believe in equality in the home.

2. Respondents where both parental figures exhibited an inconsistency in their gender attitudes and beliefs across the different contexts of home and workplace so that they believed in equality in the workplace but not in the home, were associated with more egalitarian scores on the GABS (Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means Tests).

3.18.3 The Influence of Gender Role on Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

1. The largest gender role group of both sexes was androgyny. Forty-seven percent of females were classified as androgynous and forty-five percent of males were classified as androgynous.

2. Androgynous individuals were found to be likely to score significantly higher on the GABS (Chi-Square Analyses (Mean: 76.34)). This finding was validated by Levene's Test for the Homogeneity of Variances. However, on the more demanding Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means test, the mean was not found to be significantly higher.

3. Undifferentiated individuals tended to score significantly lower on the GABS (Mean: 68.97), than those classified in other gender role categories (Chi-Square Analyses and Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means Test).

3.18.4 The Influence of Attachment on Gender Roles

1. No significant associations were found to exist between attachment style in general and gender-role (Chi-Square Analyses).
2. However Androgyny was associated with relationships of low avoidance in relation to both parental figures. Avoidance in relation to a mother figure was significant at the $p:0.002 \alpha$ level and avoidance in relation to a father figure was also significant at the $p: 0.009 \alpha$ level.

3.18.5 Demographic Influences on Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

1. There was a strong positive correlation between increasing age and higher, more egalitarian scores on the GABS ($p: 0.03 \alpha$ level).
2. Older age, the female sex, the White group and the possession of a tertiary qualification were associated with higher, more egalitarian scores (Chi-Square Analyses; Factorial Analyses at $p: 0.05\alpha$ level - all on the Fairways sample alone).
3. Older white women were likely to obtain the highest scores (Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means Test).

3.19 Conclusion of Results Chapter

In conclusion, a high scorer on the GABS is most likely to fall within one or more of the following groups: female sex; white classification; possession of a tertiary qualification; recalling a fearful-avoidant attachment style to a father-figure; and having parents who believed in gender equality in the workplace but not in the home. Furthermore, the older the individual, the more egalitarian their scores on the GABS.

4. CHAPTER FOUR - Discussion

4.1 Introduction to Discussion

This chapter will be divided into two sections. In the first section: the results of the initial validation study of the GABS will be discussed. In the second section: parental attachment relationships; perceived parental gender attitudes; respondents gender-role behaviour and variables of race, sex, educational level and age in the formation of gender attitudes will be investigated.

4.2 Section One: The Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale

4.2.1 Criterion Validation of the GABS

Scores on the GABS were correlated with those on the Attitude Towards Women Scale (ATWS) (Appendix F). Pearson's Correlation Analysis revealed a moderately positive relationships between the two questionnaires (0.656). This showed that the GABS measured factors that were similar but not identical to those measured by the ATWS (see 3.6.2).

Fundamentally, the GABS explores differences in attitudes towards socialization more thoroughly than the Attitude Towards Women Scale (ATWS) (Items 5, 7, 14, 17 and 19). It also includes items relating to perceived differences in the nature of the sexes (Items 1, 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 16 and 20). Only two items on the ATWS explore attitudes towards the differential socialization of males and females (Items 12 and 13).

In addition to being more comprehensive, the language of the GABS is simpler, and therefore the questions are more accessible to respondents with varying educational levels.

4.2.2 Limitations of the GABS

The questionnaires were presented to most of the black respondents by a White, middle-aged, female professional known also to be a psychotherapist. Although all the subjects were required to sign introductory letters assuring them of anonymity, it is possible that, within the hospital setting, some may have responded in directions that they imagined pleased the

researcher, who, in certain instances, would have also have been their counselor or therapist. This would not have been an issue with the parents of children attending a Johannesburg nursery school as they had no other relationship with the researcher and therefore would have been unlikely to care about what her expectations or values were.

Whilst convenience sampling is useful for exploratory research, it is not the most accurate method of selecting representatives of a population under investigation.

Most of the respondents for the study were garnered from patients attending a psychotherapy clinic. It could be argued that they were thus drawn from a population of people likely to be more disenchanted with life and more prone to self-examination and challenge than others. Given that they sought assistance from psychotherapy rather than from traditional healing, they were possibly also more likely to be influenced by Western philosophical perspectives and notions of being. Conversely, many patients seek both psychotherapy and traditional healing.

Although the usage of the scale was appropriate for the context of the urban sample of the PhD study, there was a demographic limitation. The respondents lived either in town or township. No rural subjects were accessed and so the findings could not be generalized to people from those areas. Nevertheless, the results obtained are probably a reasonable reflection of the attitudes and beliefs of people attending psychotherapy clinics in Soweto and of those who lived in the North Eastern suburbs of Johannesburg. While one is less certain of its applicability to South Africans as a whole, it was judged an appropriate measure for the second stage of the research.

The mean Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale score of 68.3 obtained in the validation study is to be contrasted with the more egalitarian mean of 74.5 obtained in the second part of the research. It is hypothesized that this may be due to the higher socio-economic status of respondents in the current study and the possibly higher number of respondents possessing some type of tertiary qualification. However it is uncertain as to what percentage of

respondents in the initial study had post Matriculation diplomas or degrees, as this information had not been requested of them.

Despite the aforementioned limitations, the results obtained corresponded to other indications that South Africa is more egalitarian than most countries in the world when it came to its treatment of gender (Hausmann et al, 2007, Global Gender Gap Report 2016). Such data, together with the results of this research, added nuance to the negative picture of male and female relationships which emerge when one is considering family violence, HIV transmission and crime.

4.2.3 Applications for the GABS

There are no readily-available measures of gender attitudes and beliefs that have been normed in a South African context. It is proposed that the GABS may be used in the following settings:

- It may be used to assess the gender ideologies of individuals. This will be useful with regard to working with parents who have children born with Disorders of Sex Development in that it may provide the clinician with an idea of the degree of conservatism of the parent and form a basis for discussion with regard to future options for their child, should the latter decide to change gender at puberty. Parents in this predicament need to be able to explore gender issues so as to facilitate their offspring's development and later choices (Rebelo, Szabo and Pitcher, 2008).
- The scale would be a useful additional assessment measure of gender ideology in the selection of senior managers. Research has pointed to the persistence of gender stereotyping among black and white South African men (Booyesen and Nkomo, 2010). This is particularly the case in male-dominated occupations (Martin and Barnard, 2013). It has been found that South African men tend to be less likely to attribute successful managerial characteristics to women, who are then prevented from advancing within their respective corporate contexts. The Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale does not possess items which tap directly into the attitudes of male respondents towards the

managerial capacities of women. It is, nevertheless, able to provide an indication of the egalitarian or non-egalitarian direction of that respondent's gender ideology as a whole. As such the scale could be used as an adjunct to other questionnaires or tests, which might access the expectations of male managers with regard to female staff in detail.

- Premarital counseling is important in preventing future emotional difficulties in relationships. It does so by assisting couples to identify potential areas of conflict and by helping them to resolve areas of difference before the marriage. Areas that are dealt with include: personality issues; communication skills; conflict resolution strategies; approaches to financial management; approaches to parenting; and the role each partner expects to play and expects the other to play in the marriage (Stahmann, 2000). The Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale will assist a premarital counselor with determining differences in role expectations. It will also provide information pertinent to each person's respective parenting philosophy: in this instance the attitudes and beliefs each party holds with regard to the parenting of sons and daughters.

4.3 Section Two: The Second Part of the Study

4.3.1 Association of Attachment Factors and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

One of the hypotheses forming the basis of the second part of the study was the following: the initial working model which a child develops in relation to a primary attachment figure reflects within it the possibility of his or her developing gender attitudes and beliefs moulded by levels of anxiety and avoidance inspired by the gender to which the attachment figure belongs. In most cases this is a mother-figure. The null hypothesis was accordingly that there was no association between the working model which a child develops in relation to a primary attachment figure and their gender attitudes and beliefs in adulthood.

The possible association between attachment and gender attitudes and beliefs was explored statistically by means of correlation studies comparing the classifications of respondents' attachment styles to their mother-figures and father-figures on the Relationship Structures

Questionnaire (Appendix B) with their scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C).

The fundamentally egalitarian mean (74.5) obtained for the sample as a whole and the fact that most respondents were securely attached to maternal figures (80.1%) indicates that the overall sample was skewed in favour of secure attachment (80.1% to mother figures and 66% to father figures) and more egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs. Within this skewed sample, however, Chi-square comparisons revealed that attachment to mother-figures were unrelated to scores that were significantly higher than the mean on the GABS. On the other hand, attachment to father-figures were found to be significantly associated with raised scores on the GABS.

Respondents who reported high levels of avoidance in relation to father-figures and those who recalled fearful-avoidant attachment styles to father-figures were found on Univariate Tests of Significance to be associated with significantly higher GABS scores indicating a more progressive gender ideology. Anxiety, as a single factor in relation to a father-figure was not a significant predictor of GABS scores. However when high levels of anxiety were analyzed in interaction with high levels of avoidance to form a fearful-avoidant attachment style, this interaction was found to be a significant predictor of significantly raised egalitarian scores on the GABS. These respondents obtained a group mean of 77.2 as against the overall mean of 74.5. This research has shown, therefore, that there is a degree of complexity to the role that attachment style plays with regard to gender attitudes and beliefs.

As as was discussed in the theoretical introduction to this study, fearful-avoidant individuals, with their high levels of anxiety and avoidance in close relationships, have difficulty with feeling dependent and vulnerable in intimate relationships with others. They have difficulty with trust in such situations. While this adversely affects them in such interpersonal contexts, their response to the social world as dangerous appears to be associated with a significantly more fervent belief in gender equality - given that the mean of 74.5 obtained for the overall sample was in itself indicative of egalitarian or Liberal gender attitudes and beliefs.

The findings of this research indicate that the experience of behaviour which inspires high levels of anxiety and avoidance in relation to a paternal parent, behaviour which would have been experienced as emotionally disturbing or traumatic, is linked to the development of a perspective which challenges male dominance and adheres to egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs.

Another factor possibly implicated in this result relates to Levy et al's (1998) finding that individuals with fearful-avoidant attachments to their parents understand others in more nuanced and conceptually complex terms than individuals with dismissive attachment styles. They found that their expressed ambivalence regarding their attachment figures revealed a capacity to tolerate contradiction in their views of others in close relationships, in the same way as is the case with those who have secure attachments. This questions Bartholemew's (1990) understanding of fearful-avoidant individuals as possessing a non-nuanced negative view of themselves and others. According to Levy et al (1998) respondents with a fearful-avoidant style appear to be able to adopt a more differentiated and integrated approach to relationships and it can be anticipated that they may be able to view social issues such as gender equality, and the individuals affected by such issues, in a similar fashion.

This finding, furthermore, casts doubt on Hibbing et al's (2014) observations that a negativity bias is associated with conservatism. In addition to being uncertain with regard to the degree of conservatism that is being considered in that study, it would appear that the negativity identified in the working models of fearful-avoidant individuals (Bartholemew, 1990) is associated with greater liberalism rather than with conservatism.

The findings of this study also suggest limitations to Minsky (1998) and Schimmenti et al's (2014) finding that there is a correlation between authoritarian, violent fathers and later criminal behaviour. While the respondents who constituted the families of children attending middle-class schools were not asked whether they possessed criminal records or not, it is unlikely, given the dearth of delinquency at these schools, that the scholars might have come from chaotic households characterised by criminal violence.

A possible intervening variable in this association between fearful-avoidant attachment style in relation to a father figure and greater gender egalitarianism, may be the finding that 69.7% of respondents with fearful-avoidant relationships to their fathers, had secure attachments to their mothers. One may therefore question whether the high anxiety and avoidance levels in relation to their father-figures, and the impact of these on their working models, were ameliorated and mediated by caring mother-figures, facilitating reflection; a sense of morality (Church, 2008, 2014); social competence (Pearce and Pezzot-Pearce, 2001) and empathy. This may be a factor which contributed to the adoption of more egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs and which prevented the criminality identified by Minsky (1998) and Schimmenti et al (2014).

In addition to morality and social competence, attachment factors have been linked to both psychopathology (Levy and Blatt, 2003) and to political ideology (Buck, 2014; Doty et al, 1991; Lakoff, 2003; Haidt, 2003; Wolfe, 2005). Buck's (2014) suggestion that a conservative ideology is reflective of insecure attachment patterns has been shown to be too simplistic. Researchers such as Weedon and Kurzban (2015) have cautioned against linking psychological variables to general political orientations given the heterogeneity of meanings citizens attach to the left-right continuum. This heterogeneity results in inconsistencies which may lead to conservatism with respect to one domain and liberalism with respect to another. While their frame of reference is American politics, the questions of this thesis are, in any event, domain-specific in terms of their focus on gender attitudes and beliefs alone.

4.3.2 Association Between Parental Attitudes and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

This question formed the second objective and was examined statistically by exploring possible correlations between respondents' answers to the Four Additional Questions (Appendix C) and their scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C).

Literature reviewed in this area was ambivalent with regard to the influence of parental gender attitudes and beliefs on those of their offspring. In this study, Chi-Square Comparisons showed that respondents whose mothers believed in equality in the workplace but not in the home and respondents whose fathers believed in equality in the workplace but not in the home, both produced significantly higher Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale scores signifying greater egalitarianism. These findings were confirmed on the more stringent Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means.

This finding appears to offer some confirmation of Kiecolt and Acock's (1988) finding that gender attitudes in relation to women holding greater political power were more likely to be found in those who had grown up in single-parented households headed by women. However, it raises further questions regarding why parents' differing beliefs across the contexts of work and home - contributed to greater egalitarianism in their offspring. These respondents had higher scores than those whose mother and father figures believed in equality in the contexts of both workplace and home, and they had higher scores than respondents whose parents subscribed to other combinations of attitudes and beliefs in relation to equality in the home and workplace.

One may hypothesize that the experience of inconsistency in gender status across contexts had distressful implications for the lives of female family members who may have struggled to keep both their jobs and their families functioning, with little assistance in the home from male partners on account of their traditional views regarding gender roles. This possible awareness may have impacted on these respondents and increased their receptivity to socially prevalent views challenging the traditional gender role ideologies with which they had been raised. Such an explanation would partially reflect Lim's (1997) findings with regard to research on Korean immigrants in the United States. This study revealed that the experience of contributing to the family economy inspired these women to challenge the unequal division of family work and their respective husband's demands for obedience.

4.3.3 The Influence of Gender Role on Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

The third objective was carried out by means of an exploration of possible associations between respondents' scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (Appendix C) and their classifications on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Appendix A).

A significant association between androgyny and egalitarian scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale was identified on a Chi-Square analysis with significance sought at the $p=0.01\alpha$ level and validated on Levene's tests for the Homogeneity of Variances. However this association was shown not to be sufficiently robust by the Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means Test. Given the high number of respondents classified as androgynous in the sample (47% of females and 45% of males) and the fundamentally egalitarian GABS mean obtained, one can conclude that individuals who identify with traits traditionally associated with both sexes are likely to obtain scores directed at greater egalitarianism.

On the other hand, it was found that undifferentiated respondents (i.e. with low levels of both instrumentality and expressiveness) obtained significantly lower scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale than other sex-role classifications on the Bem Sex Role Inventory, achieving a conservative group mean of 69.1 as against the overall mean of 74.5 (Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means Test).

This finding contradicts Frable's (1989) conclusion that sex-typed individuals are more likely than androgynous, undifferentiated and cross-sex-typed individuals to accept Conservative definitions of gender roles. Rather, it confirms Kulik's (2000) conclusion that undifferentiated males express more traditional evaluations of feminine-typed roles than do androgynous and cross-sex-typed subjects.

Undifferentiated individuals have been associated with psychological dysfunction in much of the literature in the area (see Kelly et al, 1977; Kurdek and Schmitt, 1986). Such a profile has

been associated also with indications of immaturity and a lack of internal structures required to maintain a cohesive self (Watson et al, 1989, p 204).

One may, therefore, question whether the tendency of undifferentiated individuals to score lower on the GABS does not relate to a global degree of repression of various aspects of the self, including a sense of freedom to self-actualize and a hesitancy with regard to promoting the self-actualization of others, in this instance, of women.

Another hypothesis is that these are the sorts of individuals best explained by Adorno et al (1950) and other researchers such as Buck (2014) where conservatism is linked with severe parenting. In these cases, the effect of the parenting has not been to evoke high levels of avoidance and anxiety in relation to a parental figure as is the case with the fearful-avoidant respondents in this study. Rather, it has facilitated the internalization of the strict parent and his or her conservatism together with a tendency to respond in a repressed way to the interpersonal world.

4.3.4 The Influence of Attachment on Gender Role

The investigation of a possible association between respondents' scores on the Relationship Structures Questionnaire (Appendix B) and their scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Appendix A) formed the fourth objective. The exploration of this association was based on the hypothesis that the image of the self which develops from an attachment relationship might include notions of gender role.

A Chi-Square Analysis conducted to explore associations between attachment style and gender-role revealed no significant association between these two factors, thus confirming the null hypothesis. Haigler's (1995) conclusion that feminine and androgynous individuals are associated with higher levels of parental attachment, as against those classified as masculine or undifferentiated, cannot thus be said to have been replicated.

However it was found in a further Chi-Square Analysis, that an androgynous gender-role (with characteristics of high instrumentality and high expressiveness) correlated with reported low levels of avoidance in relation to both parental figures. A feeling of low avoidance in relation to a parent is indicative of a parent-child relationship in which the parent is viewed as an attractive personality. Low avoidance attachments may be Secure, in which the attractive parent is also viewed as a trustworthy source of love. They may also be Preoccupied, in which the attractive parent is not viewed as a trustworthy source of love (Bartholemew and Horowitz, 1991). This research finding translates into the understanding that androgyny is associated with individuals who view both parental figures in a largely positive light.

The low levels of avoidance found to be correlated with androgynous individuals provides confirmation of Diamond's (2005) account that identifications with both parents play an important role in a boy developing a more emotionally balanced sense of his gendered self. While Diamond (2005) was referring to males, this research indicates that it is true for both sexes. This is in keeping also with the perspective of symbolic interactionism (Bohannon and Blanton, 1999; Cunningham, 2001; Moen, Erikson and McCain; Starrels, 1992) which posits that children learn gender roles from the behaviours and modelling of parents and others. One may hypothesize that androgynous individuals enjoyed relationships with their parents which facilitated the modelling of behaviours linked to both their mother and father-figures.

This result accords with the findings of other studies (Haigler et al, 1995; Alonso-Arbiol, Shaver and Yarnoz, 2002) that androgynous individuals are likely to have enjoyed constructive parenting, a factor very likely leading to the development of a cohesive sense of self comprising a sense of agency and a capacity to express themselves freely. Androgynous individuals have been associated with good psychological health in much of the literature. Watson et al's (1989) research indicated that the androgynous are most likely to be associated with a healthy narcissism characterized by a balanced sense of self-worth. Prakash et al (2010) found that androgyny is a psychologically protective factor in that psychological masculinity in feminine individuals tended to increase their resilience and coping capacities making them less susceptible to psychopathology in general.

4.3.5 Demographic Influences of Age, Sex, Educational Level and Race and Gender Attitudes and Beliefs

This research was based on the responses of fundamentally middle class parents of children associated with a private Johannesburg school and a government school. An overall Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale mean score of 74.5 was obtained. This was some 6 points higher than the mean of 68.28 obtained in the original validation study which was based on the responses of participants attending Chris Hani Baragwanath Academic Hospital and those sending their children to a suburban nursery school. At the same time it must be recalled that the overall sample of this study was skewed in favour of females and those with a tertiary education, both factors which were found to be linked to higher scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale. This has probably contributed to the overall gender progressiveness represented by the mean scores obtained.

As race had not been identified on the Sacred Heart questionnaires, Chi-Square Analyses involving race were carried out only on the Fairways sample (n = 328). These found that scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale were influenced by race, sex, age and educational level. This was confirmed by a Factorial Analysis of race, sex and age in the same sample.

The Fisher LSD Post Hoc Comparison of Means showed that the association between higher Gender Attitude and Beliefs Scale scores and the white group and female sex were stronger than for other the groups.

The result obtained which indicated that men were higher in conservatism than women substantiates previous research in this area (Kruger, 2000; Peacock and Lavack, 2004; Davis and Greenstein, 2009; Sideris, 2013). The middle-class male respondents in this research are unlikely to have been victims of harsh economic conditions or deprived of a sense of masculine power as a result of women's greater economic independence, as noted by Sideris (2013) in her work. Their conservative mean score on the GABS (69.2) thus has to be viewed as representative of the persistence of aspects of the traditional gender schema with which they were likely to have been brought up.

The link of educational level with regard to gender ideology may be related to the opportunities which education presents for exposure to values and thought surrounding values of gender equity. More educated people may also be expected to be individuals who have had the opportunity to pursue self-actualization, or who have driven themselves to achieve and understand the needs of other people of both sexes to do the same. This finding, confirms other work linking more egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs with educational attainment (see, for example, Fazeli et al, 2015).

A correlational analysis showed an association between increasing age and increasing scores on the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale. This finding is in opposition to other studies carried out in other parts of the world which have found that younger people are more likely to espouse more egalitarian gender beliefs (Dorius and Alwin, 2010). It may be an indication that as people age, they become more aware of the realities and difficulties of life as this might relate to inequalities. Given the fundamentally middle-class, socio-economic status of much of this sample, with its resources for obtaining tertiary education, this effect may be a reflection of gender egalitarianism increasing with advancing education. Another hypothesis is that the greater conservatism of the younger respondents may be associated with reliance on traditional gender-arrangements in negotiating the care of younger children. Vespa (2008) found that parenthood has a less egalitarian effect for all married parents but an egalitarian one for unmarried parents. As children grow older, married women may resume their careers and the pursuit of greater financial independence and come to see the value of a more unrestricted, less traditional view of gender roles. In any event, further investigation into the variables linking age and ideology in South Africa would be worth undertaking in future research projects.

Fundamentally therefore, white people, females, the older in age and those with a tertiary education, were likely to obtain more egalitarian scores on the GABS.

4.4 Limitations of the Second Part of the Study

4.4.1 Subjectivity and Positivism

Gender attitudes and beliefs are part of lived experience. As such they may be plastic across time, space, circumstance and mood. Given that questionnaires were distributed and then returned on a different day, one cannot be certain with regard to who actually filled them in and what their state of mind was while doing so.

With regard to the interpretation of data arising from social science research, one has to be aware that social phenomena are inherently complex and complete objectivity with regard to the interpretation of results is always elusive.

Despite this restriction, a positivist approach, with its empirical focus and use of correlational statistical measures, provides researchers with hints regarding regularities or patterns which exist in the world (Tufte, 1969; Moses and Torbjørn, 2012). These may then be further explored using other qualitative and quantitative research techniques.

4.4.2 The Samples

It is assumed that the Black group were likely to have been in the majority of the overall sample because they form the majority of students at Sacred Heart College. However Race data was obtained only for the sample from Fairways Primary School, which limits the confidence with which deductions can be made with regard to race. The race percentages in the Fairways sample were Black 34%; White 43%; Asian 17% and Coloured 6%. Given the low percentage of Asian and Coloured respondents, the results of the study are to be generalist to these groups with caution.

The overall sample obtained was skewed in favour of women, individuals with a tertiary qualification and the middle aged. It was also obtained from schools situated in middle-class areas - although one of these was a government school. As such it is limited with regard to its

representation of the gender attitudes and beliefs of the less educated; the working class; the unemployed; those residing in rural areas and those unable to read and understand English.

4.4.3 Religion as an Influence

Thornton, Alwin and Camburn (1983) traced more Conservative, traditional perspectives to church attendance and a fundamentalist protestant identification in their study based in the United States and it is possible that different religious groups in this country might also predispose their adherents towards different gender attitudes and beliefs. However, the influence of religion was not considered in this study. The source of one of the samples: Sacred Heart College, is a Roman Catholic Institution with an inclusive approach welcoming and accommodating children from other religious groups. Perhaps because of the religious heterogeneity of the scholars at the school, despite its Catholic ethos, the findings here were similar to those of Fairways Primary which, as a government school, is also likely to have been religiously varied in its composition. It is possible, therefore that the results might have been different had large samples of various religious groups with a stronger sense of religious identification, who seek separation and exclusivity for their children, been compared with each other.

4.4.4 Categorical Understanding of Attachment

Historically, much weight has justifiably been attached to parental sensitivity (see, for example Ainsworth et al, 1978) as a determinant of attachment quality. However Fraley et al (2015: p 365) have pointed out that, in addition to parental sensitivity, the etiology of adult attachment styles involve other factors such as interpersonal experiences in the family of origin, peer relationships, relationship-specific dynamics, and potential genetic antecedents. Furthermore, attachments may vary from attachment style, which is not particularly problematic, to attachment pattern which is more pervasive and finally to attachment disorder, permeating every aspect of an individual's life (Erskine, 2011).

The internal working models developed by Levy and Blatt (2003) are formulated in terms of developmental sequences The first, self-definitional sequence, is characterized by concerns

with autonomy, initiative, self-worth and identity. The second, relatedness sequence, is typified by factors of trust, co-operation, warmth and intimacy. Both developmental sequences range from relatively simple, undifferentiated levels lacking in integration to richer, more complex, highly differentiated and integrated levels.

A limitation of this investigation was that it was not designed to identify variations other than anxiety and avoidance within attachment styles (Blatt and Levy, 2003; Fraley et al, 2015). As such it was largely based on a categorical understanding of attachment data. This limitation may be less critical when respondents obtain extreme scores with respect to attachment dimensions, but may be problematic with regard to people who score near category boundaries. The use of categorical models thus makes it difficult to detect gradual, yet real variation so that much data is lost.

4.5 Directions for Future Research

4.5.1 The GABS in Different Contexts and Settings

The Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale needs to be researched in different class contexts and work settings. In order that it may be successfully administered to South Africans living in rural areas, it would benefit from being translated into a few African languages, such as Zulu, Sotho, Afrikaans etc. Further research into the impact of marriage and parenting; the impact of differing sexual orientations and gender identities; as well as the impact of various religious beliefs should be considered in future studies on this questionnaire.

4.5.2 Attachment Factors

Eighty percent of respondents reported secure attachments to mother-figures and sixty-six percent reported secure attachments to father-figures. This was accompanied by a mean score of 74.5 for the GABS on the total sample. As such, this study cannot be confidently said to disprove the relationship between secure attachment and a Liberal gender ideology as a mean of 74.5 is indicative of reasonably egalitarian gender attitudes and beliefs. This study has shown, however, that the link between attachment factors and gender attitudes and beliefs is more nuanced than has been claimed by certain researchers (for example, Buck, 2014) and requires further study.

Given that 69.7% of respondents who reported a fearful-avoidant attachment to a father figure had a secure attachment in relation to a mother figure, future research should focus on the gender attitudes and beliefs of individuals who do not enjoy a secure attachment to one parental figure.

Much research on the long-term effects of attachment have focused on the relationship between the child and the primary caregiver, who is often the mother. More exploration is required concerning the effect of various combinations of attachment styles in relation to all the significant figures in an individual's life. In particular, attachment styles in relation to father figures could be fruitfully explored in greater depth.

In accordance with the arguments of Levy and Blatt (2003) and the findings of Fraley et al (2015), individual differences in attachment are consistent with a dimensional rather than a categorical model. Future research needs to take greater cognisance of this in its exploration of the relationship between attachment and other psychological variables and in the development of attachment measures. These could incorporate Levy and Blatt's (2003) developmental sequences model (Figure 1.1) and the ranges noted with regard to self-definition and relatedness.

4.5.3 Parental Influences on Gender Ideology

In its investigation of the influences of parental views of gender status in the workplace and home on respondents' gender attitudes and beliefs, this research did not take parental behaviour into account. Future research which explores the effects of the interaction between parental behaviour and gender attitudes and beliefs on the gender ideology of offspring is necessary in order to obtain confirmation of certain research conclusions (for example, Woods, 1994; Halpern and Jenkins, 2016) that modelling plays an important role in the intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes. Other variables, such as parents' relationship to their children and attachment factors might further enrich such a study.

4.6 Review of Discussion Chapter

With regard to the first part of the study, it was noted that an advantage of the GABS is that it makes use of simple language which renders it suitable for use with respondents of varying educational levels. It's validation on an urban sample limits its use to an urban population.

It is considered that it is a useful measure of gender attitudes and beliefs to be used in work with the parents of individuals with Disorders of Sex Development; in premarital counseling and in the selection of senior managers in business environments.

The implications of the second part of the study were discussed, namely that: individuals who reported fearful-avoidant attachments to paternal figures obtained scores that were significantly more egalitarian than those of other respondents; and that parental inconsistency with regard to views on gender status across the contexts of home and workplace was linked to a significantly more liberal gender ideology in their adult offspring. The findings in relation to androgynous individuals (who identify highly with traits of instrumentality and expressiveness) were also explored, as were those in relation to undifferentiated individuals. Finally, the influence of demographic factors on GABS scores were both noted and questioned.

Limitations of the study were viewed as related to uncertainty regarding who completed the questionnaires that were dispatched to parents by the two schools participating in the study, and the possible influence of transient contextual or personal variables influencing responses at the time of completion. The skewing of the sample with regard to women, those with a tertiary qualification, the middle-aged and the middle-classed; the absence of consideration of the influence of religious factors on the GABS; the insufficient representation of the Asian and Coloured groups; and the basis of the study on a prevalent, categorical understanding of attachment.

It was suggested that directions for future research would be: to investigate the GABS in different contexts and settings; to take into account the influences of such variables as the impact of marriage and parenting, and different sexual orientations and identities. It was further advocated that the effects of different combinations of attachment styles adhered to by individuals also be studied.

Finally, the influence of both parental gender attitudes and beliefs and gendered parental behaviour needs to be explored.

5. CHAPTER FIVE - Conclusion

In conclusion, the overall mean of 74.5 obtained for the sample as a whole, reflects a generally Liberal gender ideology in this population of mostly female, middle-aged, tertiary-educated respondents who reside in urban and suburban areas of Johannesburg. This provides a hopeful and positive contrast with data relating to violence against women (see for example, Cohen, 2015) and the persisting gender pay gap (Bosch, 2015).

The first part of this study was initially inspired by work with parents of children with Disorders of Sex Development. It was observed that the decision of young people to transition into adolescence was often met by anxiety regarding possible ridicule and censure from their families. Individuals who straddle the accepted gender dichotomy in terms of their gender or sexual identifications have to deal with a degree of interpersonal unease in South Africa and in most parts of the world (Rebelo, Szabo and Pitcher, 2008).

It was hoped that the identification of parental gender attitudes and beliefs might assist with the identification of parental expectations and the facilitation of therapy aimed at obtaining their acceptance. For example, a father with hope that his son would become a plumber or carry on administering his family business would need to understand that, if his daughter had the same life goals, she too would be able to function in these occupations. A mother's distress at her daughter's unwillingness to dress in a feminine manner, could be helped to come to terms with her androgynous presentation of self.

In order to carry this out it was noted that there were no known scales or questionnaires of gender attitudes and beliefs normed on a South African population. These motivators lead to the creation of the GABS and its validation studies.

The second part of the study was inspired by data which indicated that many South African women experienced immense difficulties with regard to partner violence (for example, Cohen, 2015). Despite the many gains made with regard to gender equality in this country and her relatively good rating on the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap indices over the years,

there remains a persistence of inequality in the workplace (Bosch, 2015). These findings provided impetus for the further study related to the title of this PH.

These understandings, together with an interest in the possible influences of: attachment to parental figures; these figure' gender attitudes and beliefs; gender roles and demographic variables of age, sex, education and race on the GABS, constituted the primary aims of this research.

Subsidiary aims were a) the investigation of whether particular attachment styles to parental figures were implicated in the adoption of certain gender roles and b) the further demarcation of norm variations with regard to the GABS. With regard to a possible association between attachment and gender roles, this was motivated by a desire to understand transcend individuals more fully.

In its focus on personal relationships between men and women and their perspectives of gender roles, this study was grounded within both attachment theory and the concerns of the second and third waves of Feminism.

Finally, it was assumed that any exploration of gender attitudes and beliefs had to be limited to modern societies in which people are permitted a degree of choice with regard to the gender ideology to which they wish to subscribe (Ink and Smith, 1974).

As regards the assessment measures: the Gender Attitudes and Beliefs Scale (GABS) was developed in order to determine respondents' gender attitudes and beliefs. This scale was validated in the first part of the study. It is the only know questionnaire or scale assessing these factors which has been normed on a South African population.

Attachment styles were assessed by means of the Relationship Structures Questionnaire; parents' gender attitudes and beliefs were investigated through the Four Questions which

were added to the GABS; and gender role was categorical by means of the Be Sex Role Inventory.

With regard to the first part of the study, it was noted that an advantage of the GABS is that it makes use of simple language which renders it suitable for use with respondents of varying educational levels. Its validation on an urban sample limits its use to an urban population.

It is proposed that the GABS may be useful with regard to work with parents who have children born with Disorders of Sex Development in that it may provide the clinician with an idea of the degree of conservatism of the parent and form a basis for discussion with regard to future options for their child, should the latter decide to change gender at puberty. Parents in this predicament need to be able to explore gender issues so as to facilitate their offspring's development and later choices (Rebelo, Szabo & Pitcher, 2008).

The GABS may assist in the selection of senior managers. Research has pointed to the persistence of gender stereotyping among black and white South African men, (Boysenberry & Monk, 2010) particularly in male-dominated occupations (Martin & Barnard, 2013). The GABS does not possess items which tap directly into the attitudes of male respondents towards the managerial capacities of women. It is, nevertheless, able to provide an indication of the conservative or liberal direction of that respondent's gender ideology as a whole.

Premarital counseling might be enriched by the use of the GABS as it will assist with determining differences in role expectations. It will also provide information regarding each person's respective parenting philosophy: specifically the attitudes and beliefs each party holds with regard to the parenting of sons and daughters.

An expectation of the researcher was that high scores on the GABS would be directly associated with Secure Attachment. This was the case to some extent, given the liberal overall mean obtained on the GABS and the high number of securely attached respondents in the sample (80% of women and 66% of men). However, the findings indicated that matters were more complex than anticipated. Statistical results revealed no significant association between

attachment style in relation to a mother-figure and scores on the GABS. Respondents who obtained scores that were significantly higher than the already high mean, tended to have fearful-avoidant attachment styles in relation to their father-figures. In other words, the second part of the study thus revealed that individuals who are likely to have suffered emotional distress in relation to paternal figures (reporting fearful-avoidant attachments to them), obtained scores that were significantly more egalitarian than those of other respondents. It was considered that this consequence may have been due to the fact that most of them enjoyed secure attachments to maternal figures.

Given the focus on the importance of attachment to primary caregivers, who are usually mother figures in attachment theory, the finding that father figures have a significant role with regard to later gender attitudes and beliefs, albeit in this case a potentially negative one, was also unexpected.

As regards the influence of parental gender attitudes and beliefs, it was anticipated that parents views of gender status across the workplace and the home, either would or would not be shown to have an effect on respondents' gender attitudes and beliefs. Again, matters were more complex than expected as it was shown that parental inconsistency was a significant factor associated with raised GABS scores.

Androgynous individuals (who identify highly with traits of instrumentality and expressiveness) were revealed to have experienced relationships that were characterised by low avoidance in relation to both parental figures. These respondents also tended to obtain more liberal scores on the GABS.

In contrast, undifferentiated individuals (whose identification with traits of instrumentality and expressiveness is low) obtained significantly lower scores on the GABS. It was questioned whether these individuals with their high levels of repression (indicated by their low sense of personal agency and capacity to express themselves) were not best explained by Adorno et al (1950). In their case, it was hypothesized that severe parenting had not been so harsh as to evoke the high levels of anxiety and avoidance characterizing a fearful-avoidant attachment. It had,

however, facilitated an internationalization of their strict parents, thereby leading them to respond to the interpersonal world in a repressed and conservative fashion.

Concerning the influence of demographic factors on the GABS scores, it was found that the White group, female sex and individuals with a tertiary qualification all obtained more egalitarian or liberal scores. The conservatism of the middle-class men in the sample points to the persistence of a traditional gender schema in these respondents.

In contrast to findings from other areas of the globe (Dorius and Alwin, 2010), there was a positive correlation between increasing age and more liberal gender attitudes and beliefs. It was hypothesized that this may be due to women returning to work and study after their children have become more independent and becoming more sensitive to the importance of gender equity. As with the suspected parenting factors related to the development of undifferentiated individuals, further research is required into the significance of these factors.

Limitations of the study pertain to aspects of the research methods used. For example, one cannot be sure who completed the questionnaires that were distributed by the respective schools involved or the state of mind of respondents when they completed them. Other limitations are: the absence of race data from one of the samples; the skewing of the samples in favour of middle-class respondents, women, the middle-aged and individuals with a tertiary education; the relative absence of respondents from the Asian and Coloured groups; neglect of religion as a variable; and the foundation of the study on a prevalent categorical understanding of attachment.

It was suggested that directions for future research would be: to investigate the GABS in different contexts and settings; to take into account the influences of such variables as the impact of marriage and parenting, and different sexual orientations and identities. It was further advocated that the effects of different combinations of attachment styles adhered to by individuals also be studied.

Finally, the influence of both parental gender attitudes and beliefs and gendered parental behaviour needs to be explored.

In conclusion, the overall mean of 74.5 obtained for the sample as a whole, reflects a generally Liberal gender ideology in this population of mostly female, middle-aged, tertiary-educated respondents who reside in urban and suburban areas of Johannesburg. This provides a hopeful and positive contrast with data relating to violence against women (see for example, Cohen, 2015) and the persisting gender pay gap (Bosch, 2015).

GLOSSARY

- **Analysis of Variance**

Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) refers to a group of statistical models used to analyze the differences among group means to determine whether the means of several groups are equal. If they are equal, then they cannot be said to be separate in a meaningful way. Analyses of Variance are conceptually similar to two-sample t-tests, but less conservative (resulting in less Type 1 Errors i.e. false positives). A statistically significant result justifies the rejection of the null hypothesis that the findings are all the result of random sampling.

- **Attachment**

Attachment may be defined as the emotional bond between a child and his or her caregiver and it tends to be evidenced by the infant's proximity seeking behaviour to the primary caregiver, who is usually the mother (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

- **Attachment: Dismissive-Avoidant (Adult)**

People with low levels of anxiety and high levels of avoidance in relation to others with whom they are in a close relationship.

- **Attachment: Fearful-Avoidant (Adult)**

People with high levels of both anxiety and avoidance in relation to others with whom they are in a close relationship.

- **Attachment: Preoccupied (Adult)**

People with high levels of anxiety and low levels of avoidance in relation to others with whom they are in a close relationship.

- **Attachment: Secure (Adult)**

People with low levels of anxiety and low levels of avoidance in relation to others with whom they are in a close relationship.

- **Chi-Square Analysis**

This is a statistical method assessing the goodness of fit between a set of observed values and those expected theoretically.

- **Fisher LSD Post-Hoc Comparison of Means**

This Analysis of Variance test is constituted of a set of individual t-tests. Taking into account the sample sizes of the groups compared, it calculates the standard error of difference between the means of the groups. It then computes a t-ratio by dividing the difference between the various means by the standard error difference, computing also a P value and a confidence interval.

- **Gender**

The concept of 'gender' needs to be clarified: when speaking of gendered behaviour it is helpful to divide it into three aspects: sexual orientation, gender identity and gender-role behaviour.

- **Gender Attitudes**

Some theorists take the view that the strongest gender attitudes are formed during early childhood (Cunningham, 2001), an approach that is in keeping with the attachment-theory based hypotheses directing this research. Some theorists view gender attitudes as formed during teen years when offspring begin thinking about marriage and family (Kapinus, 2004).

- **Gender Identity**

By gender identity is meant an aspect of a person's sense of self whereby he or she identifies with aspects of gender behaviour that may be male, female, somewhere in between, both or neither. As Sadock and Sadock (2007, p 681) explain, it connotes those psychological aspects of behaviour which are related to masculinity and femininity.

- **Kruskal-Wallis**

The Kruskal-Wallis test is a non-parametric method used for comparing two or more independent samples of equal or different sizes. The parametric equivalent of the Kruskal-Wallis test is the one-way analysis of variance. If an assumption can be made that the distribution of all groups involved are identically shaped and scaled, the null hypothesis is that the median of all the groups are equal and the alternative hypothesis is that at least one population median of one group is different.

- **Levene's Test for the Homogeneity of Variances**

This is an inferential statistic used to assess the equality of variances for a variable calculated for two or more groups. It tests the null hypothesis that the variances of the population from which the different samples are drawn are equal. If the p-value obtained is less than the chosen significance level, the obtained differences in variances reflect actual variances in the population sampled and are unlikely to be the consequence of random sampling.

- **Liberal Gender Ideology**

The term 'Liberal' is used interchangeable with 'egalitarian' and 'progressive' to denote a perspective of gender status that views individuals as entitled to choose whatever gender-roles best suit them; that accepts that both sexes are equally capable of entering any occupation and entitled to equal remuneration for equal work; and that both sexes are to be viewed as occupying equal status in both the home and the workplace.

- **Taxometric Studies**

Taxometric research methods are used to distinguish between categorical and dimensional models of latent variables.

- **T-test**

T-tests are used to determine if two sets of data are significantly different from each other. This test is commonly applied with regard to data falling within a normal distribution. If the means of both data sets are equal, then it can be concluded that the groups are not different. If the means are not equal, then the results are not the result of random sampling and may be concluded to be an indication of a real difference in the groups.

- **Sexual Orientation**

This describes the object of a person's sexual impulses: heterosexual (opposite sex); homosexual (same sex); bisexual (both sexes) or asexual (a lack of attraction to any object) (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

- **Gender-Role Behaviour**

Gender-role behaviour (or sex-typing) refers to all that a person says or does to disclose him or herself as having the status of a boy or man, girl or woman respectively (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). It thus relates to the behaviours, attitudes, values and beliefs that a cultural group considers appropriate for its definitions of masculine, feminine, undifferentiated, cross-sexed or androgynous.

- **Sexual Orientation**

This describes the object of a person's sexual impulses: heterosexual (opposite sex); homosexual (same sex); bisexual (both sexes) or asexual (a lack of attraction to any object) (Sadock & Sadock, 2007).

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APPENDIX A

BEM SEX ROLE INVENTORY

Rate yourself on each item: 1 (never or almost never true), 2 (usually not true); 3 (sometimes but infrequently true); 4 (occasionally true); 5 (often true); 6 (usually true) to 7 (almost always true).

1. Defend my own beliefs

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Affectionate

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Conscientious

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Independent

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Moody

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Assertive

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Sensitive to needs of others

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Reliable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Strong personality

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Understanding

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Jealous

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Forceful

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Compassionate

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. Truthful

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. Have leadership abilities

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. Eager to soothe hurt feelings

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. Secretive

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. Willing to take risks

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. Warm

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

21. Adaptable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

22. Dominant

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. Tender

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. Conceited

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

25. Willing to take a stand

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

26. Love children

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

27.Tactful

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

28.Aggressive

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

29.Gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

30.Conventional

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

APPENDIX B:

RELATIONSHIP STRUCTURES QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following 9 questions about **your mother or a mother-like figure, who may not be your biological mother but a granny, aunt or sister etc**

(NOTE: responses vary from: strongly disagree, disagree, mildly disagree, uncertain, mildly agree, agree and strongly agree.)

1. It helps to turn to this person in times of need.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

2. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with this person.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

3. I talk things over with this person.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

4. I find it easy to depend on this person.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

5. I don't feel comfortable opening up to this person.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

6. I prefer not to show this person how I feel deep down.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

7. I often worry that this person doesn't really care for me.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

8. I'm afraid that this person may abandon me.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

9. I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

Please answer the following 10 questions about **your father or a father - like figure, who may not be your biological father but a grandfather, uncle or brother etc.**

1. It helps to turn to this person in times of need.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

2. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with this person.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

3. I talk things over with this person.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

4. I find it easy to depend on this person.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

5. I don't feel comfortable opening up to this person.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

6. I prefer not to show this person how I feel deep down.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

7. I often worry that this person doesn't really care for me.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

8. I'm afraid that this person may abandon me.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

9. I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her.

strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ strongly agree

APPENDIX C:

GENDER ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

SCALE Please give your age:.....

Are you male / female? (please circle)

Highest level of education

attained.....

Township/suburb/area of

residence.....

PLEASE CONTINUE TO CIRCLE YOUR CHOSEN RESPONSE:

1. Girls cry more easily than boys.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

2. If I were expecting a child, I would not care whether my baby was a boy or a girl.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. A man does not always have to be the head of the house.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

4. A woman's brain is as good as that of a man.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

5. Boys should be taught that it is wrong for a man to cry.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

6. Boys are more active than girls.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

7. There is nothing wrong with a boy who plays with toys for girls.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

8. Sisters should learn how to cook and clean for their brothers.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

9. A woman can learn to do anything a man can learn to do.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

10. Husbands and wives should make important decisions jointly.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

11. Girls are just as adventurous as boys.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

12. A woman should always be feminine.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

13. The sexes were created to be equal to each other.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

14. A boy should be brought up to enjoy boxing and wrestling.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

15. A wife should always obey her husband.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

16. Women are just as clever as men.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

17. It is all right for a girl to play with toys for boys.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

18. A woman should not be the first to ask a man on a date.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

19. It is important that a girl be dressed to look like a girl.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

20. Girls are less aggressive than boys.

Agree Strongly Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly Disagree

APPENDIX: D

FOUR QUESTIONS

When you were a child:

A. Did your mother or mother-figure believe it was demeaning for a husband to assist his wife with household chores such as cooking and cleaning?

(Yes / No) (please circle)

B. Did your mother or mother-figure believe it was possible, under conditions of social equality, for women to achieve success in the workplace?

(Yes / No) (please circle)

C. Did your father or father-figure believe it was demeaning for a husband to assist his wife with household chores such as cooking and cleaning?

(Yes / No) (please circle)

D. Did your father or father-figure believe it was possible, under conditions of social equality, for women to achieve success in the workplace?

(Yes/ No) (please circle)

APPENDIX: E

INFORMATION CONCERNING THE STUDY

Dear Parent,

My name is Ethelwyn Rebelo, I am a clinical psychologist conducting research into possible factors affecting an individual's choice of gender ideology in modern societies such as ours. This research is part of my PhD studies with the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand and I am inviting you to participate in my study.

A great deal of evidence indicates that the nature of our early relationships with our parents affects our later relationships. Other evidence suggests that gender-role behaviour affects gender ideology. I am interested in people's recollections of the quality of their relationships with their mother figures and father figures, those parents' attitudes and beliefs towards gender and their reported gender-role behaviours. In my research I intend to explore whether a relationship exists between the above factors and gender ideology.

The questionnaires are anonymous and all in all, the batch of three should not take you more than half-an-hour in total to complete. Completed questionnaires may be placed in the blank envelope provided and forwarded to the sealed postbox outside your child's class.

You are under no obligation to participate and non-participation will not prejudice you or your child. Completion of these questionnaires is voluntary.

This study has been approved by both the school and the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Respondents may be assured of anonymity and confidentiality as there will be no identifiers on the questionnaire. Once completed, the group data will be presented and published.

Please note that completion of these questionnaires indicates consent.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to e-mail or telephone me on the numbers below.

Sincerely,

Ethelwyn Rebelo

ethelwyn@live.co.za

Tel: 011-8851103

Cell: 0730621789

APPENDIX F

ATTITUDES TOWARDS WOMEN SCALE

(Spence, Helmreich & Stapp, 1973; Spence & Helmreich, 1978) – Short Version

Instructions: The Statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly.

1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than of a man.

2. (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.

2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry.

(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.

3. It is insulting to have the “obey” clause in the marriage service.

(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.

4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.

(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.

5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.

(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.

6. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.

7. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same place or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.

- 8.It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.
(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.
- 9.The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.
(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.
- 10.Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.
(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.
- 11.Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.
(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.
- 12.Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.
(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.
- 13.In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.
(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.
- 14.Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.
(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.
- 15.There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.
(A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, (D) disagree strongly.