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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ANDROGYNY AND IT S RELATIONSHIP WITH SELF-ESTEEM IN ADOLESCENCE

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts,
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ABSTRACT

The present study aimed to investigate the effect of sex-role identity on self-esteem in samples of adolescents. The subject population consisted of 208 white, English-speaking, middle-class adolescents. Subjects were divided into three age groups of 13 year olds, 15 year olds, and first year undergraduates. Within these three groups, four variables were investigated, namely, age, sex, sex-role identity, and self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured by means of the Tennessee Self Concept Scale, and sex-role identity by means of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. Two-way analyses of variance were utilized to compare the mean scores obtained by each of the four sex-role categories on self-esteem. Results were then compared by sex. In addition, chi-square contingency tests were utilized to test for the incidence of androgyny in the three age groups and to compare the incidence of androgyny in a South African sample with the incidence reported in an American sample. Using a significance level of .05 as the criterion for significance, significant results were produced for most of the hypotheses. Psychological androgyny was found to be positively associated with higher levels of self-esteem at all three ages. The results are discussed in terms of gender schema theory and psychoanalytic theory and suggestions made for clinical application. Limitations of the present research are discussed and suggestions made for further research.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work and has not been submitted for a degree at any other University.

R L Hornbrook

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work and has not been submitted for a degree at any other University.

K L Hornbrook

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INTRODUCTION

In 1936 Terman and Miles introduced an instrument designed to measure masculinity and femininity. Since then many measures have been constructed to try to quantitatively capture that illusive aspect of personality referred to as sex-role identity.

Important aspects of this field were reconceptualized when Bem introduced the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. Her new measure was radical in that it proposed a new dimension of sex-role identity, androgyny, and unlike previous conceptualizations of sex-role identity, she proposed and empirically established that the androgynous had better levels of mental health. Subsequently other measures were introduced but none has received the attention and replication of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory.

As well as constructing and introducing the measure, Bem has been a prolific writer and experimenter in the field. After her original paper in 1974 she published annually until 1979, sometimes alone and sometimes with a colleague. Thereafter, she published erratically but hers has been the most constant contribution to the study of sex-role identity.

For these and other reasons discussed in this dissertation, the Bem Sex-Role Inventory has been chosen as the measuring instrument to investigate the development of androgyny. The bulk of empirical investigations in this area employ the Bem Sex-Role Inventory and the current use of this measure

locates this study in a well researched field.

However, the intention of this study goes beyond an empirical contribution. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory was introduced without a theoretical base. Previous theoretical consideration, although slight, rested on social learning explanations and in 1983 Bem brought forward a socially and cognitively derived base which she called gender schema theory. This theory is discussed along with it's limitations and alternative theoretical explanations are presented. This was found to be necessary when sex-role identity was considered developmentally. In this way the present study hopes to challenge and expand the theoretical parameters of the field of sex-role identity research.

Although the field of research into psychological androgyny has increased it's data base since 1974, developmental issues regarding psychological androgyny have barely been addressed. Very few published studies to date have addressed younger adolescents. Those that have appear to focus on arbitrary ages and stages. Furthermore, the published studies appear to omit a systematic investigation of the developmental aspects of this personality variable. The present study may make a contribution to this neglected area of study.

Some issues emerging from the literature which will be discussed include: what role has internal development played in the construction of sex-role identity; what are the

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Some issues emerging from the literature which will be discussed include: what role has internal development played in the construction of sex-role identity; what are the

psychological profiles of the sex-role categories, particularly the polar extremes of the androgynous and the undifferentiated (an area which has received little attention); do sex-role categories have any heuristic value in understanding adolescent development; what is the relationship between sex-role identity and self-esteem, a referrent of psychological health; and if the quality of the internal life of the psychologically androgynous population is superior to that of others, what should be the focus of clinical attention given to those people who score in other categories.

Chapter 1 will present the history of masculinity/femininity research leading up to the introduction of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory. After aspects of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory are considered, issues that emerge from the empirical literature will be presented. These will focus on details of the construction of the measure as well as published empirical findings regarding the different sex-role categories and their relationship with other variables including self-esteem.

Chapter 2 is a short chapter presenting various aspects of self-esteem including it's relationship with the self concept and other relevant variables. This is intended to serve as a short conceptual link between the review of the empirical literature presented in Chapter 1 and the theoretical discussion presented in Chapter 3 along with relevant studies

regarding adolescence.

Chapter 3 will therefore discuss self-esteem and the development of sex-role identity from the psychoanalytic perspective and theoretical and conceptual links with other data specifically referring to the androgynous and the undifferentiated will be discussed.

Aims emerging from the above discussion will be presented in Chapter 4 along with the methods employed to meet these aims and hypotheses constructed to meet them. The statistical results generated by the investigation of these hypotheses will be presented in Chapter 5 and discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 7 will present the limitations of this study and suggestions regarding future research in the field and Chapter 8 will be used to present a summary and conclusion including a consideration of particular ways in which the data and theory may be applied in a clinical setting.

CHAPTER 1

PSYCHOLOGICAL ANDROGYNY

This chapter will review the empirical literature regarding psychological androgyny and other sex-role identity categories beginning with an historical overview of research and measuring instruments. However, it is important to note that no clear conceptual definition of the psychologically androgynous emerges from the literature. The core features seem to be those of situational flexibility such that the androgynous can behave in both masculine and feminine ways depending on what is situationally appropriate. Hopefully, as the correlates of androgyny are discussed throughout this dissertation, a clearer picture will emerge.

1.1 History of Empirical Research 1936 - 1974

Traditional sex-role research considered masculinity and femininity as bipolar clusters of attributes. Psychologically healthy individuals were considered to be those characterized by high sex-appropriate masculinity and femininity scores. The persistent assumption was that masculinity in males and femininity in females was functional for global adjustment (e.g. Mussen, 1961).

Terman and Miles (1936) were the first to construct an empirical measure addressed to the measurement of masculinity and femininity. They laid the conceptual ground rules of bipolarity which was adhered to by subsequent researchers and theorists. The concept of bipolarity was

based on a unidimensional construct of sex-role identity where, regardless of sex, a subject scored on a continuum between the poles of masculinity and femininity. A significant contribution to psychological health was assumed for males who scored in the masculine range and females who scored in the feminine range. Although the assumption was never substantiated, energetic research in the field continued.

Other traditional masculinity/femininity scales subsequently constructed and frequently used include: the MF Scale of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (1936) and it's revisions (Campbell, 1966, 1969 · the MF Scale of the MMPI (Hathaway and McKinley, 1943); Gough's Fe Scale (1952) and it's later incorporation into the CPI (1966); the Guilford Masculinity Scale (Guilford and Guilford, 1936) and later, the Guilford - Zimmerman Temperament Survey (1949).

Other techniques are also implicated and include adjective checklists (Berdie, 1959; Heilbrun, 1964) a word association test (Goodenough, 1946) a semantic differential technique (Reece, 1964) and projective techniques such as the Franck and Rosen Drawing Completion Test (Franck and Rosen, 1949).

While positivist researchers were continuing to construct measures which polarized aspects of the personality into masculine and feminine categories, some personality theorists conceived the healthy adult in quite different terms. Erikson, (1963), Jung (1956), and Maslow (1962), certainly

implied that the healthy adult of either sex incorporated characteristics generally designated as opposite-sex appropriate by social stereotypes, such as sensitivity in males and self-confidence in females.

However, it was not until the late 1960's and early 1970's that the writers in the field of sex-roles and sex differences began to question the underlying bipolarity of traditional sex-role measures. Heilbrun in 1968 suggested that rather than "pure" types, patterns involving combinations of masculinity and femininity might be anticipated. Rosencrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman and Broverman (1968) foresaw changing social patterns which may influence self and other perceptions with regard to sex-linked attributes. Under these circumstances perception and behaviour would be less rigid and individuals would be located on a general behavioural dimension applicable to both sexes.

Carlson in 1972 cautioned against the simplistic notion of a single bipolar continuum and recommended that the dualties inherent in human nature be viewed as interactional in nature and moving in some complex way towards integration. Block (1973) saw sexual identity as the manifestation of human qualities emerging out of a sense of self which, to date, society had labelled as unmanly or unwomanly. Ellis and Bentler (1973) indicated that the elimination of traditional, nonfunctional, sex-determined role standards would lead to an

expansion of the sex-role sphere which would enable the individual to enact "opposite-sex" roles in addition to "same- sex" roles.

Finally, Constantinople (1973) wrote a damning indictment of traditional masculinity/femininity (MF) measures. She showed how research in the preceding 37 years which had relied on traditional MF measures was a) based on a single dimension yielding one score rather than a profile of scores reflecting the complexity of the construct under examination; b) bifurcating a single dimension ranging from extreme masculinity at one end to extreme femininity at the other end making it impossible to accomodate the possibility of both masculinity and femininity being present at the same time; c) showing a tendency to define A as not-B and not-A as B, or logical reversal (i.e. defining masculinity as "not femininity" and femininity as "not masculinity").

These critiques were clearly symptomatic of theoretical dissatisfaction in the field of sex-role research specifically, in the conceptualization of that unit of the personality referring to sex-role identity. In this respect the empirical researchers lagged behind the personality theorists who posited a more holistic conception of sex-role identity which recognised the concurrent attributes of both masculinity and femininity.

However, with hindsight, it seems that these critics were laying the ground for the introduction of the empirical

enquiry into psychological androgyny which followed in 1974 with the development of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI). The BSRI seemed to show a development in the empirical field which could accomodate the integration of masculinity and femininity thus shifting the conceptualization of sex-role identity towards the synthesis of masculinity and femininity as conceptualized by the personality theorists.

1.2 The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI)

Part of Bem's rationale for constructing and publishing the BSRI was to provide an alternative to the previous MF measures which dichotomized masculinity and femininity and "obscured" androgyny. Another rationale, a theme which runs through subsequent articles, was to show that the sex-typed population, i.e. masculine males and feminine females, might be seriously behaviourally limited in their inflexible responses across differing situations.

This radical reconceptualization produced the Original Form of the BSRI as published by Bem in the Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1974. Bem's task was to develop a sex-role inventory that didn't automatically build in an inverse relationship between masculinity and femininity, that would measure the extent to which a person divorces him- or herself from those characteristics that might be considered more "appropriate" for the other sex, and to provide construct validation for the concept of androgyny.

In an effort to meet these aims she constructed the BSRI so

that it differed on two dimensions from the traditional MF measures; a) the BSRI has independent M and F Scales which are free to vary independently and b) items were *not* selected on the basis of differential endorsement by males and females as with previous traditional tests, but instead on the basis of sex-typed social desirability. (That is to say, those items included in the *Femininity Scale* were judged to be more desirable in American society for a woman than for a man and those items included in the Masculinity Scale were judged to be more desirable in American society for a man than for a woman.)

With the introduction of the *BSRI* and other new measures of sex-role classification (e.g. PRF ANDRO, Berzins, Welling and Wetter (1978) and the Personality Attributes Questionnaire, Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1974), research in the field of *sex-roles and sex differences* increased rapidly. At the same time controversy and dissension in the field increased. Some writers confirmed and others dismissed the reported findings generating energetic debate. Some focussed on *methodological* issues, others on empirical results, and a few have offerred theoretical critiques.These emergent issues will be discussed below.

1.3 Methodological Issues

Several methodological issues emerge from the literature.They can be grouped into a) those issues regarding the categorization of sex-role identities that make up the

typology; b) debate regarding the inclusion of items in the construction of the subscales; c) debate regarding scoring methods and statistical analyses.

1.3.1 Constuction of the Typology

As previously noted, the Original Form of the BSRI accommodated three distinct types of sex-role categories: masculinity, femininity and androgyny (Bem, 1974). Inclusion in a classification was determined by cut-off points using students t ratio and Bem (1974) included data on subjects who fall between these cut-off points. She included them in the normative sample and referred to these groups as "near feminine" and "near masculine". Her 1975 paper continues to use the three- part typology of masculinity, femininity and androgyny and the normative data including "near feminine" and "near masculine" is reproduced. In 1976 she focussed her research on the sex-typed (i.e. masculine males and feminine females) and her classifications made up a typology of androgyny, sex-typed and sex-reversed (i.e. masculine females and feminine males). The categories of "near feminine" and "near masculine" had been deleted without comment although the terms "sex-typed" and "sex-reversed" were to continue to gain currency in the literature.

Two-and-a-half years after her original paper in a paper dated 1976 and after a critique by Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975), Bem added another category, that of "undifferentiated".

Initially Bem construed the difference in an individual's endorsement of the M Scale and the F Scale as the measure of his or her sex-role identity i.e. when the differential was high, the person was sex-typed; when the diffferential was low, because items on both scales had been fairly equally endorsed, the person was "balanced" or androgynous. This produced the three-part catergorization of masculine, feminine and androgynous. After a critique and recommendation by Spence et al (1975), this categorization was stabilized to feminine, masculine, and androgynous, and undifferentiated. The basis of the critique was that there was fairly equal endorsement of the M Scale and the F Scale by those subjects who rated high on both the M and F Scales and those who rated low on both Scales. Two groups were therefore subsumed under the category "androgynous" but Spence et al (1975) found that there were highly significant differences in self-esteem between the High Masculine/High Feminine scorers and the Low Masculine/Low Feminine scorers. They therefore recommended that the High Masculine/ High Feminine scorers only be categorized androgynous and the Low Masculine/Low Feminine scorers be recategorized undifferentiated. In 1976 Bem accepted these recommendations and the typology since then has retained the four-categories: feminine, masculine, androgynous and undifferentiated while allowing for the sub-categories of sex-typed and sex- reversed.

1.3.2 Item Selection

The original form of the BSRI is made up of three scales: the

Masculinity scale; the Femininity scale; and the Social Desirability scale. From a total item pool of 200 positive personality characteristics, 100 undergraduates were asked to rate the desirability of these items according to how American society would evaluate the characteristics. If an item was judged to be significantly more desirable for a woman than for a man it qualified as feminine and if it was judged to be significantly more desirable for a man than a woman it qualified as masculine. Equal numbers of male and female judges were used and only positive characteristics were included in the M and F scales. Of the 76 items thus selected, 20 were finally selected for the M scale and 20 for the F scale. (Bem does not mention in her 1974 paper nor in the BSRI Manual (1981) who made this final selection nor what criteria were used.)

Twenty items also constituted the Social Desirability scale which was made up of items judged to be neutral with respect to sex stereotypes. They were selected to serve as filler items and as a measure of social desirability response set. This scale was made up of both positive (i.e."friendly") and negative (i.e. "moody", "jealous") items. However, since Walkup and Abbott (1978) questioned the reliability of the so-called neutrality of many of these items, Bem has instructed in the BSRI Manual that the social desirability items are not to be scored.

The Original Form was subjected to analysis from several

researchers using factor analysis. There was considerable agreement that a) masculinity and femininity are independent constructs rather than a single bipolar dimension and b) several items from both the M and F scales should be deleted since they load on the incorrect factor or do not load on any factor. (Berzins et al,1978, Gaudreau, 1977; Pedhazur and Tetenbaum,1979; Waters, Waters, and Pincus 1977). In reply to these critiques and in an effort to increase homogeneity and interpretability, Bem produced the Short Form of the BSRI. The Short Form has exactly half the number of items of the Original Form.

1.3.3 Scoring Methods and Statistical Analyses

Initially Bem (1974) conceived of the androgynous person as one whose masculinity and femininity was "balanced" or represented equally. This was determined by a low differential between the two scores. She therefore instructed that the difference be determined by the subtraction of means F-M by Student's t ratio (or 2.322) which she called the Androgyny ratio. Those with high positive scores were categorized feminine, those with high negative scores masculine, and the closer the score to zero the more the person was androgynous.

As long as Bem conceived of the androgynous individual as one who "balanced" equal qualities of masculinity and femininity, the difference equation would seem to be suitable. However, Strahan (1975) quickly came forward and among other critical

issues, questioned the use of the Androgyny ratio. He recommended instead the simple difference between F and M as a preferred scoring alternative.

By the late 1970's very few researchers chose the Androgyny ratio to score their data. Exceptions were Jones, Chernovetz, and Hanson (1978), Wiggins and Holzmuller (1978) and Pedersen and Bond (1985). Given that Pedersen and Bond were replicating Bem's earlier work in an effort to determine sex-role a decade later, they needed to maintain faith with her earlier classification and scoring methods on the grounds of comparability.

In 1977 *Bem accepted* the median-split scoring method recommended by Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975). The median of the M scale of each research sample was determined as was the median for the F scale. This produced four categories: androgynous (High M, High F) ; masculine (High M, Low F); feminine (High F, Low M); and undifferentiated (Low M, Low F). The median-split method of scoring and statistical analysis was accepted by Bem and others as an improvement on the Androgyny ratio method because it prevented the confounding of the androgynous and undifferentiated groups. As long as the androgynous were conceived of as "balanced" in their masculinity and femininity i.e. having a low differential between their M and F scores, there was the danger that the undifferentiated who also showed a low differential between their scores (while scoring low on both

scales) would be subsumed under the same category. However the median-split method of statistical analysis automatically shifted the conceptualization of androgyny from that of "balance" between M and F to that of having high M and high F.

The conceptualization of the androgynous focussed more sharply on their ability to draw on their high masculinity and high femininity according to appropriate situations. Bem was particularly keen to keep applying this hypothesis to her empirical studies.

It was left to others (Lubinski, Tellegen, and Butcher, 1981) to propose that if the androgynous were discriminatively drawing on fairly equally high components of masculinity and femininity, then a statistical analysis that reflected the interaction of these components was called for, namely, regression analysis. Although in 1977 Bem made a passing recommendation regarding this form of statistical analysis, she never used it herself.

The strength of regression analysis using M and F scale scores as continuous variables has much to recommend it because it avoids the information loss entailed in dichotomizing masculinity and femininity (Taylor and Hall, 1982). Blackman (1982) reviews methods for scoring androgyny as a continuous variable and states that regression analysis makes it possible to test hypotheses from Bem's (1974) "balance" model as well as those based on Spence, Helmreich

and Stapp's (1975) definition of androgyny based on high masculinity and femininity scores. Flaherty and Dusek (1980) found that multiple regression analysis utilized all the information in the BSRI scores and was therefore a more sensitive procedure for relating BSRI measures to dependent variables and Anderson (1986) chose multiple regression as the primary method of analysis on the grounds that a "dichotomous classification of an interval-level variable artificially reduces the power of all statistical tests " (p. 270).

However, widespread confusion surrounding the choice of statistical analysis is apparent in the androgyny literature and the most common method of choice remains the median-split. Spence and Helmreich (1979) acknowledge that the median-split method is a crude one and is not recommended if the task is to maximize predictive accuracy for individual subjects. Where the intention is to reveal in a simple and easily communicable form, the nature of the conjoint influence of M and F on the criterion variable and assuming that the method is properly used, they state unequivocably that "more complex analyses, including regression techniques, should provide no new conceptual information" (p.1035).

Blackman (1985) addressed the same issue from an empirical perspective and reached a similar conclusion. In a quasi meta-analysis she simulated 50 studies based on Bem's (1981) normative data yeilding 10,000 pairs of scores. The data were

scored in the various ways recommended by Bobko and Schwartz (1984); Bryan, Coleman and Ganong (1981); Heilbrun and Pitman (1979); Lubinski, Tellegen and Butcher (1981); and Strahan (1981) who all produced formulations yeilding continuous androgyny scores. She also scored the same data using the median-split method. After this thorough investigation she concluded that the two methods produced very similar scores and correlations between each of the continuous scoring methods and the median-split method were statistically significant. However, her data showed that the continuous scoring methods left between 64 per cent and 71 per cent of the variance unexplained. She therefore strongly cautions against replacing the median-split method with any of these continuous measures necessary for the application of a regression analysis.

Clearly, an investigation of the methodological issues reveals contoversy and dissenion leaving many issues unresolved. Given that to date hundreds of studies in an almost entirely empirical field have been published, why is there such a lack of clarity and agreement?

Bem initiated the conceptualization of psychological androgyny in 1974 and her focus was clearly an empirical one. It has since remained an almost entirely empirical conceptualization with inconsistent attention given to its theoretical base. This neglegence seems to underlie the controversy in the field.

1.4 Theoretical Issues

In a thoughtful but critical review of the BSRI, Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) accuse Bem of constructing a test which *is* atheoretical. " Instead of defining the domains of masculinity and femininity and attempting to construct measures consistent with the definitions, Bem has chosen a strictly empirical approach" (p.998) which was " destined to fail" (p.1012). They ask how the validity of a measure can be assessed when its constructs are undefined as evidenced by the lack of theoretical definitions of the constructs i.e. masculinity, femininity and androgyny (pp 997 - 1013). They also say she makes no clear statement about the aspects of stereotypes she's interested in and blurrs traits and behaviours (pp 997; 998).

Locksley and Colten (1979) also put forward a critique of the BSRI but from a more conceptual perspective. They question the feasibility of basing the measurement of individual differences in femininity and masculinity on broadly based cultural stereotypes about men and women.

It is understandable that Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) and Locksley and Colten (1979) should adopt such damning postures. Bem entered the field of androgyny with a powerful and excitingly new approach which challenged and expanded the last forty years of research in the field of sex roles. Whichever way this new approach is to develop, it is certain that it can only go forward. Her contribution ensures that it

can never go back to the polarized conceptions that were the basis of all traditional measures up until 1974. However, she weakened her contribution by omitting the *theoretical basis* at the outset.

In Bem's first paper she makes no theoretical statements except to make passing mention of Kagan (1964) and Kohlberg (1966), "the highly sex-typed individual is motivated to keep his behaviour consistent with an internalized sex-role standard..." (p.155). In her next publication in 1975 she repeats and expands this somewhat: "...the highly sex-typed person becomes motivated during the course of socialization - to keep his or her behaviour consistent with an internalized sex role standard; that is,he becomes motivated to maintain a self - image as masculine or feminine, a goal which he presumably accomplishes by suppressing any behaviour that might be considered undesirable or inappropriate for his sex. Similarly,... it is much less clear what developmental or motivational processes might be responsible for a person's ever coming to hold a self-concept which is *"sex reversed..."* (p. 634).

Because Bem omitted a theoretical discussion, the reader is forced into this type of pedantic exploration of her work in order to discern what her perspective might be. The above quotes from her first two papers give a glimmer of this perspective, namely, that sex-typing takes place through socialization. A sex-role standard is internalized , at the

cognitive level, and the person's behaviour is measured against an internalized self-image. In order to maintain internal equilibrium, the person is " motivated" to maintain the self-image and "suppress" conflict. The "sex-reversed" defy explanation at this point and a developmental understanding eludes her. However, indications from the above quotes seem to point towards a theory which implicates cognitive and motivational processes.

Bem replied to Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) and Locksley and Colten (1979) critiques immediately by saying, "The theory underlying the BSRI asserts that sex-typed individuals will conform to whatever definitions of femininity and masculinity the culture happens to provide. The theory deliberately does not specify the particular contents of these definitions, however, because these will vary from culture to culture" (Bem,1979: p. 1049). It was not until 1981, seven years after initiating the field, that Bem brought these disparate threads of theoretical thinking into a cohesive whole which she located in gender schema theory.

1.4.1 Gender Schema Theory

A schema is a cognitively constructed framework which, when subjectively overlaid on the external or internal world, selectively organizes disparate elements into related categories on the basis of some particular dimension. Gender schema is the cognitive process whereby information is processed on the basis of sex-linked associations which gives

rise to the phenomenon of sex-typing.

Idiosyncratic sex-linked associations are derived from the society's gender schema which, in the society as we know it, is based on a "ubiquitous insistence on the functional importance of the gender dichotomy".

As part of their development children learn that the dimensions of sex-related behaviour and attributes are differentially applicable to the two sexes. The motivation to process information by partitioning it in two equivalence classes on the basis of the gender schema is socially and biologically derived. Biological gender schema has priority over many other schemata because sex has evolved as a basic category of perception for our species. The social imperative enters children's awareness when the dichotomy between male and female is seen to be personally and intensively relevant to virtually every aspect of life (e.g. toys, clothing, occupations, hobbies and the domestic division of labour, etc.), and this experience transforms a passive network of associations into an active and readily available schema for interpreting reality. At a later stage this is further reinforced by the heterosexuality subschema where violation of the prescription to be exclusively heterosexual is socially stigmatized and so the individual is further motivated to be especially vigilant with regard to his or her sexual identity for fear of questioning the individual's adequacy as a man or a woman.

The main contention, then, of gender schema theory, according to Bem (1981) is that sex-typing, the process whereby society transmutes male and female into masculinity and femininity, is derived, in part, from gender-based schematic processing. She goes on to summarize the basic theoretical position by stating that because the schema concept is ill-defined in psychology, the theory does not explicitly commit itself with respect to the exact nature or structure of the gender schema except to say that it is the process of partitioning the world into two equivalance classes on the basis of the gender schema, not the contents of the equivalence classes that is central to the theory (Bem, 1981).

Developmentally this process of partitioning the world into two equivalence classes plays a role in the self-concept and self-esteem of the child. A summary of Bem's (1981;1983) theoretically derived relationship between gender schema and self-esteem follows.

1.4.2 The Theoretical Relationship Between Gender Schema and Self-Esteem

Considering the numerous empirical studies linking the relationship between sex role identity and levels of self-esteem, Bem gives scant theoretical attention to this dynamic. However, she firmly locates the relationship in gender schema theory and considers it developmentally (Bem, 1981, 1983).

In her analysis gender schema is an internalized motivational

factor which prompts the individual to regulate his or her behaviour so that it conforms to the culture's definitions of maleness and femaleness. Developmentally children learn the contents of the society's gender schema which is based on gender dichotomy. In learning the dichotomy between genderized attributes and behaviours, children learn which attributes are to be *linked with their own sex and* therefore with themselves. The process of learning schematically how to select those attributes and behaviours socially defined as applicable to his or her own sex contributes to organizing the diverse concepts of the child's self-concept. In the process the self-concept becomes sex-typed.

At the same time, the gender schema serves as an internalized yardstick which the child uses to evaluate his or her adequacy as a person in terms of preferences, attitudes, behaviours and personal attitudes. "The gender schema becomes a prescriptive standard, or guide (Kagan, 1964; Kohlberg,1966), and self-esteem becomes its hostage." (Bem, 1981, p.355).

Clearly, according to Bem, there is a central relationship between the internalized gender schema and how the individual evaluates him- or herself i.e. the level of self-esteem. However, the genderized conception of the self has become a much more powerful and judging component of the self capable of harnassing and controlling one's self-esteem. Self-esteem therefore becomes dependent on the internal nature of the

individual's gender schema. It is this internal relationship which motivates the regulation of external behaviour.

Although these theoretical issues are only addressed by Bem in 1981 (and largely repeated in 1983) and ignored by other writers, empirical researchers have done many studies which show a relationship between gender and self-esteem. Some of these studies and the resulting empirical results will now be discussed.

1.5 Results of Empirical Research on the Relationship Between Sex-Role Identity and Self-Esteem

Almost without exception empirical studies have shown that the undifferentiateds score in the lowest quadrant of all mental health measures. The exception is the study by Ray and Lovejoy (1984) who found the reverse of most other studies; that is to say, they found the undifferentiateds scored highest on self-esteem and assertiveness and lowest on neuroticism thereby rating classification as the group with the highest mental health. The androgyny group scored in the opposite direction i.e. low self-esteem and assertiveness and high neuroticism and were rated the group with "the worst" mental health (p.242).

However, their study, on closer inspection, sems to be so methodologically flawed as to warrant dismissal. The following points should be considered: the derivation of the items they used (in their new sex role measure) are unsourced i.e. the items "were produced" (p.240) ; no norm

group was used to substantiate the items therefore the construct validity must be seriously questioned; there was no factor analysis of the "produced" items (which would seem at a glance to be necessary. Consider M scale items such as "reserved", "quiet", "bashful", "seldom outspoken" and F scale items "nervous", "lacking in confidence", and "unwilling to take risks"); the mean was used as the cut-off point instead of the usual procedure of using the median; and they admit to an overall confounding with an acquiescent response set. However, perhaps their initiative in drawing up a new sex role measure based on an "antimasculine" and "antifeminine" basis instead of the usual approach of only addressing positive characteristics is worthy of note. They did this by itemizing the antonyms of other items. This reversal along with the methodological problems noted may have made a significant contribution to their inverted results.

It is noteworthy that in the field of sex role research writers have not been able to conceptually define the two seminal constructs under examination i.e. masculinity and femininity (Pedhazur and Tetenbaum, 1979). These constructs are empirically defined and it is therefore necessary to search the empirical literature in order to collate characteristics which have been found to correlate with the four sex role categories. As the above states, with the exception of Ray and Lovejoy, researchers have found that the undifferentiated score in the lowest quadrant of mental

health measures. Detailed findings pertaining to the undifferentiateds are presented below in the form of an overview.

1.5.1 Empirical Findings on the Correlates of an Undifferentiated Sex-Role Identity

The most common characteristic correlated with the undifferentiateds is that of low self-esteem. Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1975) in recommending the category of the undifferentiateds were the first to draw attention to this phenomenon. Their results have subsequently been replicated several times. Bem (1976) found the undifferentiateds had low self-esteem and suffered from some behavioural inhibition and Lamke (1982) found the undifferentiateds had the lowest self-esteem based on results from both the BSRI and the PAQ.

Flaherty and Dusek (1980) state that the undifferentiateds are at a psychological disadvantage in that they were found to have the lowest scores on adjustment, achievement, leadership, congeniality and sociability. They have a poor self-view in the instrumental and expressive roles and are therefore at a personal and interpersonal disadvantage.

Avery (1982) found the undifferentiateds were significantly more lonely in comparison with the androgynous, masculine and feminine. Small, Teagno and Selz (1980) confirmed that the undifferentiateds were more lonely. They also found that the undifferentiateds in comparison with the androgynous have a

poorer defensive structure and affective integration (i.e. emotionally labile) and were more deficient in object relations. They report more communication difficulties with their parents, have less endurance and goal directedness, and less effective planning for the future. On the other hand they found the undifferentiateds were not significantly depressed or anxious and therefore conclude that the undifferentiateds are not distressed by their adaptive deficiencies or else they are not aware of them. Their finding that the undifferentiateds experience more confusion concerning body boundaries and have difficulty handling changes occuring in their bodies is substantiated by Erdwins, Small and Gross (1980) who found the undifferentiateds feel significantly less positive about themselves in general and especially with regard to specific aspects such as their physical bodies. Erdwins et al (1980) also found the undifferentiateds consistently obtained the least positive scores on self-esteem with negative feelings of self-worth and feelings of inadequacy in social interactions. The undifferentiateds were found to be less well-adjusted on general maladjustment and neurosis scales where their responses more closely approximated the profiles of emotionally maladjusted individuals.

Wells (1980) reported that the undifferentiateds were associated with the poorest adjustment with the exception of high self-esteem of $\bar{X}$ age 16.1 year-old boys. This exceptional finding was not discussed.

Goodman and Kantor (1983) report that undifferentiated women experienced the most social anxiety of all groups. Undifferentiated men and women responded rigidly with a constricted style and felt the most fear of negative evaluation from others. This finding may help to explain the retarded responses of the undifferentiateds to schema-consistent and schema-inconsistent judgements about the self in Bem's (1981) experiment. This experiment was designed to test her gender schema theory. The experiment tested *how quickly members* of each sex role category responded to items that were gender schema-consistent and inconsistent. Whether the items were consistent or inconsistent, the undifferentiateds were the only group to give a very slow response, a phenomenon she leaves undiscussed. However, the retarded latency of response specific to this group seems to indicate a rigid and inflexible style where fear of negative evaluation is a component. One could also conclude that their consistently retarded responses are an indication of a confused and conflicted sense of *personal indentity*.

However, in an experiment designed to show the relationship between androgyny and ego development (where ego development is described as " involving an increased differentiation of one's perception of self, of behaviour, and of one's thoughts and feelings, as well as an increasing ability to integrate *these differential aspects* " (*p.71*), Schwartz and Robins (1987) failed to show any evidence, even a trend, of a

relationship between sex role categories and development scores. Although they consider general methodological explanations for their negative findings, they specificaly indict available sex-role measures for their lack of negative items which would then make separate positive and negative scores and give a more complete measure.

Their findings regarding the relationship between sex role categories and ego development is in contradiction to those discussed by Block (1973) who found that those who do not integrate their masculinity and femininity in their sex-roles show lower levels of maturity, lower levels of moral reasoning, and are more nonconforming and asocial.

The issue of negative or socially undesirable sex role components has been taken up by Kelly, Caudill, Hathorn and O'Brien (1977). In their study twenty characteristics were rated by judges of each sex as both undesirable and more likely to be exhibited by a male than a female (e.g. cruel, rude, arrogant, impatient, dictatorial and dogmatic). In the same way, twenty characteristics were rated as undesirable and more likely to be exhibited by a female (e.g. helpless, overly emotional, bitchy, indecisive, fickle and vulnerable). One hundred male and one hundred female undegraduates were asked to rate themselves on the BSRI interspersed with these undesirable characteristics.

Kelly et al's (1977) results show that undifferentiated males endorsed the most undesirable feminine and masculine

attributes actively describing themselves as using socially devalued attributes of each variety. It was apparent to the authors that undifferentiated males are likely to use strategies with a low apparent probability for successful social outcomes. However, the authors were surprised to find that these unequivocal results did not hold for the female sample. Among the female group they found no sex role differences on the undesirable feminine characteristics and an absence of differences between androgynous females and others.

In summary, a review of the empirical literature regarding findings that pertain to the status and characteristics correlated with those who score in the undifferentiated category, shows a large area of agreement.

Briefly, with the exception of Ray and Lovejoy's (1984) findings as discussed, results show unanimously that the undifferentiateds score lower than the other sex role categories on self-esteem. Following Bem's gender schema theory (1981,1983), the undifferentiateds low self-esteem is the result of behavioural difficulties and inadequacies and internal emotional conflict.Their failure to integrate their impoverished levels of masculinity and femininity leave the undifferentiateds the most disadvantaged of the four sex role categories.

Data extrapolated from the empirical literature regarding

femininity and feminine attributes will now be presented.

1.5.2 Empirical Findings on the Correlates of a Feminine Sex-Role Identity

Havinghurst (1972) listed the achievement of a socially approved sex role (masculine for males and feminine for females) as a necessary developmental task during adolescence. However, this contention has not been supported by data based on bipolar masculinity-femininity scales for either adolescent or adult females. Instead, femininity in females has been found to be associated with high anxiety (Biaggio and Nielson, 1976; Gall,1969) poor personal adjustment (Gump,1972; Heilbrun 1988) and low self-esteem (Smokler, 1975).

Bem (1976) also found that high femininity had negative effects and she speculated that the feminine woman takes no risks because she is unrealistically concerned with the possible negative consequences of her actions. She is assertive and does well only when negative consequences are virtually certain to result.

By examining the effects of success and failure Welch and Huston (1982) were able to support this speculation. They report that for feminine women success on a task did not affect later performance but failure had a retarding influence. Feminine women experience more frustration in the success condition than did androgynous women. They suggest that results showing the lower self-esteem of feminine women

is the crucial mediating variable in attributions of success and failure because feminine women have fewer ego-defenses to maintain, defend or enhance self-esteem in the face of failure.

This finding is congruent with those of Berzins, Welling and Wetter (1978) who reported that feminine-typed subjects were the most dependent and least defensive. In fact they state that "...whenever Masculinity and Femininity scores differ greatly, as in strongly sex-typed persons, one might as well speak of individual differences along a dimension ranging from extreme dependency to extreme autonomy "(p.133). They also found appreciable convergences between the PRF ANDRO and the BSRI suggesting that experimental studies using the ANDRO should yield results similar to, if not identical with, studies using the BSRI.

Anderson (1986) reports that femininity affects men more than women and that femininity amongst men particularly increased dependancy, while the feminine have also been found to score higher on congeniality/sociability factors (Flaherty and Dusek, 1980).

While these researchers report the negative influence of femininity, others present different results.

After conducting a meta-analysis of relevant reported studies, Taylor and Hall (1982) concluded that femininity tended to relate positively to achievement values and

negatively to dominance and aggression. Femininity related less positively than masculinity to healthy measures 79 per cent of the time but femininity was most consistently associated with self-esteem showing 90 per cent positive relationships and was least consistently associated with adjustment (59 per cent positive relationship). They found no support for the traditional model, as presented by Havinghurst (1972) and show that relationships of masculinity and femininity to psychological health are quite similar for men and women.

A study by Lamke (1982) also supported the relationship between self-esteem and femininity using a sample of adolescents ($\bar{X}$ age 16.4 years). She reports that femininity was predictive of self-esteem and that high levels of femininity in adolescent boys are related to high self-esteem. These results contradict those of Wells'(1980) self-esteem findings but they are congruent with her finding that high femininity was predictive of good social relations for adolescent males.

On the other hand, Masuad (1981) presents results that show that in his sample of adolescent males ($\bar{X}$ ages 14.17 and 17.08 years) high masculinity was associated with high self-esteem and high femininity, in the absen of high masculinity (i.e. feminine males rather than androgynous males), was associated with low self-esteem.

Nicholson and Antill (1981) reported that adolescent girls

from thirteen years to seventeen years showed an increase in femininity along with an increase in perceived problems. Problema[illegible] issues for them included adjustment to schoolwork, concerns about the future and concerns regarding health and physical development.

Two studies report on parental relationships as they pertain to the feminine and there is agreement that the mother plays an important role. Heilbrun (1968) found that among the better adjusted adolescent girls ($\bar{X}$ age 19.6 years) the predominant identification pattern for mediating a feminine sex-role was identification with the feminine mother. (He also reported that feminine girls tended to be socially sensitive but to lack goal orientation). While Kelly and Worell (1977) examined perceived child-rearing practices and found feminine-typed males reported high maternal warmth.

In summary, a review of the literature that reports on femininity shows equivocal results. Some writers have found that the presence of femininity is predictive of high self-esteem (Lamke, 1982 ; Taylor and Hall, 1982) while most, including those who have used traditional bipolar measures, have found that femininity is associated with low self-esteem (Bem, 1976 ; Massad, 1981 ; Welch and Huston, 1982). These findings are most often discussed in a social context where self-esteem seemed to reflect, in part, the dominant masculine values of Western-type cultures where psychological difficulties may occur when there is reduced

opportunity to engage in behaviour that reflects these values.

1.5.3 Empirical Findings on the Correlates of a Masculine Sex-Role Identity

High masculinity in males has been correlated with better psychological adjustment during adolescence (Mussen, 1961) but it has been correlated during adulthood with high anxiety, low neuroticism and low self-acceptance (Harford, Willis, and Deabler, 1967 ; Mussen, 1962). Masculinity in girls has been correlated with greater intellectual development but masculinity in boys has been associated with lower overall intelligence, lower spatial ability and lower creativity (Macoby, 1966).

However, a much larger body of research shows masculinity to be positively related to adjustment and psychological health. In comparison with femininity which is often correlated with dependence, masculininity has been shown to be associated with independence. Masculine-typed persons have been found to be not only more independent but also more defensive (Berzins et al, 1978) and more individualistic and intolerant of ambiguity (Anderson, 1986). Independence or defensiveness can also be assumed from Goodman and Kantor's (1983) findings that masculine men and women reported the least concern regarding the loss of social approval and on receiving negative evaluations from others.

Masculinity has also been associated with personal

flexibility and adjustment and has been found to have a more potent positive effect on psychological health by many researchers (Antill and Cunningham, 1979 ; Bernard, 1980 ; Berzins et al, 1978 ; Hall and Halberstadt, 1980 ; Hoffman and Fidell, 1979 ; Jones et al, 1978 ; Kelly and Worell, 1977; Kenworthy, 1979 ; Locksley and Colten 1979 ; Silvern and Ryan, 1979 ; Spence et al, 1975). A meta-analysis by Bassoff and Glass (1982) confirmed this from the data collected from twenty-six studies examining the relationship between sex roles and mental health. Results indicated a strong positive association between masculinity and mental health.

Specifically, higher masculinity has been significantly associated with lower anxiety and lower levels of depression (Baucom, 1983 ; Jordan-Viola, Fassberg, and Viola, 1976 ; Payne and Futterman, 1983) and masculine subjects score higher on achievemnt/leadership factors (Flaherty and Dusek, 1980).

High masculine women have a particular profile. Tyer and Erdwins (1978) report that most women in male-dominated professions (41 per cent) such as biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics and business administration, were categorised as masculine. While Baucom (1983) reported that high masculine women were more likely to choose to be in control of team problem-solving.

However, in those studies that examine the relationship

between masculinity and self-esteem there is full agreement that high masculinity is associated with higher self-esteem as detailed by Whitley (1983) in his meta-analysis of thirty-five studies investigating the relationship between sex role orientation and self-esteem. (See also Baucom, 1983 ; Kelly and Worell, 1977 ; Payne and Futterman, 1983).

In a study of adolescents (age range 15 - 18 years, $\bar{X}$ of 16.4 years), Lamke's (1982) most consistent finding occurred for females in that masculinity was predictive of self-esteem across three different measures of sex role orientation (the original BSRI, the Short BSRI and the Short PAQ). In another study of adolescents (age range 12 - 15 years, $\bar{X}$ of 13.7 years), she found that among adolescent males masculinity was positively related to self-esteem and femininity was negatively but not significantly related to self - esteem. However, only masculinity was a significant predictor of self-esteem for both males and females. Massad's (1981) study also reveals that among adolescent males (aged 14.17 years and 17.08 years) high masculinity was associated with high self-esteem and masculine males have a higher self-esteem than feminine males.

Some of these positive qualities are off-set by Bem's (1975 , 1976) findings which show that masculine men displayed independence but showed a behavioural deficit in playfulness as well as scoring low on nurturance.

Finally, Heilbrun (1968) offered the contribution that

masculinity in the group of better adjusted adolescent girls ($\bar{x}$ age of 19.6 years) was primarily associated with *masculine father identity*.

In summary, while the literature shows many positive characteristics associated with masculinity including consistently higher levels of self-esteem, it seems that a certain defensiveness precludes spontaneity for those who are categorized masculine.

1.5.4 Empirical Findings on the Correlates of an Androgynous Sex-Role Identity

Locksley and Colten (1979) dismiss the concept of androgyny as being "arbitrary" and Taylor and Hall (1982) refer to it as a "reified umbrella term". According to Taylor and Hall (1982) a more useful conception would be to delineate those who *avoid* a sex-typed self-definition and would therefore constitute a distinctive mode of psychological functioning with positive consequences. While these authors made a valuable critical contribution to the field of androgyny research, this prescription, if followed, would be retrogressive. Clearly, they would be taking research back to Bem's original conception which had the inherent disadvantage of confounding the androgynous and the undiffentiateds i.e. two categories who avoid self-definition. However, Taylor and Hall concluded that it was the masculine component of androgyny that was responsible for the high levels of self-esteem *found among the androgynous* rather than an

interactive effect. Whitley's (1983) review also concluded that masculinity explained the greatest variance in self-esteem, though he also reported moderate support for an interaction of high masculinity and high femininity on higher self-esteem.

Given the findings of Pederson and Bond (1983), it seems to be important to gain an understanding of the androgynous. Pederson and Bond (1983) replicated Bem's 1974 study a decade later with a view to monitoring changes. They found that over that period of time both males and females had become more androgynous (i.e. scored significantly higher on both the M scale and the F scale) than the subjects did in in 1974. However, a review of empirical studies regarding the androgynous again reveals equivocal results.

For instance, Anderson (1986) found androgynous men were less flexible and more conformist and androgynous women had no advantage in terms of flexibility and individualism. In agreement with Taylor and Hall (1982) and Whitley (1983), she presumed that the advantage of androgyny was in reality an advantage of masculinity.

However, on the issue of flexibility, Flahery and Dusek (1980) present results which contradict those presented above. They found that the position that greater adjustment is a function of greater androgynous masculine/feminine integration appeared to be restricted to females. The androgynous scored higher on an achievement/leadership factor

and also higher on a congeniality/sociability factor. Their results strongly support those of Bem (1975), O'Connor, Mann, and Bardwick (1978) and Spence et al (1975) who argue that an androgynous orientation leads to the possibility of greater behavioural flexibility and adaptation. The androgynous view themselves as adjusted and in a harmonious balance with their environment and also see themselves positively in instrumental and expressive aspects of the self. This positive conception of the self is reported by O'connor et al (1978) and Bem (1977) in terms which state that the androgynous have the highest levels of self-esteem.

One perspective on how this may be achieved is presented by Kelly et al (1977) who report that androgynous males, who accept positive masculine and positive feminine self-attributes, simultaneously reject undesirable sex stereotyped characteristics. Therefore, they conclude, androgynous males are likely to use effective socially valued behaviour which will increase their self-esteem.

From a different perspective Welch and Huston (1982) reach a similar conclusion. For androgynous women success facilitated subsequent problem-solving behaviour whereas failure had no effect. Androgynous women made significantly higher attributions to ability after success than after failure. They externalized failure by attributing it to task difficulty and internalized success by attributing it to ability, an attribution profile referred to as "egotistical"

which is likely to occur when the need to maintain self-esteem is aroused. Success enhanced their self-esteem and they defended their self-esteem by blaming failure on external factors. This may explain why androgynous women report experiencing less social avoidance and distress Goodman and Kantor (1983) and have been found to be the most socially poised and intellectually oriented (Berzins, Welling and Wetter, 1978). However, this data could be seen to contradict results which show a positive correlation between androgyny and anxiety [illegible] versity and working women (Jordan-Viola, Fassberg [illegible] 1976).

Findings for adolescents (age range 17-19 years, $\bar{X}$ of 18.3 years) reveal androgynous males and females had a more flexible defensive structure, more effective coping skills, satisfactory affective integration, better defined self-conceptions, greater empathy for others and more involvement in making future plans (Small, Teagno and Seiz, 1980). Another study ($\bar{X}$ age of 14.6 years) found they were also significantly less lonely and that androgynous orientation is most indicative of positive adjustment (Avery, 1982), while further evidence shows that among females, androgyny is associated with high peer acceptance (Massad, 1981).

Studies focussing on self-esteem show that among adolescents (age range 12-15 years, $\bar{X}$ of 13.7 years), androgynous and masculine females had higher self-esteem than feminine and

undifferentiated subjects (Lamke, 1982b). Massad (1981) largely predicted this with his finding that adolescent androgynous females (aged 14.17 and 17.08 years) scored significantly higher on self-esteem than did masculine or feminine females.

In their examination of perceived child-rearing practices, Kelly and Worrel (1977) found that among males perceived parental warmth was saliently related to sex role classification. Androgynous males reported elevated affection from both parents. These findings suggest that movement away from traditional masculine typing is associated with an increase in reported warmth of either father or mother. For females, the most predictive parental correlates of androgynous and masculine typing were reports of intellectual interactions with the daughter by both parents and encouragement of academic achievement. Heilbrun (1968) presented slightly different conclusions when he studied girls ($\bar{X}$ age 19.6 years) who were rated by peers as being both instrumental and expressive (i.e. androgynous). He found that they displayed the type of masculinity more likely mediated by identification with a masculine father rather than a masculine mother.

In summary, conflicting findings are evident in the empirical literature with regard to the androgynous. While most researchers found positive internal constellations of qualities or external behavioural characteristics were

indicative of androgynous subjects, others have found negative characteristics associated with the androgynous, and still others dismiss the concept entirely.

With regard to the relationship between androgyny and highest levels of self-esteem there is general agreement. However, some report that this is explained by the masculine component only as it functions in the androgynous and others found that it can be explained by levels of high masculinity and high femininity.

1.6 Summary

Until 1974 bipolar measures of sex-role identity which dichotomized masculinity and femininity had been used. With the introduction of the BSRI in 1974 a more complex assessment of sex-role identity was introduced. It was an empirical measure which initially lacked a theoretical base and as such spawned many empirical investigations. The BSRI measured traits derived from social stereotypes and after review by several authors was amended to the Short Form. Some researchers have found that the different measures classify subjects into different sex-role categories depending on the inventory used (Kally, Furman, and Young, 1978) while others have found appreciable convergence between the available measures.

Empirical findings regarding the undifferentiated, feminine, masculine, and androgynous were reviewed and it was shown that the undifferentiateds have been found, almost without

exception, to have the lowest self-esteem and to be the group who is most personally and interpersonally disadvantaged. Reports on the feminine group reveal dependency needs, anxiety, and fear of success although some findings show satisfactory levels of self-esteem and high levels of self-esteem correlating with the F Scale have been shown to contribute to high levels of self-esteem in the androgynous. Masculine subjects scored high on self-esteem and were found to be more autonomous and independent while the androgynous most often scored in the highest quadrant of self-esteem.

According to Bem's (1981, 1983) gender schema-theory, children learn that society dichotomizes sex-roles and they internalize this information activating a network of associations which constitutes a gender schema and contributes to the construction of the self-concept. Sex-role identity is part of the conceptualization of the self and the internalized gender schema mediates levels of self-esteem. Levels of self-esteem therefore depend on sex-role identity.

However, Bem presents an internal contradiction with regard to her conceptualization of androgyny. In the BSRI Manual (1981) she states "...the concept of psychological androgyny, a term that denotes the integration of femininity and masculinity within a single individual" (p. 4). At the same time, she concludes her paper on gender schema theory with, "...the concept of androgyny is problematic from the perspective of gender schema theory because it is based on

the presupposition that there is a feminine and masculine within us all, that is, that "femininity" and "masculinity" have an independent and palpable reality and are not cognitive constructs derived from gender-schematic processing" (p.616) (1983). Because it seems, by Bem's admission, that gender schema theory cannot explain the androgynous, other theoretical explanations will be investigated in Chapter 3.

In comparision with studies of college-age subjects and adults, there are few devoted to younger adolescents. Those that deal with adolescents tend to examine broad age groups or discrete and arbitrary age groups. None systematically examines sequential age groups as an aid to understanding the development of sex-role identity. Therefore, one aim of this dissertation will be to increase empirical findings regarding younger adolescents and their development by examining the distribution and incidence of sex-role identity in sequential age groups where self- esteem will be the dependent variable.

The next chapter will therefore examine and discuss some issues relating to self-esteem.

CHAPTER 2

SELF-ESTEEM

According to Coopersmith (1986),

> The term "self-esteem" refers to the evaluation a person makes and customarily maintains with regard to him- or herself. "Self-esteem" expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval and indicates the extent to which a person believes him- or *herself capable, significant, successful,* and worthy. In short, a person's self-esteem is a judgement of worthiness that is expressed by the attitudes he or she holds towards the self. (p.5)

Self-esteem, then, is based on evaluation, attitude, and judgement and is therefore seen as a product of belief or cognition. It is a self-appraisal that is relatively resistant to change because of the individual's need for behavioural consistency (Lecky, 1945). Although self-esteem can be seen as a fairly consistent cognition, it is implausible to assume that developmentally an infant is born with this component and ability. In order to locate self-esteem in the context of the personality, it is necessary to trace its development. Because self-esteem can be evaluated as a concrete attribute of personality observable in a behavioural form, it can be located, according to Maddi (1980), on the periphery of personality. However, tracing its emergence leads etiologically to the core of the personality; that is to say, in developmental terms, self-esteem is the outcome of the development of the self and the self-concept.

2.1 The Development of the Self and the Self-Concept

In the empirical literature the construct of the self-concept is much more commonly addressed because the self is an essential part of the personality which is largely beyond awareness. The absolute, true, or actual self is regarded as residing in the unconscious whereas the articulated conception of the self is a product of consciousness. Tracing the development of the self therefore necessitates gleaning an understanding from personality theorists without the benefit of empirical substantiation. However, personality theorists who concern themselves with infantile development have reached consensus after nearly half a century of clinical practice and observation.

Psychoanalytic, object relations, and ego psychologists agree that differentiation of the self is one of the earliest tasks of the infant (Berne, 1964; Bowlby, 1969; Erikson, 1950; Fairbairn, 1954; Freud, 1925; Kernberg, 1976; Kohut, 1971; Murray, 1938). The process of differentiating the self develops as a function of the infants capacity to distinguish self from not-self, "me" from "not-me" and the consolidation of this capacity is perhaps the major achievement of childhood development.

In the early world of the infant, experiences of thoughts, feelings, events, images, and perceptions are continuous. Boundaries have not yet been drawn to distinguish the child's internal from external environment; nor has order or

structure been imposed on either. The external environment, for most children consisting primarily of the mother during this early period, is experienced as an extension of the child. It is only through the assimilation of cumulative experiences of pleasure and pain, of gratification and disappointment, that the child slowly learns to distinguish between self and other, between image and percept, between subject and object. The growing ability to distinguish his or her self from the environment allows for the recognition of an external reality to which the child can relate, at first magically, and ultimately objectively. In the course of time, the inanimate becomes released from the animate, objects from their perspective, and events from wishes. The child becomes capable of objective thought and perception. The process by which this development occurs proceeds through sequential and characteristic stages of cognitive growth, stages that have been extensively documented and described by Piaget (1972) and his co-workers.

The background of this development is fraught with intense emotional conflict. The primary object that the infant carves out of the matrix of his/her experiences is an emotional "object", namely, the mother. Along with the emergence of the mother as a separate being comes the child's painful recognition of his/her own separate existence. Anxiety is unleashed, and longing is born. The child discovers dependency and need and a primitive form of love. The process of emotional delineation proceeds in fits and starts,

propelled and inhibited by conflicting impulses, desires, and fears. The parallel process of cognitive delineation must be negotiated against the background of these conflicts. As development proceeds, cognitive abilities increase and become more sophisticated and emotional defenses are formulated to repress these early experiences and desires into the unconscious. Thus the essential nature of the self remains largely inaccessible locked away in the nether regions of the unconscious while the conscious mind is left relatively conflict-free with the on-going ability to engage in ego development and cognitive growth.

A consequence of this development and growth is an increasing ability to conceptualize the self or that part of the self that is made available for conscious attention. The conscious self can accommodate what one is physiologically, socially, and emotionally. The term self-concept refers to the individual's phenomenological perception of this totality.

2.2 The Development of Self-Esteem

Esteem is derived from two main sources, oneself and interaction with other people. Developmentally this emerges at about the age of two years particularly in relationship with the mother. The bridge between cognitive development and ego development in the young child is, almost certainly, language which allows the child to formulate and conceptualize. Increasing competence with language facilitates conceptions of the self and interactions with

others.External responses from the child's rudimentary social world, largely based in the family with special significance attached to the mother, provide feedback for the child enabling an evaluation of the self, or self-esteem. The social context for the development of self-esteem from the ages of two until about five is the family, then at school-age the school environment assumes *increasing* importance. By the time the developmental stage of adolescence is under negotiation, the external reference points have shifted to peer-group interactions and peers become the predominant source of self-evaluation and self-esteem with the family playing a less important role (Lowe, 1972).

Combs and Snygg (1959) propose a basic motivation to maintain and enhance the phenomenal self. Self-esteem is strongly dependent on self-enhancement, because that which is self-enhancing increases self-esteem. Self-esteem is also related to the enhancement of the self-concept in that revisions of the self-concept that entail the risk of lowered self-esteem are threatening and therefore resisted. This phenomenon contributes to that behavioural stage often referred to as the "terrible two year olds" where the *internal need to act out independence and autonomy*, and therefore increase self-esteem, is met with parentally imposed limits.

Humanist psychologists have assigned a position of central

importance to self-esteem including Maslow (1954, 1959) and Rogers (1951, 1961). In Maslow's hierarchy of needs, a positive level of self-esteem is the final prerequisite for self-actualization. That is to say, once self-esteem is achieved, the individual is free to concentrate on actualized potential.

According to Fitts et al (1971), self-esteem is the outcome of the interaction of three subselves of the self-concept: the Identity Self, the Behavioural Self, and the Judging Self. The Identity Self is seen as the most basic aspect of the self-concept derived from the labels and symbols applied to the individual by him- or herself in answer to "Who am I?". The elements of identity will at times influence perception of the phenomenal world through responses and interactions. However, the primary source of material for the Identity Self is seen as the Behavioural Self. The experiences of behaviour in the world has internal and external consequences which impact on the Identity Self. External responses of reinforcement or criticism are internalized and contribute to the construction of a sense of identity. The Judging Self mediates between the Identity Self and the Behavioural Self and functions as an evaluator.

The relationship between self-esteem and sex-role or gender identity are therefore linked in the following way: the developing child learns that he or she is male or female and therefore enacts masculine or feminine roles as learned from

its family and society. Responses to the sex-role behaviour are internalized and contribute towards a constructed identity. The Judging Self mediates between the sense of self and the environment. Thus the child's sense of worth and self-esteem is dependent, in part, on an inner sex-role identity behaviourally enacted in a social environment.

2.3 Empirical Issues Regarding Self-Esteem and the Self-Concept

In Demo's (1985) discussion of self-esteem and self-esteem measures he distinguishes three aspects of the construct: experienced self-esteem, presented self-esteem, and social self-esteem. Experienced self-esteem is the private and subjectively experienced dimension of self-esteem often unavailable to others and generally tapped by self-report measures. Presented self-esteem is a self-evaluation *projected to others more or less intentionally* and social self-esteem represents affective states of self-consciousness and shyness in social situations.

Although self-esteem is a central focus of research examining human personality, it's conceptualization and operationalization *has been haphazard and inconclusive* such that there is little consensus on a definition. While Demo makes a case for self-esteem as a fluctuating self-attitude that resembles a base-line self-evaluation with situational fluctuations on certain days and in particular situations,

most define the construct as a global positive or negative self-assessment. According to this view, self-esteem is a personality trait characterized by considerable stability from one situation to the next, even from year to year (Coopersmith, 1967; Rosenberg, 1965, 1979).

It is possible that self-esteem is a stable component of adult personality. However, given that self-esteem is a subset of the self-concept, research shows that developmentally the self-concept shows growth and fluctuations in late childhood and adolescence.

Montemayor and Eisen (1977) in a study of the development of self-conceptions found that changes from childhood concrete conceptions of self to adolescent abstract conceptions of self did not take place in a simple linear form. Their findings suggest that curvilinear changes occur and that self-concept development is not an additive process. That is to say, while some adolescents may show evidence of concrete forms of cognition, children rarely have access to abstract thought. Adolescents do not simply add more complex and abstract ideas about themselves to their earlier childish, concrete conceptions. They conceive of themselves quite differently in that earlier notions either drop out or are integrated into a more complex picture. However, Engel's (1959) longitudinal study of the adolescent self-concept over a two year period showed that a relative stability exists at this stage.

Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of self-esteem and it's relationship with the self concept. Self-esteem emerges in the early years of life particularly from the child's relationship with its mother and while it is a fluctuating variable, it also has relative stability. Experienced self-esteem, presented self-esteem, and social self-esteem are discussed and linked to the Judging Self, the Identity Self, and the Behavioural Self of the TSCS along with some *emergent elements of sex-role identity.*

It is clear from the empirical literature that experienced self-esteem emerging from a developing self-concept is a developmental phase which continues to be *negotiated in* adolescence. It is preceded and sometimes accompanied by important cognitive upheavals which reveal fluctuations within a context of relative stability.

These and other developmental aspects of adolescence will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

ADOLESCENCE

The etiology and early developmental processes relating to the emergence of self-esteem in the child have already been discussed in Chapter 2. In order to further understand the role of self-esteem in the developing person it is necessary to *continue the developmental* examination of this construct. The following discussion is an outline of the development of self-esteem and it's relationship with a developing sexual identity in the preadolescent and adolescent child. In order to provide continuity with material presented in Chapter 2, the following will rely on perspectives relating to psychoanalytic, object relations and psychodynamic theories drawn from the seminal work of Peter Blos (1962) and others (Ackerman, 1962; Freud, 1958; Jacobson, 1961; Spiegel, 1961).

The adolescent process which molds the personality in decisive and final ways can only be understood in terms of its antecedent history, the innate maturational push, and goal-oriented strivings, because these factors, in mutual interaction, effect the final personality formation. However, the uniqueness and specificity of adolescent development is determined by preceding psychological organizations and by individual experiences during the prelatency years.

The latency period is regarded as that period of childhood between the ages of 5 and 10 years, a time of the greatest preparatory importance for adolescence. At this time workable

and reliable methods for the maintenance of self-esteem are evolved. These methods are reality testing and defensive operations as mediated by the superego, an agency of control, whose functions are to inhibit and regulate self-esteem (or narcissistic balance).

During the latency and preadolescent years psychic energy is channeled into the developing superego and defensive patterns which serve to protect the ego. At this point the superego is in the ascendency and controls and maintains internalized parental objects. Through the stages of infancy, childhood, latency, and preadolescence, parental relationships are predominant and the nature and quality of relationship is introjected by the child so that the superego houses parental expectations, values and standards as well as the developing self-image. One source of psychic energy is the reservoir of narcissism (or self-esteem) where the child is dependent on the parents as a source of self-worth. When "good enough mothering" (Winnicott 1971) allows the child to introject good parental objects, these will be housed in the superego, but the narcissistic supply needs replenishment for as long as the child is dependent on these external sources. There should be an optimal balance of narcissism within the child to allow phase-adequate internal growth throughout the developmental stages.

Most theorists concur that the defensive patterns and superego must change during the adolescent stages to allow

for adult sexual and social roles and that, to accomodate these changes, the ego assumes increasing control of the functions that were previously in the province of the superego. The ego ideal increasingly replaces the superego as the ego's guide and allows the ego to grow free of undue pressure from both the id and the archaic superego. *Narcissism begins to reside in the ego and is made up of* previously internalized parental introjects as well as external supplies generated from the environment often in the form of personal relationships. The process by which these ego changes takes place is a function of the preadolescent organization.

Self-esteem is maintained, then, by reality testing which assumes an importance through the development of social competence along with new physical and mental capabilities. It is also maintained by the development of defenses which make possible increased tension tolerance; an enlargement of the conflict-free zone of the ego; more stable and less ambivalent object relations; and an organized pursuit of learning.

Most writers and researchers regard the developmental stage between the ages of 12 and 20 as a unitary one, i.e. adolescence. This is particularly noticeable in the empirical literature where researchers seem to use arbitrary samples of adolescents, for example, comparing 14 year olds and 17 year olds or using a sample of undergraduate students (i.e. late

adolescents) and generalizing these results to the wider population. Psychoanalytic and object relations theorists beginning with Helene Deutsch (1944) seem to be alone in refining the stage of adolescence and breaking it down into developmenatal sequences. Beginning with puberty, these sequences are referred to as "early adolescence", "adolescence proper", and "late adolescence".

The developmental stage following latency is referred to as "preadolescence" located between the ages of 11 and 13 years. At this time there is a series of repeated attempts to separate from primary love objects (i.e. the parents). These attempts are accompanied by an upsurge of close idealizing friendships with same-sex friends. This stage is also characterized by a low point in sustained interests and creativity and a clumsy groping for new values.
Early adolescence begins at the age of about 13 years

3.1 Early Adolescence

The distinctive feature of early adolescence is the decathexis of oedipal incestuous love objects. The superego, which had been in the ascendancy during the latency period, decreases in efficiency. Therefore the ego is left weak, isolated, and inadequate. This is experienced as a void, an inner turmoil. The weakening of the superego is a function of it's constituent origin, namely, the internalization of the parent at the settlement of the oedipal conflict. This decathexis (or weakening of the superego) encompasses

parental object representations and their internalized moral equivalents. However, values, standards, and morals along with their attendent regulation of self-value or self-esteem have become ego-syntonic (operating partly within the ego) and therefore have an appreciable independence from parental authority. In this way the components of self-esteem and emergent sexual identity formations are protected and retained in the ego and are not lost in the alienation of the ego from the superego.

3.2 Adolescence Proper

This stage is characterized by the final renunciation of the incestuous love object (*i.e. the parent*) and a *decisive* turn toward heterosexuality. Typical defenses at this time are intellectualization and asceticism and there is a noticeable tendency toward inner experience and self-discovery, hence the religious experience and the discovery of beauty. These aspects are a form of sublimation of the child's love for the idealized parent and a result of the final renunciation of early love objects.

According to Blos (1962), The stages of adolescence are unified by the tasks of object relinquishment and object finding. That is to say, by the definitive turn toward separation from the family and the gradual hierarchical arrangement of drive components and ego functions.

During adolescence proper the sense of self or sense of identity acquires a previously unknown lability because

object relinquishment and object finding reverberates in the ego and produces cathactic shifts influencing existing object representations and self - representations. It is understandable that as a result of this turmoil and lability the earliest passive dependency on the mother possesses an undeniable attraction for adolescents of either sex.

Where a previously "good enough mother" has been able to meet earlier dependency needs, this good object will have been internalized and therefore re-emerging dependency needs will be mitigated. However, when these earlier needs have not been met, their re-emergence will be palpable and will prevent further development. Under these conditions, it is very difficult for an adolescent to undertake the necessary task of object relinquishment when the object has not been sufficiently internalized. These re-emerging dependency needs will then become more exaggerated but the child will not ostensibly turn to the mother who he or she has previously experienced as frustrating and unsatisfactory. Instead, these dependency needs in early adolescence will be directed to the ego-ideal or acted out in superficial premature heterosexual relationships. Even under conditions of earlier adequate parenting, at this stage it is too threatening to regress to preoedipal dependency on the mother, therefore libido must be withdrawn from this infantile love object.

Withdrawal of libido from infantile love objects is an indispensible condition for phase-adequate progression to

noninocstuous object choice. As this change takes place the ego is safeguarded by defenses some of which restrict the ego and therefore need countercathectic energy and others are adaptive and allow sublimation. It is these defensive operations which allow continuity of self-esteem by drives sublimated into activities which maintain and enhance self-esteem. Without these defenses self-esteem would be irrevocably destroyed by the attacks taking place within the ego by the sexual drives. According to psychoanalytic theory, The decline of the oedipus complex is a slow process leading into late adolescence accomplished only when the individual re-establishes him- or herself in a new family.

From the psychoanlytic and object relations perspective sexual identity is formulated as a result of these internal cathectic and identificatory shifts and self-esteem, as an intrinsic part of the self, (first in the superego and then shifting to the ego) is an embattled component largely protected by defenses during this tumultuous time. This theoretical perspective also traces different developmental paths for the boy and the girl in the development of their sexual identity and they are seen to deviate from each other in significant ways. These different developmental paths will be outlined below.

3.3 The Development of the Boy's Sexual Identity

At the beginning of the latency period the boy regresses to the pregenital level as a defense particularly as the boy

shows less repression of pregenitality toward the mother. However, he abandons the oedipal phase more stringently and definitely than the girl and this makes his latency period more difficult. The termination of the latency period is marked by the resurgence of pregenitality.In the preadolescent stage (ages 10 to 13) pregenital urges are apparent in the display of hostility toward girls, he belittles them, and tries to avoid them; in their company he brags, boasts, and teases, he shows off and exaggerates. In this behaviour he is acting out the central internal conflict of preadolescence, namely, fear and envy of the female. He is struggling with the re-emergence of castration anxiety (both the fear and the wish) in relation to the archaic mother and therefore turns away from the opposite sex (Blos,1962).

At the decline of the boy's earlier oedipal period, the superego was consolidated by identification with the father. At early adolescence this process is repeated. However, at this stage the identification is not with the father, as such, but is displaced onto another male figure in order to work through the oedipal issues which remain unresolved from the earlier oedipal period. The new male figure who becomes the attractive male figure at early adolescence is referred to as the "ego ideal". This is in keeping with the decathexis of incestuous oedipal objects and separation from the family which is the task of early adolescence for both boys and girls. The ego ideal, then, becomes the recipient in the search for new love objects and this special friend acquires

a particular importance and signficance based on idealizing qualities the boy would like to possess and in the friendship he possesses it by proxy. This narcissistic transitory stage which normally precedes heterosexual object choice is a consequence of the decathexis of the internalized parent, or to be more exact, of it's object representations. This results in primitive transient, *identificatory processes* which serve narcissistic (i.e. the enhancement of self-esteem) and object-related (and therefore sexual identity formation) needs.

The decline of the oedipus complex in adolescence is a slow process, and one that reaches into the phase of late adolescence. In the boy's development the repression of oedipal strivings is rigid and severe. Therefore, it's resucitation in adolescence is slow and resistant to pubertal stimulation. However, in both sexes there remain residues of positive and negative oedipal strivings, that is to say, relics of feminine strivings remain in the boy. The boy, in trying to overcome the feminine remnants of his negative oedipal position, often turns to overcompensatory devices which make him appear belligerantly affirmative of his male powers and perogatives. Furthermore, he turns to male group or *gang affiliations* ("*street*" or "*school*", "low-brow" or "high-brow") which permit sublimated feminine tendencies to find an outlet and at the same time initiate the adolescent into a collective code of maleness. This apparent gain in masculinity often masks a continuing passivity, which appears

once more in force whenever the pubertal upsurge of masculine sexuality has subsided in intensity.

In summary, early adolescence and adolescence proper must accomplish the renunciation of the primary love objects, the parents, as sexual objects. These phases are concerned essentialy with object relinquishment and object finding, and these processes reverberate in the ego to produce cathectic shifts which influence both the existing object representations and self-representations. Consequently, the sense of self or sense of identity acquires a heretofore unknown lability. However, consolidated internalized objects serve to steady this otherwise volatile stage. Ideally, adequate nurturant feminine objects have been internalized and dependency needs met in such a way that the boy does not have unmitigated needs acted out as passive dependence and solid masculine objects have been internalized after sufficient oedipal identification with the father such that hypermasculine behaviour is not acted out in an attempt to forge a pseudo-masculine identity.

3.4 The Development of the Girl's Sexual Identity

A change of body image and a re-evaluation of the self accompany physical changes such as a growth spurt in the boy during his thirteenth year and in the girl during her tenth year (Stuart,1946). Growth spurts in relation to height, weight, musculature, and the development of primary and secondary sex characteristics may be accompanied by relevant

emotional states as discussed above in relation to the boy's adolescent development .A change of one's body image, and a re-evaluation of the self in the light of new physical powers and sensations are two of the psychological consequences of the change in physical status. The concomitant shifts and changes that take place as a result of the girl's internal development during the stages of adolescence will now be presented. The development of self-esteem in the girl is similar to that of the boy and it occupies the same place in the psychic structure. However, the development of her sexual identity differs in significant ways.

The dissimilarity in male a... female preadolescent behaviour is foreshadowed by the massive repression of pregenitality towards the mother which the girl has to establish before she can move into the oedipal phase. Another dissimilarity between the male and female preadolescence is that the oedipal conflict in the girl is not brought to such an abrupt and fateful termination as the boy's. Consequently, the girl struggles with object relations more intensely during her adolescence. In fact, according to psychanalytic theory, the prolonged and painful severance from the mother constitutes the major task of this period. However, because of the girl's massive repression of pregenitality towards the mother, the girl enters the latency period with less conflict than the boy does and this preserves with a sense of freedom some of the phallic features of her preoedipal past. What brings the oedipal phase to a close for the boy, namely, castration

anxiety, is instrumental in opening up the oedipal phase for the girl. The resolution of the oedipal phase is never accomplished by the girl with the same rigidity and severity as the boy. Her turn to heterosexuality in adolescence proper and its defensive use in preadolescence is only in keeping with her loosely repressed oedipal strivings. For the girl, oedipal issues are still at work during latency which serves to sharpen the oedipal conflict but, at the same time, also enriches and deepens her inner life. Therefore, at adolescence proper, the girl has a wide emotional background expressed in fantasy, intuition, and empathy. Enrichment at this stage seems to provide resources which at later adolescent stages is seen in particular constellations of interpersonal involvement which is peculiar to female development.

The central conflict for the preadolescent girl is seen as that of unresolved penis envy. However, this conflict is suspended while phallic fantasies have a last fling before femininity asserts itself. These phallic fantasies are acted out in the form of tomboyishness (a denial of femininity) and playacting. The phallic quality of her sexuality at this time is prominent and gives the girl a brief but unusual sense of adequacy and completeness. Deutsch (1944) states that this is the period of the greatest freedom from infantile sexuality. This is accompanied by a forceful "turn to reality" in order to counteract the resurgence of a regressive pull to the preoedipal mother. At this time instead of taking the preoedipal mother as the love object (which is the direction

of the regressive pull), she ,instead, identifies temporarily with the mother's active phallic image. This process precedes the increase of passivity but this transient phallic illusion gives to the girl's experiences an exalted vital tenor.

It is common for young adolescent girls to have a " crush" on another older girl or woman which can be compared with the formation of the boy's ego ideal. The "crush" signifies the intermediary stage between the phallic position of preadolescence and the progression to femininity in adolescence proper. It is part of the typical bisexual stage which is less repressed in girls than in boys (Deutsch,1944). In this period of their lives girls are quite willing to stress their masculinity. While the *bisexual position* is *seen* as an overvaluation of the phallic component, it is nevertheless essential to the formation of sexual identity in the girl. While the attendant sense of competency, mastery, and freedom increases the girl's self-esteem, it is also mediated by the conflict it brings with it. The source of the conflict is that the sex-alien masculine tendencies require constant countercathectic charge because they threaten to assert themselves and this would disrupt the unity of the ego. The girl maintains for a long time fantasies of a phallic nature. However, entrance to *adolescence proper* is marked by a decline of bisexual tendencies.

According to Blos (1962), heterosexual object love ends the bisexual period because the sex-alien components of the drive

are conceded to the partner. The sex-inappropriate (i.e. masculine) component in the partner is cathected with object libido and therefore acquires ego-syntonicity and no longer threatens to disrupt the unity of the ego. The resolution of the oedipal phase prepares the girl for heterosexual love and this surrender of the "masculinity complex" releases maternal *feelings in the form of a wish for a child.*

It can be seen from the above discussion that the paths that the boy and girl follow in the resolution of the oedipus conflict are different and are not finally resolved until the upheavals of adolescence proper are negotiated. The genetic point of view with which adolescence is approached by psychoanalytic, object relations, and psychodynamic theorists as presented above, makes it mandatory to turn attention to early childhood and follow development from this point. It entails a selective concentration on some aspects of drive and ego development, especially insofar as these influence the development of masculinity and femininity.

It is clear that at adolescence there is a second step in individuation, the first having occurred toward the end of the second year when the child experiences the fateful distinction between "self" and "non-self". As can be seen, a similar, yet far more complex, individuation experience occurs during adolescence, which leads in its final stage to a sense of identity.

Erikson (1956) has suggested that we look at adolescence not

as an affliction, but as a "normative crisis i.e. a normal phase of increased conflict characterized by a seeming fluctuation in ego strength, and yet also by a high growth potential...What under prejudiced scrutiny may appear to be the onset of a neurosis, often is but an aggravated crisis which might prove to be self-liquidating and, in fact, contributive to the process of identity formation."

3.5 Late Adolescence

As oedipal and preoedipal dilemmas are resolved once again during adolescence, the conflict-free sphere of the ego is enlarged and extends its directive functions in growth-promoting areas. The adolescent who remains overwhelmed by archaic issues will be least likely to experience self-esteem and inner-directedness. Similarly, those adolescents who successfully forge an unconflicted sexual identity and whose struggle for autonomy is not overwhelmed by earlier conflicts should experience an enhancement of their self-esteem.

A sense of identity, particularly with regard to sexual identity, has been accomplished by both sexes by the time the last stage of adolescence, late adolescence, has been met. The disquieting question so often posed by adolescents, "Who am I" recedes quietly into oblivion. In the closing phase of adolescence the individual registers gains in purposeful action, social integration, predictability, constancy of emotions, and stability of self-esteem.

Late adolescence for both sexes is primarily a phase of consolidation. By this is meant the elaboration of: 1) a highly idiosyncratic and stable arrangement of ego functions and interests; 2) an extension of the conflict-free sphere of the ego; 3) an irreversible sexual position (sexual identity constancy); 4) a relatively constant cathexis of object- and self-representations; and 5) the stabilization of mental apparatuses which automatically safeguard the integrity of the psychic organism. This process of consolidation relates to psychic structure and content. The psychic structure establishes unification of the ego which shapes the character of the individual. The psychic content preserves continuity within the structure and provides the wherewithal, as it were, of the person's character. Each component influences the other in terms of a feedback system until during postadolescence an equilibrium is reached within certain limits of intrinsic constancy.

It is a well documented difficulty to empirically substantiate many of the theoretical propositions discussed above. Intrapsychic processes do not readily present themselves for objective measurement. However, it is possible to link this theoretical material to other sources of data and to follow this progressively to an empirical point. Josselson, Greenberger, and McConochie (1977) have done some valuable research presenting material derived from extensive interviews and measures administered to 192 17 year old adolescents and interpreted in phenomenological and

psychodynamic terms. Pertinent information from this research will be presented and links made with other research and theory linking Erikson, Kohlberg, Marcia, Block, and data from androgyny researchers (much of which was presented in Chapter 1). This approach will make an original contribution by indirectly linking the work of several writers and researchers in the field of adolescence with the purpose of gaining a multidimensional understanding of this stage of development particularly with regard to the androgynous and the undifferentiated. This further investigation will lead to the construction of some specific aims and hypotheses which will be further investigated in this dissertation.

3.6 Low Maturity Adolescents

From material gathered from extensive interviews with 190 17-year old adolescent boys and girls, Josselson et al (1977) were able to divide their sample into high-maturity boys and girls and low-maturity boys and girls. By making indirect links through theories and data presented by other researchers, it will become apparent that those Josselson et al refer to as low-maturity can be conceptualised in sex-role terms as the undifferentiated and those referred to as high-maturity can be reconceptualised as the androgynous. Unfortunately, there are no comparable studies that will allow a more detailed understanding of those occupying the other sex-role categories.

3.6.1. Low-maturity Boys and Girls

Low-maturity boys and girls have the following psychodynamics in common:

They have not internalized enough parental ego and superego supports and therefore have a lack of internal controls. In girls this is evident in their difficulties with decision-making and the boys act this out with rebellion and negativism in a deviant search for independence.

Both the girls and the boys must therefore substitute with external objects for the purposes of control. They collect objects for ego-building needs and peers are used to bolster self-esteem and provide identity.

They are focussed on what is most immediate and concrete and lessons are learned externally (for example, social skills) rather than internalized in the form of self-knowledge.

They have a fundamental egocentric orientation (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969) and are relatively unable to consider issues that do not immediately impinge on them. Psychic energy is employed by defenses and is therefore not available in extraindividual areas. Their outlook is noted as defensive not expansive.

Because there is not enough of a solid internalized self-image, they must continualy replenish narcissistic supplies from the environment. This is evident from dependent but superficial relationships with many different peers.

The low-maturity boys and girls differ in some ways: Boys disown the quest for psychosocial identity but betray lingering concerns about their sexual identity. They admire *toughness and fighting* and tend to threaten with this external form of impulse discharge while engaging in hypermasculine activities such as motorcycles, guns, and many girlfriends. Their attitude displays a residual *conflict over* who is really a man. (They are therefore likely to score in the Low Masculine range). This premature gain in masculinity is likely to mask a continuing passivity deriving from a lack of nurturance at an earlier phase-specific stage and is presenting here as a form of identity diffusion. With a lack of maternal nurturance leading to unrelinquished preoedipal dependency needs, they cannot allow or provide dependence or intimacy with others (i.e. they are likely to score in the Low Feminine range).

Low-maturity girls find self-examination too threatening and therefore tend to externalize blame, to be wary of others and to be consciously preoccupied with maintaining some sense of control of things and people in their lives. Girls, in general, have a far greater interpersonal focus than boys, but low-maturity girls use their friends differently. Friends serve *primarily for skill learning* and self-esteem building particularly to dispel anxiety about sexuality and to provide a reservoir of social approval.They mostly use friends in an identificatory manner (i.e. they want to be just like their friends and they want their friends to be just like them).

They have a conformist orientation because they accept social norms without question and depend on social approval to conceptualize themselves. Their psychological world is banal because tension and growth seem to have been abolished. While they present externally as attractive and energetic, internally they rid themselves of any tension. Their inability to tolerate internal tension underlies their emotional stagnation. It is difficult for them to handle confict or difference because they are not internally differentiated themselves. This lack of integration is evident in their fear of independence indicating the regressive pull back to the preoedipal mother typical of the preadolescent stage before identification with the active, phallic mother. It is therefore likely that these girls would score in the Low Masculine range. With these unresolved dependency needs in the ascendency, it is unlikley that depleted ego resources can respond to the dependency and intimacy needs of others in any real way. Therefore, it is likely that these girls would also score in the Low Feminine range.

3.6.2 Erikson's Identity Stages

In Erikson's (1958) terms the low-maturity boys are dealing with identity concerns only to the extent that society foists it on them; such growth does not spring from their own internal necessity. Their pschological centre lies in mastering feelings of inferiority resulting from a lack of closeness to someone in the family trusted to approve of

them. This leads to a hunger for objects to mitigate the hurt and replenish narcissistic supplies. However, it is also diagnostic of the negative outcome of Erikson's industry stage.

The low-maturity girls are more difficult to locate on Erikson's continuum. Douvan and Adelson (1966) have noted that the Eriksonian stages of identity and intimacy are probably merged for girls and therefore identity proceeds at a deeper and less tangible level. At this point it is not possible to classify them more precisely. However, Waterman and Nevid (1977) found that in a sample of college students there were differences in the resolution of Erikson's identity crisis. Twice as many women had resolved sexual identity crises as men had (54% and 27%) indicating the possiblity of different developmental paths in this task.

3.6.3 Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development

Kohlberg (1970) presents several stages of moral development.The stage of pre-conventional morality has two substages. The first has a punishment and obedience orientation. Judgements are based on parental authority and standards are external based on what others will do as a result of the behaviour, rather than internal, or based on a belief system. If the behaviour is punished, the child believes he or she was wrong to behave in that way. If the child is not punished, the behaviour was therefore right. The second stage of pre-conventional morality Kohlberg refers to

as the instrumental-relativist orientation. Here the child does things that are rewarded and avoids those that are punished. There is concern for others but only if that concern can be expressed as something that benefits the child as well (e.g. "If you help me, I'll help you").

From this point of view low-maturity boys would be in either the first or second substage of pre-conventional morality while the low-maturity girls would be in the second stage. This difference may partly explain a discrepancy in the findings of Josselson et al (1977). They note that their original intention was to treat the samples of boys and girls as an homogenous group relegating them into high-maturity and low-maturity groups. However, on the basis of scores and interviews, it became apparent that almost all the high-maturity subjects were girls and almost all the low-maturity subjects were boys. They therefore reanalysed their data by sex. It would therefore seem that low-maturity girls are more mature than their male counterparts and having a slightly higher level of moral development may explain some of this difference.

3.6.4 Marcia's Identity Statuses

Marcia (1966) developed a measure of identity status to describe four alternative modes of response to the complex intrapsychic and social demands surrounding identity formation. They are a) identity achievement b) moratorium c) foreclosure and d) diffusion. Empirical findings show that

identity diffusion subjects conform in an authority situation (Toder and Marcia, 1973) yet (unlike foreclosures) they are more influenced by their peers than an authority figure. Diffusions have also shown the lowest level of intimacy with same - and opposite-sex friends or else appear to lack any significant social relationships. Foreclosure subjects favour "parent- ntered" values such as obedience and loyalty to conventional societal standards (Marcia, 1966, 1967; Marcia and Friedman, 1970; Schenkel, and Marcia, 1972) and indicate a high need for social approval while scoring lowest on autonomy (Orlofsky, Marcia, Lesser , 1973). Among college men and women they were the lowest in anxiety (Marcia, 1967; Marcia and Friedman, 1970).

Josselson et al's low-maturity boys would seem to be described by Marcia's diffusion and foreclosur identity statuses and the girls are best described by the foreclosure status. Although further links will be made, it is interesting to note at this stage that sex-role researchers have noted the lack of anxiety among the undifferentiated. Erdwins et al (1980) found that the undifferentiated did not differ from the androgynous and feminine in anxiety substantiated to some extent by Small et al (1980) who say that the *undifferentiated are not distressed* by their adaptive deficiencies or may not have the insight to be aware of them. They explain it by saying that if this form of psychological functioning is ego-syntonic, it is unlikely to cause subjective distress.

3.6.5 Block

Block (1973) provided information about family relationships and the correlations with different sex-role categories. In her terms, different family constellations provide a context for different outcomes. At this point it is pertinant to discuss what she refers to as high-sex-apropriate, low-socialized subjects. Her subjects were adult men and women so to some extent they are at a different developmental stage to the adolescents currently under discussion. She found that high-sex-appropriate, low-socialized individuals derived from families in which the like-sex parent was neurotic, rejecting, and provided a poor model for identification. The cross-sex parent for both sexes was somewhat seductive and neither parent accepted much responsibilty for the socialization of the child. The males were described as hypermasculine. impulsive, aggressive, exploitive, self-centered, and irresponsible and the females were described as narcissistic and sexually preoccupied rejecting both conventional female values and masculine achievement-oriented values. Their sex-role definitions include none of the nurturing, communal qualities, and their orientations to others were largely egocentric.

It is clear from these brief profiles that the high-sex-appropriate low-socialized person is comparable in terms of psychological functioning with those who are categorized by Marcia's diffusion and foreclosure identity statuses, and Josselson et al's low-maturity individuals. The

description of the males shows that they are belligerently affirmative of their male powers and perogatives suggesting, in pschodynamic terms, sublimated passive feminine tendencies comparable with preadolescent castration anxiety. Because this process has not been adequately resolved and intergrated into the ego's sexual identity, these men would be likely to score Low Feminine and the belligerance of their masculinity also indicates that an adequate masculine object has not been internalized and integrated at a conflict-free level. They would therefore score in the range of Low Masculine. The description of the women indicates that they are acting out unintegrated and unsatisfactory parental identifications derived from unresolved preoedipal and oedipal issues.

3.6.6 Loevinger's Stages of Ego Development

Loevinger (1966) presented a system of ego development which enables the low-maturity boys to be located at the impulse ridden and self-protective stages while the low-maturity girls are rated at the self-protective and conformity stages. According to Block (1973) who extended this model by adding a further level of expected sex-role development, for the child at the impulse ridden level, gender identity is essentially sexless although characteristic behaviours include those *defined traditionally as masculine: concern* with self-assertion, self-expression, and self-interest. The expression of sexual and aggressive impulses is "I do it". Impulse control is low and there is a fear of retaliation; their interpersonal style is dependent and also exploitive;

conscious concerns are sexual and aggressive bodily feelings.

Those at the self-protective level are concerned primarily with the extension and enhancement of the self and the other person is seen as one to be controlled, bested, deceived, and exploited for one's own gain. This stage is characterized by "I want it". Impulse control is expedient and there is a fear of being caught and the interpersonal style is seen as exploitive, manipulative, and wary. Conscious concerns involve advantage, control and protection of the self.

The other stage considered at this point is that of conformity. At this level impulses are controlled by conformity to external rule and the interpersonal style is reciprocal but superficial. Conscious concerns are material things, appearance, reputation, and self-acceptance while sex-roles are acted out in conformity with the sterotyped socially determined sex-roles.

3.6.7 Empirical Findings Regarding the Undifferentiated

Empirical findings in the androgyny field link with and substantiate much that has been presented above. In a brief overview, undifferentiated males have been found to not only fail to endorse positive masculine and feminine attributes, but to *actively describe themselves as using the socially* devalued attributes of each variety. For instance, they actively endorsed the negative stereotypes attached to each sex which in the masculine category included the terms cruel, rude, arrogant, impatient, dictatorial, and dogmatic. In the

feminine category the terms included helpless, overly emotional, bitchy, frequently crying, indecisive, fickle, and vulnerable. The results were not so clear for the female undifferentiated group (Kelly et al, 1977).

However, almost all empirical research which addresses the issue confirms that the undifferentiated category score significantly lower than the androgynous category on measures of self-esteem and are often the lowest scorers of the sex-role groups (for example, Erdwins et al, 1980; Kelly and Worrel, 1977; Whitley, 1983). This is not surprising when other correlates are also presented. For instance, they are also reported to be the most socially awkward and non-intellectual (Berzins et al, 1978), the most fearful of negative evaluations of others and the most socially anxious

(Goodman and Kantor, 1983) (a finding which contradicts those of Small et al, 1980) and to suffer from behavioural inhibition (Bem, 1976). Furthermore, they have been found to be the most lonely group (Avery, 1982) and to score significantly lower than other groups on indices of adjustment that include achievement/leadership and congeniality/sociability (Flaherty and Dusek, 1980), mastery of the external world, and adequacy in social relationships (Avery, 1982, Erdwins et al, 1980).

Some data on parental relationships has been presented. These show that the parents of undifferentiated subjects suffer

from massive cognitive and affective deficits (Kelly and Worell, 1977), and there are more communication difficulties botwaen the parents and these children (Small et al, 1980). This pattern of communication difficulties has been found to significantly affect the reported level of self-esteem in children (Walker and Green, 1986).

Finally, Berzins et al (1978) state that their femininity scale is a measure of dependence and the masculinity scale one of defensiveness while Pedhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) say that the BSRI femininity scale is a measure of interpersonal sensitivity and the masculinity scale one of assertiveness. The undifferentiateds have been found to be the least independent and least nurturant (Bem, 1977) and less defended than masculine subjects (Erdwins et al, 1980). Lack of assertiveness may be explained by the subjective feeling of powerlessness associated with the undifferentiateds (Wells, 1980) and interpersonal difficulties in the social domain of the undifferentiateds have been noted above.

From the perspective of clinical observation, Ireland (1981) notes that for undifferentiated women sexual identity is experienced as ambivalent and confused and is compounded by low self-esteem which presents as low self-image and reduced confidence. She notes that the therapeutic focus needs to be directed towards ego-building to consolidate a sex-role identity.

3.7 Summary

Indirect links were drawn from several theories and empirical data. The features of those who score in the undifferentiated category were linked with those found among low-maturity individuals who were seen to be in the negative outcome of Erikson's identity stage; at the stage of pre-conventional morality (Kohlberg); regarded as high-sex-apropriate, low-socialized (Block); in diffusion or foreclosure identity status (Marcia); and impulse ridden, self-protective or conformity stages of ego development (Loevinger). Data about family relationships was presented and the relationship between a conflicted sense of sexual identity and lower levels of self-esteem was traced through much of the data. Empirical evidence provided behavioural data confirming much of the previous material.

Undifferentiated individuals are usually rated at one extreme of development. The other extreme is most often occupied by the androgynous. A similar form of investigation regarding the androgynous will now be presented. It will serve a comparative purpose and to provide a deeper psychological understanding of these individuals than is provided by the empirical literature alone.

3.8 High Maturity Adolescents

From the work of Josselson et al (1977), high maturity boys and girls have some psychodynamics in common. These are noted below:

They show more internalization of parental expectations because the families allow them to experience themselves as separate people. This leads to a greater sense of autonomy which coincides with a greater sense of confidence in their ability to control their impulses. (It is therefore likely that both the boys and the girls would have internally differentiated but contained components to their sexual identities i.e. both Masculinity and Femininty would be accessible and available differentially or in a synthesized form. Some confirmation of this is derived from Lazowick [1955] who found that both healthy men and women show a "split" [i.e. differentiation] between their Masculinity and their Femininity. Neurotics differ in that the degree of identification with both parents is less.)

Because they have more confidence in themselves, they are more ready to accept differentness in others. Having achieved a measure of self-differentiation, they can experience others objectively and complexly and can use friendships to increase their own self-definition.

Because they are not preoccupied with conflicts over dependency needs, they are more ready to experience interdependence and are becoming sensitive to the needs of social reciprocity. (This indicates that for both boys and girls dependency needs have been adequately met at the appropriate developmental stage and that the mother has been internalized in such a way that interdependence and intimacy

are not so threatening. In this way, both high maturity girls and boys are likely to score in the High Feminine range.)

They are more serious and self-aware and relatively immune to group pressure. They are therefore more distant from their peer groups and judicious in their peer involvements.

It is noted that these individuals are close to someone in the family who they trust to approve of them. This is the fundamental source of self-esteem which allows relationships with peers to be auxilliary and in perspective.

Their world is complex. Their lives are largely in their control and subject to evaluation by their own internal standards. Self-esteem is derived from the approval of internalized parental objects.

However, high maturity boys and girls also differ in some ways:

The boys did not seem to be troubled by problems of sexual identity. They were sure they were boys. Their concern was a qualitative one i.e. "What kind of man will I be?".

They seemed to have resolved sexual identity problems without extensive heterosexual contact. Their resolution of sexual identity rested on solid identification with internal masculine objects. (Therefore they would be likely to score in the High Masculine range).

This seems to suggest that psychosexual growth may take place

internally with only limited and tentative experience with the opposite sex.

While their outlook was expansive rather than defensive, their difficulty was in working out a psychosocial identity. For example, they showed a struggle for self-definition and self-knowledge in focussing on what they are to become.At the same time, they showed a lack of ideals and a genuine social conscience. They would rather leave social decision-making to others.

Other studies have shown that one of the fundamental differences between the sexes is their world view as a source of self-esteem (Alishio and Schilling, 1984; Waterman and Nevid, 1986). Boys define themselves according to what they do or what they will become, particularly in the occupational context. The focus for girls is an interpersonal one. In this respect, Josselson et al (1977), found very little difference between the low maturity and the high maturity girls. Both were most highly invested in the interpersonal sphere. However, the high maturity girls differed from the low maturity girls and the high maturity boys in some respects.

High maturity girls specifically use self-examination to reflectively consider themselves and their own growth. They strive for abstract goals and can delay gratification. They have the greatest empathy and ability to tolerate differentness in others and have greater appreciation for the intricacies of the larger society.

Within limits they trust themselves to be their own parents because they have internalized parental ego and superego supports enough to make some of their own decisions. However, they are not yet truly independent, but they are less dependent than others on peers or parents for direction and limits.

There is a notable difference from the low maturity girls in the experience of tension and anxiety. The high maturity girls can tolerate internal conflict because their defensive system is adequate and flexible enough to tolerate and contain anxieties that accompany growth.

3.8.1 Erikson's Identity Stages

The high maturity boys and girls are clearly enmeshed in the early identity stages. They are living the present with an eye to the future (particularly the boys) and are in the process of "becoming" before proceding to the dilemmas of intimacy. They are testing personal skills and talents against the demands of the world while turning inward and asking themselves about meaning and about their capacities and limitations. Again, it seems that males are more clearly accommodated by Erikson's theory than females, a finding confirmed by other writers (e.g. Hodgson and Fischer, 1979).

3.8.2 Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Development

From the phenomenological and psychdynamic profiles provided by Josselson et al, it would seem that high maturity boys and girls have reached Kohlberg's conventional stage of moral

development. This has two substages. The first is noted as the good boy/nice girl orientation where the child believes good behaviour is what pleases others and an internal conscience has developed and is used as a guide. At the second substage the child turns to larger groups for norms. This is referred to as the law and order orientation because the focus is on doing one's duty, respecting authority, and following rules and laws. It seems that the boys occupy the first and second stages and the girls would be more likely to be found in the second stage.

3.8.3 Marcia's Identity Statuses

In comparing the low maturity/undifferentiated profiles with the high maturity/androgynous profiles, it can be noted that a general orientation of the former is that of egocentrism while the latter have a more decentered focus (Piaget and Inhelder, 1969). Researchers have found that identity achiever and moratorium subjects performed at a significantly higher level than foreclosures and diffusions on two different cognitive tasks: a standard Piagetian test of formal reasoning (Cauble, 1975) and a measure of reflective versus impulsive style in decision making (Waterman and Waterman, 1974). As a group, achievers and moratoriums have shown less vulnerability to manipulation of self-esteem than foreclosures and diffusions (Marcia, 1967) and they have displayed a higher level of moral reasoning on Kohlberg's Moral Dilemmas Test (Podd, 1972)

From material presented above , it would seem that high maturity/androgynous subjects would be rated as identity achievers or moratoriums. However, findings show that identity achievers, among other things, were the only status who performed better under stress (Bob, 1968), information not given by Josselson et al, and that they showed the highest levels of intimacy with both same- and opposite-sex friends. According to Josselson et al, high maturity boys and girls showed very little involvement or intimacy with the opposite sex which may be a function of their developmental stage. Deutsch (1944) suggests that in normal adolescence sexuality is sublimated and emerges later when the character structure is more prepared for it.

For these two reasons it would seem that the high maturity/androgynous girls and boys would not yet be rated as identity achievers, but would instead be rated largely at the moratorium stage. Those at the moratorium stage report relationships with parents that are characterized by ambivalence and guilt. Notably moratorium subjects have scored highest on self-report measures of anxiety which is consistent with the notion that these subjects are undergoing a period of crisis in the process of formulating their own way of life (Marcia, 1967; Oshman and Manoasevitz, 1974).

3.8.4 Block

As a result of Block's (1973) studies, she was able to demarcated a group who were low-sex-appropriate,

high-socialized or what she referred to as "androgynous". (Her investigations preceded Bem's first paper by one year.) They came from families where the parents offered more complex and less traditional role differentiations i.e. less stereotyped definitions of masculinity and femininity. The parents also appeared to be generally psychologically healthy. The men presented as conscientious, productive, ethically consistent, giving, self controlled, and concerned about philosophical problems. (In comparison, Josselson et al's high maturity boys had not yet developed a genuine social conscience and left social decision making to others.) The women in this group were described as poised, calm, non-introspective (compare Josselson et al's high maturity girls who used self-examination for reflective purposes), non-rebellious, contented, gregarious, and conventional.

Clearly, the descriptions of Block's low-sex-appropriate, high-socialized men and women demonstrate a wide repertoire of behaviours and attitudes derived from an inner cohesion. This assessment compares favourably with that presented in the empirical literature regarding androgynous men and women who score high on both masculinity and femininity.

3.8.5 Loevinger's Stages of Ego Development

Finally, on Loevinger's (1966) scale, the high maturity/androgynous subjects would be accommodated at the conscientious level of ego development which follows the conformity level. Impulse control for those at the

conscientious level is determined by internalized rules and guilt (compare with the moratorium stage of ego identity). The interpersonal style is intensive and responsive (particularly for high maturity girls), and conscious concerns are differentiated inner feelings, motives, and self-respect (compare the profiles provided by Josselson et al). The conception of the sex-role is derived from the examination of oneself as a sex-role exemplar vis-a-vis internalized values i.e. there is a dialogue between the internal and the external measuring behaviour against internalized sex-roles and parental expectations now lodged largely in the ego.

At this level, introspection and self-consciousness permit self-criticism and the examination and evaluation of self with respect to certain abstract values and goals. "The kind of person I would like to be" is used as a guideline and behaviours are moderated in accordance with internalized values. Masculine and feminine sex-roles are moderated by notions of responsibility and duty.

3.8.6 Empirical Findings Regarding the Androgynous

Kelly et al (1977) report that when androgynous males accept positive masculine and positive feminine self-attributes, they simultaneously reject undesirable sex stereotyped characteristics. In this way they are more likely to use effective socially valued behaviours drawing from a wide repertoire of behaviours that are situationally appropriate

(Bem, 1974 , 1975; Bem and Lenney, 1976). This greater behavioural flexibility is also reflected in reports of the androgynous scoring higher than others on social poise and intellectuality (Berzins et al, 1978). While they conform less frequently than others to social pressure (Bem, 1975), they are also significantly less lonely than other groups (Avery, 1982) but at the same time more nurturant (Bem, 1975, 1976).

An androgynous orientation has been found to be the most indicative of psychological adjustment (Avery, 1982; Small et al, 1980) and the androgynous are often reported to have the highest levels of self-esteem and the healthiest self-concepts (Bem, 1977; Erdwins et al, 1980; Lamke, 1982; Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1975)

However, a curious point is beginning to emerge from the literature, namely, that psychological androgyny may be qualitatively different for the sexes. Some studies have shown that the greater adjustment function of androgyny, including higher self-esteem, holds for women but for men higher self-esteem is related to masculinity (which may be a function of measured assertivenass and independence). Kelly et al (1977) were surprised to find that there were no group differences among women on the endorsement of undesirable feminine characteristics and the only significant result among the women's sex-role groups was that feminine women endorsed fewer undesirable masculine characteristics than the

other women did. Avery (1982)reports that results were less clear for woman and androgynous women (but not androgynous men) report the least tendency to avoid social situations or to experience distress when interacting with others (Goodman and Kantor,1983). Wells (1980)in a study of $\bar{x}$ age 16 year old boys and girls found that among the girls 17% were scored as undifferentiated while among the boys the proportion was 2.5 times larger i.e. 41% , and 36% of girls scored in the androgyny range compared with only 23% of the boys. These results indicate the possibility of qualitative and quantitative differences between the sexes an area which has received very little attention.

Studies of the families of androgynous subjects show that androgynous males report elevated affection from both parents and among women the decisive factor in discriminating among sex-role categories was the cognitive-intellectual input of one or both parents. They report intellectual interactions with the parents and parental encouragement of academic achievement as the distinguishing characteristic (Kelly and Worrel, 1976). From clinical observation Ireland (1981) reports that androgynous women have a greater range and flexibility in attitude and action than other women and often come from dual-career families. Their presenting problems are similar to those of undifferentiated women but the difference lies in the degree of self-confidence, self-regard, and the skills to resolve difficulties.

3.9 Summary

Different theorists use different paradigms and different researchers use different measures but there is enough overlap in the material presented above and enough links between models to construct a more holistic picture than has been attempted before. Taken together, the androgynous adolescent seems to have the following profile: a sexual and personal identity in the process of development; a more stable family environment where the parents have provided adequate sex-role models and freedom to develop the self within clear limits such that adequate differentiation between the ego and the superego has developed within the child and narcissistic supplies can be provided internally without too much dependence on the environment; while the *process of identity formation is taking place* moral development has reached the conventional stage along with the moratorium stage of ego status; ego development is at the conscientious stage; and appropriate situational flexibility is seen; they have been found to have higher self-esteem, self-confidence, and healthier self-concepts. However, there is not general agreement regarding this last point and there is the possibility that psychological androgyny has different meanings for the two sexes.

Finally, there are few empirical investigations regarding the developmental stages of adolescents as such i.e. early adolescence, adolescence proper, and late adolescence. There are certainly none that systematically investigate

developmental shifts and changes regarding the development of sex-role identity. This will therefore become the primary aim of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 4

AIM AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

4.1 Aim

According to Bem's (1983) gender schema theory which derives from cognitive developmental and social learning theories, children learn at an early age that the world is divided into two equivalence classes, male and female, masculine and feminine. By observing sex-differentiated practices in the family and the community, they learn the society's culturally defined sex definitions and in so doing they learn which sexual attributes are to be linked with their own sex, and hence, with themselves. This takes place through a cognitive process which encodes and processes this information. The child also learns to evaluate his or her adequacy as a person according to the gender schema, to match his or her preferences, attitudes, behaviours, and personal attributes against the prototypes stored within it. The gender schema becomes a prescriptive guide or standard, and self-esteem becomes its hostage.

Gender schema theory thus implies that children would be far less likely to become gender schematic (i.e. dividing the world into two sexual classes) and hence sex-typed (i.e. masculine males and feminine females) if the society were to limit the associative network linked to sex and to temper its insistence on the functional importance of the gender dichotomy.

This theory further implies that those people who are classified as androgynous, undifferentiated, or cross-sex typed are the recipients of confused or deviant social models or suffer from a discrete cognitive malfunction. Alternatively, they may derive from gender aschematic families who function in a gender aschematic environment. This is a proposal put forward by Bem (1983) and actively involves the parents and the community in screening all input to children in such a way that the children will not learn to link the sexes with their traditional correlates. For example,screening television programmes, books, and generally educating the child in such a way that he or she is reluctant to think stereotypically about the sexes or him- or herself. Given the multitude of insidious messages encoded in sexually correlated forms (e.g. clothing, occupation, jokes, history, social interactions, etc), this involves a high level of activity on the part of the parents.

It is difficult to accommodate the non-sex typed in this theory and in focussing on the sex typed, Bem has failed to explain the development of the non-sex typed. However, her theory indicates that there should be no particular differences in the exposure male and female children have to social norms, and therefore there should be no particular differences between the sexes in the distribution of sex-role categories.

Although gender schema theory offers no developmental

understanding of androgyny, different theoretical perspectives presented in Chapter 3 suggest that the androgynous, through a process of ego integration, enjoy higher levels of mental health. Furthermore, it is expected that at the earlier stages of adolescence fewer subjects will have had the intrapsychic and social opportunities to have negotiated these processes of ego integration and therefore, the percentage of androgynous subjects in the younger age groups will be lower than those in the older age group. Bem (1977) reported that 25% of undergraduate subjects scored in the androgynous range. The present researcher will compare this with a South African sample to verify cross-cultural differences.

One indicator of mental health is self-esteem (Fitts et al, 1971) and the development of a stable sense of self is a crucial element in the resolution of the identity crisis faced by the adolescent (Erikson, 1968). Although self-esteem may fluctuate situationally for the individual, it is considered a relatively stable component of the individual and individual variation will be relatively unweighted in a group testing situation. As there are no documented studies showing a relationship between age and self-esteem in an adolescent population, age is not expected to confound the relationship between self-esteem and other variables. Self-esteem was therefore considered by the present researcher as a suitable dependent variable.

As discussed in the preceding review of the androgyny literature, there have been no systematic studies of the shifts and changes in androgyyny during the stages of adolescence.

Therefore, the primary aim of the present research is to contribute to the empirical research in this area by investigating the relationship between androgyny and self-esteem at the stages of early adolescence, adolescence proper, and late adolescence in a systematic and objective way.

The secondary aim is compare the incidence of androgyny at each of these stages and to compare it with the reported incidence of 25% found in samples of American undergraduates.

4.2 Hypotheses

Taking cognisance of the theoretical issues previously discussed, as well as the findings of previous research, the following hypotheses may be generated:

4.2.1 Hypothesis Relating to the Relationship Between Sex Role Identity and Self-Esteem in 13 Year olds

Self-esteem scores of the androgynous group will be significantly higher than those of the other sex role groups in a sample of 13 year old boys and girls.

4.2.2 Hypothesis Relating to the Relationship Between Sex Role Identity and Self-Esteem in 15 Year olds

Self-esteem scores of the androgynous group will be significantly higher than those of the other sex role groups in a sample of 15 year old boys and girls.

4.2.3 Hypothesis Relating to the Relationship Between Sex Role Identity and Self-Esteem in Undergraduates

Self-esteem scores of the androgynous group will be significantly higher than those of the other sex role groups in a sample of undergraduate males and females.

4.2.4 Hypothesis Relating to the Relationship Between the Incidence of Androgyny and Age

The incidence of androgyny will increase with age.

4.2.5 Hypothesis Relating to the Incidence of Androgyny in a South African Sample

The incidence of androgyny in a sample of South African undergraduates will be similar to that found in a sample of American undergraduates.

4.3 Procedure

Procedure Followed with regard to Secondary School Samples

4.3.1 Preliminary Visit to the Schools

The first procedural step with regard to samples of secondary school subjects was to approach the Heads of the schools to request their permission to conduct testing at each particular school.

With an introduction from a bona-fide third party, cooperation was forthcoming from the Head of a boys school and the Head of a girls schol. The Heads were advised of the nature of the study and they agreed to t[illegible]ng being conducted in regular school hours. Testing [illegible] out in one session at each school within the normal [illegible]om period of 35 minutes. Athough an hour was set aside for the task, almost all students completed the testing within the 35 minutes. It was agreed that the tests would be administered by the teachers who were briefed on standardization of test administration by the present researcher.

4.3.2 Testing

Testing was conducted at both schools in December 1986. The tests were administered by the regular class teachers to classes ranging from 20 to 35 students. One teacher supervised each class of students and the present researcher visited each classroom during the testing session to answer any questions and to ensure the standardization of procedure.

In an attempt to ensure procedural uniformity, all teachers involved in testing were given standard instructions for administration. Each group of studonts was given the same

preamble to testing, namely, that the purpose of testing was for research purposes only and that no member of the school staff would see their answers; the focus of the research was the current thinking of teenagers in Johannesburg and their help was needed to gather this information; it was emphasized that the subjects would be anonymous and they were instructed not to add their names to the answer sheets; all were asked to answer each question and to answer honestly.

Each student was then given a package comprising a cover letter and was asked to fill in the demographic data before beginning the tests. To complete the tests, each student was also given the TSCS booklet and sealed answer sheet and the BSRI as modified for adolescants.

After completion and collation of the tests, incomplete replies were found which were subsequently discarded and not included in the main body of the results. A couple of students had erroneously entered the date of testing rather than their date of birth and some had completed the TSCS but omitted the BSRI.

Procedure Followed with regard to University Students

4.3.3 Preliminary Visit to a University Residence

The first procedural step taken with regard to testing the undergraduate sample was to interview the warden of a university residence. After appraising her of the nature of the research, permission was gained to distribute the test

materials and information was given to the researcher regarding the room numbers of first year students and the sex of each occupant after those students who were not white or English-speaking had been screened out.

4.3.4 Testing

Test packages were then posted through the doors of 50 male and 50 female first year residents with the request that they be completed within the following ten days and returned to a collection box in the building.

Testing was conducted during April 1987. Each student was given the cover letter stressing anonymity and encouraging honesty, the request for demographic information, the TSCS booklet and sealed answer sheet and the BSRI as modified for adolescents with its instructions.

4.4 Research Design

The design of the present ex post facto research relied on the selection of three age groups of both sexes. In order to control as many extraneous variables as possible and minimize the variance, each group underwent further selection and refinement. To ensure comparability, the samples were matched on the following dimensions:

4.4.1 Absence of obvious pathology

To avoid contamination of psychopathology and to ensure that the sample was as representative as possible, only non-institutionalized adolescents were included in the sample

groups.

4.4.2 Domicile

Since data collection took the form of inventory completion in the contained environment of a classroom in the presence of the researcher or by posting to university residents, all subjects were domiciled in Johannesburg at the time of testing.

4.4.3 Cultural constancy

To reduce contamination of the cultural variable, all subjects were drawn from the English-language university and English-speaking schools. This is commensurate with the language of the instruments administered. Where English was not named as the primary home language, the data was rejected.

4.4.4 Educational groups

In order to avoid the possible effects of attendance at co-educational institutions on responses to a sex-role questionnaire, it was decided to select both groups from single-sex institutions.

All 13 year old and 15 year old males were drawn from an all-male school environment and all 13 year old and 15 year old females were drawn from an all-female school environment. The intention was to control for between-sex behavioural adaptations that may influence subjects in a co-educational environment.

This was not possible with the undergraduate sample which was drawn from a mixed-sex residence located on a mixed-sex campus.

4.4.5 Age groups

Thirteen year old students were tested from the Standard 6 classes. All those who were younger than 13.0 years or older than 13.9 years were excluded from the sample. Those students from Standard 8 who fell in the age range 15.0 to 15.9 years were selected for the 15 year old age groups.

In order to maintain an incremental step-wise structure for the age groups, and to attempt to reduce the age range of the undergraduate sample, first year students only were sampled. Furthermore, any students aged 20 or older were selected out.

4.4.6 Socio-economic status

To control for social class differences, each subject was asked to note his or her father's occupation. Following Schlemmer and Stopforth (1979), this variable was encoded to determine socio-economic status. Where there was no note of the father's occupation (presumably because of death or divorce), the mother's occupation was encoded. Those subjects were selected whose father's or mother's occupation fell in the range of professional and managerial, (or middle-class white collar workers) occupying groups 1 - 12 which Schlemmer and Stopforth (1979) give as the cut-off points for middle-class socio-economic status.

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4.4.7 Composition of the total sample

After selecting out unsuitable replies, the total sample was made up of 51 male and 49 female 13 year olds; 48 male and 32 female 15 year olds; and 17 male and 11 females who were first year undergraduates.

TABLE 1

Tabulation of All Female Subjects by Age Group, Mean of Age Group, and Range of Age Group

Age Groups	N	$\bar{X}$ Age	Age Range
13 year olds	49	13.49	13.0 - 13.9
15 year olds	32	15.33	15.0 - 15.9
Undergraduates	11	18.25	17.7 - 19.0

TABLE 2

Tabulation of All Male Subjects by Age Group, Mean of Age Group, and Range of Age Group

Age Groups	N	$\bar{X}$ Age	Age Range
13 year olds	51	13.85	13.2 - 13.9
15 year olds	48	15.33	15.0 - 15.9
Undergraduates	17	17.95	17.0 - 19.2

4.5 Measuring Instruments

4.5.1 Criteria for Selecting Measuring Instruments

In order to test the hypotheses, measuring instruments with suitable reliability and validity were investigated. For the purposes of administration, self-report measures which could be administered in a group context and completed within the normal class period of 35 minutes were selected. The selection was further narrowed to those measures suitable for

use with an adolescent population. It was also necessary to select those instruments which could be easily scored by hand prior to computation.

The following tests were therefore selected as suitable:

1. The Tennessee Self Concept Scale.
2. The Bem Sex-Role Inventory as modified for an adolescent population.

In addition to the above standardized tests, statements eliciting demographic information were attached to the letter of introduction (see Appendix A) and used for the matching of subjects.

4.5.2 The Tennessee Self Concept Scale (TSCS)

After considering other instruments, it was decided that the TSCS was the most appropriate especially since the norms were standardized on a population whose ages ranged from 12 to 65 which therefore made it suitable for use with an adolescent sample such as that investigated in the present research.

Furthermore, strong substantiation was provided by Leake (1970) cited in Fitts et al (1971) who, after conducting an extensive review of self concept measures, concluded that:

> The advantages of the TSCS have clearly been demonstrated with respect to the control and detection of irrelevant response determinants, the confirmation of research hypotheses, and relatively good standardization and cross validation procedures. While many crucial validity relevant issues remain unresolved with regard to the TSCS, its valdity rests upon a

> broader base of positive findings than any other self concept instrument presently available (pp 83-84).

The TSCS is available in two forms, a Counseling Form and a Clinical and Research Form. The Clinical and Research Form is a more complex and sophisticated form useful for application with a clinical population yielding important variables for diagnosis. The present researcher felt that although this form could yield data on some interesting variables, most of it would go beyond the parameters of this research. In the interests of economy it was therefore decided that the Counseling Form would be the most appropriate choice for the present research because it focusses more precisely on the variable under consideration, namely, self-esteem.

4.5.3 The Counseling Form of the TSCS

The Counseling Form consists of 100 self descriptive statements in a test booklet accompanied by a score sheet. The subject is required to rate responses on a 5-point scale ranging from "completely true" to "completely false". This produces scores in 18 cells divided into six columns, namely; physical self; moral-ethical self; personal self; family self; social self; and a self criticism score. The three rows organize the scores into identity, self satisfaction, and behaviour. The Total Positive Score is a summation of either all the row scores or all the column scores not including the self criticism score. The Total Positive Score is the measure of self-esteem.

4.5.4 The Total Positive Score

From the above description it will be noted that a variable produced by the row scores is that of identity, an important construct in the present research.

Consideration was given to the inclusion of this variable. While the identity row of scores produces a summated score which may have enriched the total data base, to address this row of scores in isolation would be to present the results out of the context of the other two row results, i.e. self satisfaction and behaviour. To include all three rows without the subscores derived from the columns, would be to misrepresent the total data. In other words, it would be necessary to score, compute, and statistically analyse scores from the 18 cells for each subject to provide a context for the identity row scores. The present researcher considered that this procedure would yield interesting but unnecessary data given the findings of Bealmer, Bussell, Bussell, Cunningham, Gideon, Gunderson, and Livingston (1965) cited in Fitts et al (1971).

Bealmer et al (1965) used an unstructured device which allowed the subject to describe his/herself completely in his/her own words in a test of personal identity called the "Who Am I" test. They found a strong correlation between the TSCS Total Positive Score and a clear and positive sense of personal identity as represented in the responses of the "Who Am I" test. This correlation between the tests indicated that

while the Total Positive Score is a measure of self-esteem (as noted in the TSCS Manual), it is also a measure of identity.

Given that the Total Positive Score is a measure of self-esteem and identity based on many subcategories (represented by the rows and columns), it was decided that this score was the most appropriate indicator to use as the dependent variable in the resent research. In the presentation of the results, this variable will be referred to as self-esteem.

4.5.5 Psychometric Analyses of the TSCS

4.5.5.1 Reliability

Fitts (1965) reports test-retest reliability coefficients of all major scores with most of them falling into the .80 to .90 range after a two week test-retest. The reported reliability coefficient of the overall Total Positive Score is acceptable at .92.

4.5.5.2 Validity

Validity procedures reported in the TSCS Manual by Fitts (1965) were of four kinds: 1) content validity 2) discrimination between groups 3) correlation with other personality measures and 4) personality changes under particular conditions.

4.5.5.3 Content validity

This type of validation requires test items to be

representative of the subject matter, or behaviours, that the test purports to measure (Kerlinger, 1973). This was judged independantly by seven clinical psychologists at the time the test was constructed and an item was retained in the scale only if there was unanimous agreement by the judges that it was assigned to the correct category. Therefore, one basic requirement of content validity, that items be logically meaningful, has been met.

4.5.5.4 Discrimination between groups

Data provided shows that the TSCS successfully discriminates between patient and non-patient groups (Congdon, 1958; Havener, 1961; Wayne, 1963).

Piety (1958) found that the Total Positive Score discriminated these two groups at the .005 level. Alcoholics had scores significantly different from a control group (Walls and Bueno, 1957) and soldiers who could endure stress were discriminated from those who could not (Gividen, 1959).

4.5.5.5 Correlation with other personality measures

Adequate correlations are reported between profile variables of the TSCS and the MMPI. A correlation of .68 between Total Positive Scores and Izards Self Rating Positive Affect scale is reported by Wayne (1963).

4.5.5.6 Personality changes under particular conditions

Quoted studies show that the TSCS successfully predicted personality shifts under particular circumstances.

Gividen (1959 found that the self concepts of army paratroop trainees were affected by physical danger and fear of failure. Post-test scores showed significantly decreased scores for all subjects with less certainty in self discription. However, Congdon's (1958) study showed that the administration of a tranquillizing drug on a sample of patients improved their symptoms and behaviour but there was no significant change in self concept.

These studies and others seem to show that significant experiences can affect people's concepts of self and the predictive validity of the TSCS is enhanced to the extent that the scale reflects these changes in predicted ways.

4.5.6 The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI)

The BSRI was originally published in 1974 in the Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology. It is a self-administering paper and pencil test made up of 60 statements and phrases containing three 20-item scales: a masculinity scale; a femininity scale; and a social desirability scale. This is referred to as the Original Form of the BSRI.

The masculinity and femininity scales consist of stereotypical characteristics judged to be desirable in and typical of a man or a woman in American society. The masculinity scale includes traits which reflect characteristics associated with the traditional male sex-role, such as "aggressive","dominant", and "competitive".

The femininity scale includes traits which reflect characteristics associated with the traditional female sex-role, such as "compassionate", "understanding", and "warm". Each scale is statistically reliable and independent of the other (Bem, 1974).

Bem (1981) recommends the use of the median split to determine sex-role identity. Sex-role identity is determined by the position of the subject's masculinity score and femininity score relative to the median of the masculinity scale and the femininity scale of each sample. Those who score above the median of the masculinity scale and above the median of the femininity scale are classified as androgynous. Those who score above the median masculinity score and below the median femininity score are classified masculine. The reverse position is true for those classified feminine. (Masculine women and feminine men are also classified as having a cross-sex identity). Those whose masculinity score is below the median masculinity score and whose femininity score is below the median femininity score are classified undifferentiated. In the present study, the median masculinity score was 3.4 and the median femininity score was 3.8.

In the Original Form of the BSRI 20 filler items, known as the social desirablity scale, were scored so as to yield a measure of an individual's tendency to respond in a socially desirable manner. The filler items are no longer scored but

serve as a context for the masculine and feminine items after analysis of this subscale by Walkup and Abbott (1978) cast doubt on its adequacy.

4.5.6.1 The Short Form of the BSRI and it's modification

Padhazur and Tetenbaum (1979) factor analysed the Original Form of the BSRI and Bem responded to their findings by producing the Short Form of the BSRI (Bem, 1979) which retains 10 items in each of the three scales.

Although the BSRI has been well researched with undergraduate subjects, it's application with younger adolescents has been relatively neglected. Wells (1980) modified the BSRI for use with adolescents and the present researcher judged this form to be the most appropriate for use with the subjects of the present research. After pilot studes, Wells (1980) modified the BSRI by:

a) omitting the social desirability scale (which is unscored in the Short Form) thereby producing a 20-item scale.
b) replacing one item in the femininity scale and two items in the masculinity scale.
c) relacing the 7-point Likert-type rating scale (which was found to be too difficult for adolescents to use) with a 5-point scale.

This procedure has subsequently been adopted when using the BSRI with adolescent subjects (Lamke, 1982).

4.5.7 Psychometric Analyses of the BSRI

4.5.7.1 Reliability

Test-retest reliability for the masculine and feminine scores of the Original BSRI are reported to be between .82 and .94 (Bem, 1981). Bem (1981) also reported a correlation of .94 between the Short and Original Forms of the BSRI for the masculinity scale and a correlation of .87 for the femininity scale. Wells (1980) reports the reliability coefficent for the 10-item masculinty scale as .79 and the reliability coefficiant for the 10-item femininity scale as .89 on her slightly modified scale for adolescents

4.5.7.2 The relationship between masculinity and femininity scales

The masculinity and femininity scales of the BSRI are logically and empirically independent in that they are free to vary independently of each other and are not constrained by the structure of the test (Bem, 1974). Each scale, therefore, has an orthogonal relationship with the other.

4.5.7.3 Validity

Bem has structured many experimental tasks in order to test the construct and predictive validity of the BSRI. By classifying subjects into sex-role identity groups and monitoring their behaviour under experimental conditions, she has shown that androgynous subjects display behavioural adaptability (Bem, 1975), the cross-sex identified subjects behaved according to their classification (Bem and Lenney,

1976), as did the masculine males and feminine amales (Bem, Martyna, and Watson, 1976). She found that the undifferentiated subjects were behaviourally less nurturant and showed signficantly lower levels of self-esteem (Bem, 1977).

Although these behavioural classifications have now been accepted, other researchers have shown somewhat different results (see Chapter 1 for details) and the validity of the BSRI cannot be considered totally acceptable until the controversy has been resolved.

Nevertheless, the BSRI was selected for the following reasons:

a) It treats masculinity and femininity as independent variables.
b) It has been well researched,
c) thus permitting the comparision of findings from the present research with those of other studies.
d) It has been modified for use with adolescents without losing statistical reliability or validity.
e) It can be conveniently administered to groups or individuals.
f) It is quick and easy to use and administration time is approximately 10 minutes.

4.6 Self-Report Inventories

Since the present research is based on data gleaned from self-report inventories, it was considered pertinent to

review the advantages and disadvantages of this form of data collection.

Firstly, the two measures used, the TSCS and the BSRI, are structured in the form of summated rating scales. One type of summated rating scale is the Likert-type scale seen in the TSCS and the BSRI. The advantage of a rating scale over a forced-choice construction is that the subjects show less resistance when given a scale to choose from (Kerlinger, 1973) and a greater richness of response can be measured. However, comparing results from a Likert-type scale with data gleaned from interviews and projective tests shows that idiosyncratic responses and intrapsychic processes are not measured or observed (Anastasi, 1982).

However, the greatest single criticism levelled at self-reports is that they are susceptible to faking. As Cronbach (1960) has indicated, a self-report can be accepted as the self-description that the subject is willing to publicize. Under these circumstances, a person may wish to "fake good" or chose answers that create a favourable impression, as when applying for a job or seeking admission to an educational institution, or to "fake bad" to make him- or herself appear more psychologically disturbed. For example, this may occur in the testing of defendents for forensic purposes. Research shows that subjects are able to successfully manipulate self-report measures (Jacobs and Barron, 1968; Radcliffe, 1966; Stricker, 1969).

The most common type of faking is the endorsement of socially desirable responses (i.e. "faking good") or stereotypical responses which reflect what is socially acceptable or valued rather than honest responses. However, Edwards (1957) who investigated socially desirable variables indicated that this process may not always result from conscious manipulation but may be a tendency of which the person is unaware. This tendency may indicate lack of insight, self-deception, or a reluctance to admit one's limitations. Other investigators (Crowne and Marlow, 1964; Frederiksen, 1965) suggest that favouring socially desirable responses masks a persons general need for self-protection, avoidance of criticism, social conformity, and social approval and that those who "fake bad" may be seeking attention, sympathy, or help in meeting personal problems. Social desirability is difficut to evaluate and subjects will vary in their sensitivity to socially desirable factors.

While measuring instruments may attempt to control for variables of response set like faking and social desirability, other variables cannot be controlled and may influence results. Some of these factors are: whether the examiner is a stranger or someone familar to the subjects may make a significant difference in test scores (Sacks, 1952; Tsudzuki, Hara, and Kuze, 1957); the general manner and behaviour of the examiner has been shown to have an effect on test results (Wickes, 1956); rapport, or the examiners attempts to arouse the subjects interest in the test and

elicit cooperation while reducing test anxiety, can also affect results (Gaudry and Spielberger, 1974; Sarason, 1980; Spielberger, 1972).

While these uncontrolled factors can influence subjects and distort the data, the impact is minimalized by the test construction and administration. The self-report measures chosen are objective in that no interpretation by the observer or scorer is involved in arriving at scores for individuals. When the testing procedure is standardized and followed in the administration, it is felt that test results obtained can be interpreted with considerable confidence.

According to Kerlinger (1973), the advantages of self-report instruments are that greater uniformity of stimulus and therefore greater reliability can be achieved; the measure can be administered to large groups relatively easily; it is economical in comparision with the use of interviews; if anonymous, honesty and frankness may be encouraged.

The disadvantages are that the same question or statement may have different meanings for different people impairing uniformity of response; the information produced can be superficial in that without face-to-face probing the resulting information does not ordinarily get beneath the response surface; they can irritate a subject who finds none of the alternatives suitable and responses can be forced.

Taking cognisance of the limitations and difficulties

discussed above, attempts were made to standardize the administration and anonymity was stressed to all subjects. Subjects were asked specifically not to include their name, confidentiality was ensured, and honest responses were encouraged. It has been found that anonymity serves to maintain the subjects cooperation and promote honest responses (Scott and Wertheimer, 1962) in order to reduce the possibility of results being confounded by the endorsement of socially desirable variables.

The results generated by operationalizing the above research design will be presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The primary aim of the present research, as stated, is to contribute to the empirical literature by investigating the relationship between androgyny and self-esteem at the stages of early adolescence, adolescence proper, and late adolescence. This is operationalized as age groups of 13 year olds, 15 year olds, and first year undergraduates. The first statistical analysis applied to the data collected in the present research involved the application of an analysis of variance on sex-role identity groups in each age group in an attempt to determine whether the groups under consideration differed on the self-esteem variable.

5.1 The Relationship Between Sex-Role Identity and Self-Esteem in 13 Year Olds

Hypothesis 1 states:

Self-esteem (SE) scores of the androgynous group will be significantly higher than those of the other sex-role identity groups (SRI) in a sample of 13 year old girls and boys.

5.1.1 An analysis of variance revealed a significant relationship between SRI and SE as follows:

$$F\ (3,96) = 9.18,\ P = .0001$$

TABLE 3

ANOVA of SRI Groups for 13 year old Males and Females

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	P
SRI	29036.11	3	9678.70	9.18	.0001
Error	101240.64	96	1054.59		

The mean SE scores for the SRI groups in descending order are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for 13 Year Old Males and Females, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Androgynous	25	357.48	39.57
Feminine	24	343.41	30.87
Masculine	15	333.73	25.12
Undifferentiated	36	314.80	30.65

Scheffés test was then applied in order to investigate the significant pair-wise differences between the various SRI groups. These revealed a significant difference at the .05 level between the androgynous and undifferentiated groups and the feminine and undifferentiated groups. (In Table 4 the joined variables are significantly related.)

However, since Scheffé's test failed to reveal significant differences in SE between the androgynous and feminine groups and between the androgynous and masculine groups, the significant results of the ANOVA were therefore produced by the significantly lower SE levels of the undifferentiated group compared to the androgynous and feminine groups.

The first hypothesis stating that self-esteem scores of the androgynous group will be significantly higher than the other groups can therefore be only partially accepted to the extent that the androgynous group scored significantly higher than the undifferentiated group only but did not score significantly higher than the masculine and feminine groups. The results show that the feminine group also scored significantly higher than the undifferentiated group and the masculine group scored higher than the undifferentiated group but not at a significant level.

5.2 The Relationship Between Sex-Role Identity and Self-Esteem in 13 Year old Girls and 13 Year old Boys

In this mixed sample of girls and boys it is not possible to separate out the contribution of the two sexes tested. In order to obtain the maximum yield from the data, this separation was carried out and computed by a two-way analysis of variance followed by the Scheffé test.

5.2.1 The two-way analysis of variance (SRI x sex) revealed a significant relationship between SRI and SE as follows:

$$F(7,92) = 4.12,\ P = .0006$$

(Table 5 presented on next page.)

TABLE 5

Two-Way Analysis of Variance of SRI Groups By Sex for 13 Year Olds

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Main Effect: SRI	30611.10	3	1020.37	8.98	.0001
Main Effect: Sex	1167.28	1	1167.28	1.30	.2574
Interaction Effect: SRI x Sex	657.92	3	219.30	.20	.8938

The mean SE scores for the SRI groups are presented in Table 6 for female groups and in Table 7 for male groups.

TABLE 6

The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for 13 Year Old Females, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Androgynous	13	357.46	50.19
Feminine	15	341.13	33.50
Masculine	7	328.57	20.44
Undifferentiated	14	306.71	23.13

TABLE 7

The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for 13 Year Old Males, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Androgynous	12	357.50	25.86
Feminine	9	347.22	27.38
Masculine	8	338.25	29.22
Undifferentiated	22	319.95	34.11

The Scheffé test again showed a significant difference between the androgynous and undifferentiated groups and the feminine and undifferentiated groups. (In Tables 6 and 7 the joined variables are significantly related.)

However, it can be seen from Table 5 that the main effect sex yielded a probability level of .2574 and the interaction effect of sex-role identity by sex yielded a probability level of .8938. These results show that at the 13 year old level sex is not confounding the relationship between sex-role identity and self-esteem.

Thus, the results found in the total sample were reproduced in the male and female subsamples. The differences found between subjects at this age level with regard to self-esteem were not accounted for by sex or by the interaction of sex-role identity and sex, but only by the variable sex-role identity. Furthermore, in both the male and female samples neither the androgyn , feminine or masculine groups differed significantl .n self-esteem levels, but amongst the independent samples of females and males, the undifferentiated group showed significantly lower levels of self-esteem than the androgynous and feminine groups.

5.3 The Relationship Between Sex-Role Identity and Self-Esteem in 15 Year Olds

Hypothesis 2 states:

Self-esteem (SE) scores of the androgynous group will be significantly higher than those of the other sex-role identity groups (SRI) in a sample of 15 year old girls and boys.

5.3.1 An analysis of variance revealed a significant relationship between SRI and SE as follows:

$$F\ (3,76) = 3.84,\ P = .0129$$

TABLE 8
ANOVA of SRI Groups for 15 Year Old Males and Females

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
SRI	16688.10	3	5562.70	3.84	.0129
Error	110061.44	76			

The mean self-esteem scores for the SRI groups in descending order are shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9
The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for 15 Year Old Males and Females, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Feminine	14	342.28	37.20
Androgynous	20	337.05	32.03
Undifferentiated	30	311.40	35.98
Masculine	16	308.18	48.32

The relationship between SRI and SE can therefore be seen, from Table 8, to be significant at the less than 5% level with significant variation between the means. However, there were no significant results produced by the Scheffé test showing that there were no pair-wise significant differences in SE between the groups.

Although the Scheffé did not reveal significant pair-wise differences in SE, it can be seen from the descriptive data in Table 9 that the feminine and androgynous groups scored

considerably higher than the undifferentiated and masculine groups.

Comparison with the data collected from the 13 year olds shows that in the 15 year old sample of males and females the masculine category, which occupied an intermediate level of SE, has dropped down and the highest categories are occupied by the feminine and androgynous groups.

Hypothesis 2, stating that SE scores of the androgynous group will be significantly higher than those of the other SRI groups, can therefore be accepted but has to be modified to include the feminine group which also shows a significant relationship with higher levels of self-esteem.

5.3.2 An ANOVA and Scheffé test were then computed to further refine the data and investigate the possibility of a difference between the sexes. The results appear in Tables 10, 11, and 12.

TABLE 10
Two-way Analysis of Variance of SRI Groups by Sex for 15 Year olds

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Main Effect: SRI	21857.84	3	7285.94	4.11	.0095
Main Effect: Sex	10789.10	1	10789.10	7.98	.0061
Interaction Effect: SRI x Sex	1782.32	3	594.10	0.44	.7259
Error	97469.74	72	1353.74		

TABLE 11
The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for 15 Year Old Females

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Androgynous	13	333.69	27.64
Feminine	6	324.83	30.45
Masculine	7	293.42	37.06
Undifferentiated	6	282.50	26.37

TABLE 12
The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for 15 Year Old Males, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Feminine	8	355.37	38.09
Androgynous	7	343.28	40.63
Masculine	9	319.66	54.85
Undifferentiated	24	318.62	43.76

There were again no significant differences between sex-role identity groups when pair-wise comparisions were made by means of the Scheffé test.

Comparison of the descriptive data above shows that the order of groupings noted in the mixed male and female sample is reproduced in the single-sex samples i.e. the feminine/androgynous groups scored higher than the masculine/undifferentiated groups and that there is significant variation in self-esteem in the sex-role identity groups at the less than 1% level.

The means for the males are overall higher than those for the females with femininty ($\bar{x}$ = 355) and androgyny ($\bar{x}$ = 343) scoring higher than the female androgynous ($\bar{x}$ = 334) and

feminine ($\bar{x}$ = 325).

The ANOVA results show that sex significantly affects self-esteem (P = .0061) with males scoring significantly higher than females; sex-role identity significantly affects levels of self-esteem (P = .0095) where feminine and androgynous groups score higher than masculine and undifferentiated groups; but that sex does not alter the relationship between sex-role identity and self-esteem (P = .7259).

5.4 The Relationship Between Sex-Role Identity and Self-Esteem in Undergraduates

Hypothesis 3 states:

Self-esteem (SE) scores of the androgynous group will be significantly higher than those of the other sex-role identity (SRI) groups in a sample of undergraduate males and females.

5.4.1 An analysis of variance showed the following relationship between SRI and SE:

$$F(3,24) = 2.81,\ P = .0612$$

as shown in Table 13

TABLE 13
ANOVA of SRI Groups for Undergraduate Males and Females

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
SRI	7343.50	3	2447.83	2.81	.0612
Error	20922.60	24	871.77		

The mean SE scores for the SRI groups in descending order are shown in Table 14.

TABLE 14

The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for Undergraduate Males and Females, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Androgynous	7	367.85	24.64
Masculine	8	338.87	35.73
Feminine	5	334.00	11.24
Undifferentiated	8	325.12	33.45

Examination of the means shows that the androgynous group are distinct from the other three groups but this distinction is not shown to be significant by the ANOVA. A larger sample would have given a clear picture. The Scheffé test, because of the small sample, does not clarify the picture.

5.4.2 The Relationship Between Sex-Role Identity and Self-Esteem in Undergraduate Males and Undergraduate Females

An ANOVA and Scheffé test were computed to investigate the possibility of a difference between the sexes. The results appear in Tables 15, 16, and 17.

(Table 15 presented on next page.)

TABLE 15
Two-Way Analysis of Variance of SRI Groups by Sex for Undergraduates

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Main Effect: SRI	6427.40	3	2142.46	2.57	.0831
Main Effect: Sex	1509.60	1	1509.60	1.49	.2368
Interaction Effect: SRI x Sex	438.01	3	146.00	0.15	.9264
Error	19066.28	20	953.31		

The mean SE scores for the SRI groups are presented in Table 16 for female undergraduates and in Table 17 for male undergraduates.

TABLE 16
The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for Female Undergraduates, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Androgynous	4	374.25	29.18
Masculine	2	359.50	23.33
Feminine	2	343.50	6.36
Undifferentiated	3	328.00	51.02

TABLE 17
The Means and Standard Deviations of Sex-Role Identity Groups for Male Undergraduates, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Androgynous	3	359.33	18.82
Masculine	6	332.00	38.10
Feminine	3	327.66	9.07
Undifferentiated	5	323.40	25.42

There were no significant pair-wise differences produced by the Scheffé test. However, the descriptive data in Tables 16 and 17 show that the pattern is the same for males and females in that sex does not differentiate between them. This

is confirmed by the main effect of sex on self-esteem where P = .2368.

For both males and females the androgynous group have the highest SE scores. However, comparison of mean SE scores between the sexes shows a different pattern of distribution. In the male sample there is a distinct gap of 27 points separating the androgynous from the masculine, feminine, and undifferentiated groups where the SE scores are clustered. The same pattern is reflected in the female group but the differences between means are instead consistent (androgynous > masculine = 15; masculine > feminine = 16; feminine > undifferentiated = 15). The female self-esteem scores can also be seen to be higher than the male self-esteem scores.

However, breaking the data down in this way decreases the number of cases in each group and with such reduced degrees of freedom (df = 20), there is no true picture of signifcance.

5.5 The Relationship Between Sex-Role Identity, Sex, Age, and Self-Esteem in the Total Sample

The data was then collated to evaluate the overall effects of age, sex, and SRI on self-esteem for the total sample (i.e. the three age-groups combined). The results of the ANOVA are presented in Table 18.

TABLE 18
Three-Way ANOVA of Sex-Role Identity Groups, Sex, and Age, for the Total Sample, on Self-Esteem

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Main Effect: SRI	47788.19	3	11749.54	13.59	.0001
Main Effect: Sex	5943.15	1	1094.06	5.07	.0255
Main Effect: Age	9512.82	2	6427.69	4.06	.0189
Interaction Effect: Sex x Age	9004.80	2	4093.04	3.84	.0232
Interaction Effect: SRI x Age	4849.94	6	802.94	.69	.6584
Interaction Effect: SRI x Sex	2084.52	3	493.39	.59	.6205
Interaction Effect: SRI x Sex x Age	793.74	6	132.29	.11	.9948
Error	215718.57	184	1172.38		

A Scheffé test on the above data showed significant pair-wise differences with regard to age groups and the SRI groups.

The data on the age groups for both sexes show significant pair-wise differences between the 15 year olds and the undergraduates at the .05 level on self-esteem as shown in Table 19.

TABLE 19
The Means and Standard Deviations of Self-Esteem Scores by Age for the Total Sample, on Self-Esteem

Age	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
13 Year Olds	100	337.55	31.55
15 Year Olds	80	324.72	38.38
Undergraduates	28	341.46	26.26
Total	208		

The Scheffé test on the SRI groups showed that overall there were significant pair-wise differences between the androgynous and masculine groups; the androgynous and undifferentiated groups; and the feminine and

undifferentiated groups on self-esteem. Therefore, taking the data from the three age groups and both sexes, the androgynous and feminine groups score significantly higher on SE than the masculine and undifferentiated groups. This is detailed in Table 20.

TABLE 20
The Means and Standard Deviations of SRI Groups for the Total Sample, on Self-Esteem

Variable	N	$\bar{X}$	S.D
Androgynous	52	351.01	22.08
Feminine	43	341.94	26.43
Masculine	39	324.30	36.39
Undifferentiated	74	314.53	33.36
Total	208		

The results presented above show:

5.5.1 SRI significantly affects SE ($P = .0001$) and is not affected by the other variables. SRI affects SE to the extent that those who score in the androgynous, feminine, or masculine category (at age 13), the androgynous or feminine category (at age 15), or the androgynous category (for undergraduates), are likely to have higher levels of SE than subjects who score in other categories.

5.5.2 Sex significantly affects SE ($P = .0255$). SE scores vary according to the sex of the subject. Males score higher on SE than females (at 15 years) and females score higher on SE than males (at undergraduate level).

5.5.3 Age affects SE ($P = .0189$) SE levels are different at different ages. The Scheffé test shows a significant

pair-wise difference between the 13 year olds and the undergraduates with the undergraduates scoring higher. Closer examination of the data shows that this is accounted for by the females whose mean SE scores shift from 308 at 15 years to 351 for undergraduates, a difference of 43 points, whereas the difference in mean SE scores between 15 year old and undergraduate males is 1 point (334 to 335).

5.5.4 Sex affects the relationship between age and SE, alternatively age affects the relationship between sex and SE. (Interaction effect of sex x age P = .0232.) Therefore, at certain ages sex makes a difference. The difference it makes depends on the age i.e.

a) At age 13, there is no significant sex difference in SE (Male x SE = 340.7; Females x SE = 333.4)

b) At age 15, males score higher than females on SE (Male x SE = 334.2; Female x SE = 308.6).

c) At undergraduate level, females score higher than males (Male x SE = 335.5; Female x SE = 351.5).

5.5.5 There is no interaction effect between SRI and age (P = .6584) or between SRI and sex (P = .6205) or between SRI, sex, and age (P = .9948) on SE. SRI has an independent relationship with SE and makes no difference in the way sex-role identity and age influence each other in their relationship with the dependant variable SE.

5.6 The Relationship Between the Incidence of Androgyny and Age.

Hypothesis 4 states:

The incidence of androgyny will increase with age.

5.6.1 To test this hypothesis the frequencies of androgynous subjects in each age group and subsequently in each sex were tabulated d the resulting contingency tables evaluated by means of a 2 x 3 chi-square test of significance. The results are presented in Table 21 (mixed male and female subjects), Table 22 (for female subjects only), and Table 23 (for male subjects only).

TABLE 21

Contingency Table Produced by the Cross-Tabulation of Androgyny by Age for the Total Sample of Males and Females

SRI	13 Years	15 Years	UG's
Androgynous	25 (25%)	20 (25%)	/ (25%)
Not Androgynous	75 (75%)	60 (75%)	21 (75%)
P = .709			

TABLE 22

Contingency Table Produced by the Cross-Tabulation of Androgyny by Age for Females in the Total Sample

SRI	13 Years	15 Years	UG's
Androgynous	13 (26.5%)	13 (40.6%)	4 (36.3%)
Not Androgynous	36 (73.5%)	19 (59.4%)	7 (63.7%)
P = .680			

TABLE 23
Contingency Table Produced by the Cross-Tabulation of Androgyny by Age for Males in the Total Sample

SRI	13 Years	15 Years	UG's
Androgynous	12 (23.5%)	7 (14.5%)	3 (17.6%)
Not Androgynous	39 (76.5%)	41 (85.5%)	14 (82.4%)

P = .567

5.6.2 These results show that in the present study there is no relationship between age and the incidence of androgyny, a relationship which holds true for both the male (P = .567) and female samples (P = .680) and overall for males and females (P = .709). Hypothesis 4 stating there will be an increase in the incidence of androgyny as age increases has not been proven and therefore must be rejected.

5.7 The Incidence of Androgyny in a South African Sample

Hypothesis 5 states:

The incidence of androgyny in a sample of South African undergraduates will be similar to that found in a sample of American undergraduates.

5.7.1 From the data presented in Table 21 it can be seen that Hypothesis 5 stating that a similar incidence of androgyny will be found, can be accepted. The South African incidence of 25% is identical to the incidence of 25% quoted by Bem (1977).

5.7.2 The Relationship Between the Incidence of Androgyny and Sex

The relationship between the incidence of androgyny and sex

was then investigated to find if the incidence of androgyny was equally distributed by sex. The results are presented in Table 24.

TABLE 24
Contingency Table Produced by the Cross-Tabulation of Sex-Role Identity by Sex for the Total Sample

	Sex			
	Female		Male	
SRI	N	%	N	%
Androgynous	30	32.6	22	18.9
Masculine	16	17.3	23	19.8
Feminine	23	25.0	20	17.2
Undifferentiated	23	25.0	51	43.9
P = .014				

In the androgynous group there were 30 females and 22 males. Although the number of females is higher, the difference is not significant using a chi-square one-variable test (df = 1, χ^2 = 1.23, P > .20). However, a chi-square one-variable test on the distribution of "not androgynous" subjects divided by sex showed a significant difference (df = 1, χ^2 = 6.56, P >.02) with a significantly higher incidence of "not androgynous" males (N = 94) than females (N = 62). (See Tables 22 and 23.)

Explanation of the significant finding produced by the distribution of androgynous and "not androgynous" subjects can be found in Table 24.

Distribution of males and females on all SRI groups are fairly similar with the exception of the undifferentiated

category (male N = 51 or 43.9%; female N = 23 or 25%). Using a chi-square one-variable test, this difference is significant (df = 1, χ^2 = 10.58, P > .01) and explains the major part of the overall significant difference between males and females on this dimension.

5.7.3 The Relationship Between the Incidence of Androgyny and Age

In order to refine the data further to establish the age groups where male and female SRI groups may differ, a numerical distribution by age, sex, and SRI was tabulated. The resulting distribution is presented in Table 25.

TABLE 25
Numerical Distribution of Age, Sex, and SRI for the Total Sample

SRI		Female			Male		
	Age	13	15	UG	13	15	UG
Androgynous	%	26.5	40.6	36.4	23.5	14.6	17.65
Androgynous	N	13	13	4	12	7	3
Masculine	%	14.3	21.9	18.2	15.7	18.7	35.3
Masculine	N	7	7	2	8	9	6
Feminine	%	30.6	18.75	18.2	17.7	16.7	17.65
Feminine	N	15	6	2	9	8	3
Undiff'd	%	28.6	18.75	27.2	43.1	50.0	29.4
Undiff'd	N	14	6	3	22	24	5
Total	%	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	N	49	32	11	51	48	17

It can be seen from Table 25 that the largest number of male undifferentiated subjects are clustered at the 13 and 15 year old levels (i.e. 13 year old male undifferentiated N = 22 or

43.1%; 15 year old male undifferentiated N = 24 or 50%). When the distribution can be expected to be 1/4 of each age sample, it can be seen that the 13 and 15 year old male undifferentiated subjects explain a large part of the significance ($df = 2$, $\chi^2 = 18.84$, $P > .01$).

These results show that the significant findings shown in Table 24 are produced by the male "not androgynous" group, specifically the 13 and 15 year old undifferentiated subjects.

The other category contributing to the significance can be seen in the sex-wise split of the androgynous variable. Table 24 shows the incidence of androgynous females was 32.6% and the incidence of androgynous males was 18.9%, a significant difference ($df = 1$, $\chi^2 = 3.7988$, $P = .05$).

Table 25 listing the distribution by age, sex, and SRI enables a more refined examination to explain the difference between the sexes and locate specific age groups. The distribution shows that the remainder of the explanation of the significance is to be found in the 15 year old and undergraduate female samples where the incidence is 40.6% and 36.4% respectively, significantly higher than the expected 25%.

43.1%; 15 year old male undifferentiated N = 24 or 50%). When the distribution can be expected to be 1/4 of each age sample, it can be seen that the 13 and 15 year old male undifferentiated subjects explain a large part of the significance (df = 2, χ^2 = 18.84, P > .01).

These results show that the significant findings shown in Table 24 are produced by the male "not androgynous" group, specifically the 13 and 15 year old undifferentiated subjects.

The other category contributing to the significance can be seen in the sex-wise split of the androgynous variable. Table 24 shows the incidence of androgynous females was 32.6% and the incidence of androgynous males was 18.9%, a significant difference (df = 1, χ^2 = 3.7988, P = .05).

Table 25 listing the distribution by age, sex, and SRI enables a more refined examination to explain the difference between the sexes and locate specific age groups. The distribution shows that the remainder of the explanation of the significance is to be found in the 15 year old and undergraduate female samples where the incidence is 40.6% and 36.4% respectively, significantly higher than the expected 25%.

5.8 Summary of Results Produced by Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 Referring to the Relationship Between SRI and SE by Age and Sex (Tables 3 - 20)

5.8.1 SRI has a significant relationship with levels of SE and in its relationship with SE it is independent of the effects of age and sex (Table 18)

5.8.2 The relationship is highly significant at the 13 year old level explained by the significantly lower scores of the undifferentiated group compared with the androgynous and feminine groups (Tables 3 and 4).

5.8.3 This pattern is repeated in a sex-wise split showing that at 13 years both boys and girls in the undifferentiated group can be expected to score significantly lower on scores of SE than those in the androgynous and feminine groups (Tables 5, 6, and 7).

5.8.4 The relationship between SRI and SE is significant at the 15 year old level with feminine and androgynous males and androgynous and feminine females scoring higher in SE than masculine and undifferentiated males and females (Tables 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12).

5.8.5 There is a tendency towards higher SE scores in the male and female androgynous groups of undergraduates but this result cannot be accepted because of the sample size and lack of statistical significance (Tables 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17).

5.8.6 Sex significantly affects levels of SE. This effect was not seen among the 13 year olds, but in the 15 year old sample males scored higher on SE than females and in the undergraduate sample the position was reversed with females scoring higher than males (Tables 18, 5, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, and 17).

5.8.7 Age significantly affects levels of SE. There was no significant shift between the 13 and 15 year olds. The significance was found between the 15 year olds and the undergraduates accounted for by the increase in SE scores in the female group (Tables 18, 19, 11, and 16).

5.8.8 Sex and age also interact with each other in their impact on SE showing that at certain ages the sex of the subject makes a difference. The difference it makes depends on the age of the person. (Tables 18, 11, 12, 16, and 17).

5.8.9 However, there is no interactive relationship between SRI and age, or between SRI and sex, nor overall between SRI, sex, and age (Tables 18).

5.9 Summary of Results Produced by Hypotheses 4 and 5 Referring to the Incidence of Androgyny by Age and Sex (Tables 21 - 25).

5.9.1 There is no relationship between the incidance of androgyny and age for males and females in a mixed

sample. This is confirmed by the sex-wise splits (Tables 21, 22, and 23).

5.9.2 The distribution of androgynous subjects across the three age groups is equal at 25% (Table 21).

5.9.3 The incidence of SRI category by sex is significantly related at less than the 5% level accounted for by the significantly higher percentage of male undifferentiated subjects than female undifferentiated subjects and by the higher percentage of females in the androgynous category (Table 24).

5.9.4 Specifically, at the 15 year old level, the incidence of androgynous and "not androgynous" subjects shows that the highest number of females are found in the androgynous category. At the same age the highest number of males are found in the undifferentiated category (Table 25). Therefore, at this age, sex plays some part in polarizing the subjects into SRI categories.

These results will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

In discussing the results of the present study, it should be borne in mind that the interpretations which are to follow are to be considered tentative and restricted to the described population and measurement procedures. It is also to be noted that these general findings are based on statistical probabilities of responses and therefore cannot be applied to the prediction of individual cases. Furthermore, while developmental links may be made between the different age groups, these can only only be tentative given that the basis of this research design is cross-sectional, not longitudinal.

6.1 Discussion of Findings Regarding the Development of Sex-Role Identity in Early Adolescence

Early adolescence is the developmental stage following preadolescence which is generally recognised as occupying the years 11 to 13. By early adolescence most girls have begun their physical maturing and boys are about to begin, although there will always be within sex differences as well as between sex differences. It is also the time when most adolescents negotiate the change from primary school to high school. This is therefore a time of change, both physiologically and socially.

Many years of development have preceded this stage and fundamental aspects of the personality are still under

construction. At about the age of three (Kohlberg, 1966),the child begins the journey towards the formation of what will become an entrenched sense of sexual identity. Although at this age cognition has reached a level of sophistication which allows the child to say "I am a girl" or "I am a boy", the subjective understanding of that aspect of the self may fluctuate and have an attendant effect on the child's sense of self-worth or self-esteem.

The results pertaining to the first hypothesis in the present study show that as long as an early adolescent child has some sense of his or her sexual identity, self-esteem is enhanced. It is those children (the undifferentiated) who have not yet developed in this way or are confused about this intrinsic part of themselves who suffer from a significantly reduced sense of self-worth, self-value, or self-esteem. This sense is compounded by the feedback and responses they get from the environment. The empirical research shows that they act out those behaviours which are socially ineffective thereby ensuring that the alienation they feel within themselves is reflected back by their environment.

The present results show that at early adolescence there is no difference between girls and boys in the distribution of the sex-roles and the effect that these sex-roles have on their self-esteem is almost identical. Therefore, while it is an advantage to be androgynous (because they have the highest levels of self-esteem), it is no more advantageous than being

feminine or masculine.

Examining these results in the light of gender schema theory helps to illuminate some of the strengths and weaknesses of the theory. The implicit contention of the theory, that boys and girls are equally exposed to socially determined sex-role stimuli which will *cognitively* impact on them in a similar way regardless of their sex, would appear to be reflected in the present results for those at the stage of early adolescence.

However, it is difficult to apply the theory further. By Bem's own (1983) cognisance she says, "The central figure of gender schema theory is the sex-typed individual, a shift in focus from my earlier work in which the non-sex-typed individual - the androgynous individual in particular - commanded centre stage" (p. 615). Her theoretical neglect of the non-sex-typed, including the cross-sex-typed, the undifferentiated, and the androgynous, leave gender schema theory impoverished when it comes to an understanding of the bulk of her typologies. When it is considered that four sex-role typologies for both sexes is the foundation of sex-role identity research, attending to the sex-typed (i.e. masculine males and feminine females) leaves 3/4 of the types unexplained (i.e. masculine females, feminine males, androgynous females, androgynous males, and undifferentiated males and females). This appears to be a serious omission and a fundamental flaw of the theory particularly when Bem has

built her academic career on the recognition and empirical validation of these typologies. Gender schema theory is therefore of limited value when applied to the results of the present research.

Because no other theoretical propositions are presented in the literature (other than that of social learning theory from which gender schema theory partly derives), the present researcher investigated other theoretical possibilities and linked them where possible with appropriate empirical studies (see Chapter 3) in an effort to expand the theoretical context of the present results. In the absence of any further understanding that might be gleaned from gender schema theory, it is fruitful to turn to some of this material.

It is the contention of the present researcher that the empirical work to date has focussed on enacted behaviour which has been measured and discussed at length, but that this work has not gone further by investigating the internal processes which motivate this behaviour. Bem has started this process by introducing gender schema theory, but as discussed above, this contribution has limitations. One avenue which could be investigated to expand this field is that of linking the internal with the external, the intrapsychic with the behavioural. As explored in Chapter 3, this route could begin with psychoanalytic understandings of early intrapsychic processes which encompass identifications, the formations of the superego and ego, incorporating object relations and the

formation of certain parts of the personality in relation to the primary figure of the mother which plays a fundamental part in idiosyncratic psychodynamics; to the subjective phenomenology of the individual in ways which can be generalized (see Josselson, et al, 1977); to the synthesis of ego psychology and relevant empirical studies; to empirical behavioural studies which measure the enactment of these complicated internal processes; to studies which examine family constellations and relationships which pertain to the development of sexual identity and its relationship with self-esteem at systematic stages of childrens development. In other words, it is the contention of the present researcher that further empirical work can serve to produce methodological refinements of previous work which is still necessary (see Chapter 1, Methodological Issues), but that it can no longer be at the expense of further theoretical exploration. The results of the present research have served to confirm that without a more sophisticated theoretical base, the research in this area can have only a limited future.

From this point of view it is possibile to return to the results generated by Hypothesis 1 and reformulate interpretations of the data. It is possibile to postulate the following: that those children who have formed identifications with either, or both, parents, have begun the process of independent sexual identity formation resulting from the growing independence of the ego from the superego;

that this process has been preceded by adequate parenting such that narcissistic supplies have been internalized from the external environment and internal supplies are in the process of generation; that the ego in its emerging encapsulation has reached the minimal status of moratorium and developed to at least a conformity level of identity formation; moral development has gone beyond the preconventional stage; and that these dynamics are acted out through the mediation of cognition and in such a way that they are measurable to some extent and available through the techniques of self-report measures in such a way that the relationship between sex-role identity and self-esteem can be seen. *Those children who have not begun the separation from* the internal representations of their parents (the undifferentiated) are handicapped in their internal development, which is enacted behaviourally in a measurable form and tapped cognitively by the measuring instruments employed.

At this point it is worth considering that the *TSCS is* constructed in such a way that it attempts to measure major dimensions *of the personality under observation.* The Judging Self, according to Fitts et al (1971) "... differs from the *Freudian superego in* that it is not entirely introjected from the values and standards of others. Neither is it always aligned against the id, the source of natural pleasure and aggressive impulses in man (sic)," (p.17). Nevertheless, it addresses that part of the personality which has been

discussed under the rubric of the superego in that the Judging Self which is being measured is conceived of as observer, standard setter, comparer and particularly, evaluator. The Identity Self of the TSCS addresses that part of the personality which emerges from the ego, aspects of the self that have been theoretically referred to as identity, the "Who am I" features of the self-concept. The Behavioural Self is that part of the self which has been discussed previously as the enactment of internal processes as mediated by cognition. If the personality, and that part of it concerned with sexual identity and self-esteem, is to be investigated in a more holisic way than has been conceptualized by gender schema alone, then the TSCS would seem to be an appropriate measure for this investigation because it links the internal and aspects of the intrapsychic with the external and behavioural.

While the results generated by Hypothesis I reveal no significant differences between boys and girls and there is almost equal representation of the sexes in the androgyny range, it is notable that there is a greater percentage of undifferentiated boys (43.1%) than girls (28.6%). This finding may serve as an indication of the distribution of results which were found in the next age group of 15 year olds, or the adolescents proper. The results pertaining to this group will now be discussed.

6.2 Discussion of Findings Regarding the Development of Sex-Role Identity in Adolescence Proper

Perhaps the most notable finding to emerge from the data relating to the second hypothesis, is that, compared to early adolescents, those at the stage of adolescence proper show significant developmental differences between the sexes (P = .0061). However, amongst boys and girls, the subjects with the highest levels of self-esteem score in the androgynous and feminine ranges. The self-esteem scores of the feminine and androgynous males are notably higher than those of the androgynous and feminine females, but there are more androgynous females than males. At the same time, there is a high percentage of undifferentiated males (50%) in this sample of adolescents proper.

At this stage of adolescent development there seems to be a dramatic polarization between the sexes. Clearly, gender schema theory has no explanatory value when applied to these results. However, a study by Waterman and Nevid (1977) on sex differences in the resolution of the identity crisis found that 54% of college women had negotiated a sexual identity crisis and were rated, in this respect, as identity achievers whereas only 27% of the males were in this category, most of them (64%) rated *in the foreclosure category*. Although the study can give no historical data revealing when this cr is may have been negotiated, the results of the present study seem to indicate that this may have taken place, for girls, by the age of adolescence proper and the process of

negotiating this crisis has resulted in lower self-esteem.

The ascendancy of femininity in boys is somewhat of a surprise and is contrary to most other research (see Chapter 1) which shows that masculinity in males is associated with higher self-esteem. However, these results confirm those of Lamke (1982) and Wells (1980). In a study of adolescent males and females aged 12 to 18 with a mean age of 16.4, Lamke found that androgynous and feminine males did not differ significantly in their level of self-esteem. Wells, in a study of adolescent males and females aged 14 to 18 with a mean age of 16, found that high femininity in boys is predictive of superior adjustment. Femininity is associated with social relations and dependence and it seems that those male adolescents who are not denying their dependency needs and seek to meet them in their social relationships have an increased sense of adequacy.

Differential development between males and females in this area has been noted by Urberg and Labouvie-Vief (1976). In an investigation into the conception of the ideal person they found that mean age 12.75 years males and females rated succorance and abasement as the most important qualities. Succorance is defined as "soliciting sympathy, affection, or emotional support from others" and abasement is defined as "expressing feelings of inferiority through self-criticism, guilt, or social impotence" (p.17). However, a different pattern emerged with age. With increasing age, males

continued to value succorance in their description of the ideal person of either sex, but females considered autonomy, self-confidence, and self-control more important traits. Furthermore, girls of mean age 17 years 5 months had reached adult level in their endorsement of defensiveness and nurturance as qualities of the ideal person, while boys of the same age were scoring at the 13 year old level on these dimensions. Clearly, adolescent boys across several adolescent stages value succorance in others and this may explain the dependency needs of these feminine boys.

A further study suggests that this may be a relatively conflict-free need. Berger (1952) found that expressed acceptance of self is positively correlated with expressed acceptance of others. Therefore, by valueing the caretaking abilities of others, these boys may be indicating their own ego-syntonic dependency needs which may explain the co-existance of femininity and high self-esteem. The possibility that dependence is ego-syntonic for adolescent feminine males suggests that these boys have introjected the parents, probably particularly the mother, as a good object where this sort of identification is not threatening to the ego.

Of interest, is a longitudinal study by Mussen (1962) who tested late adolescent males and then retested them after 20 years. He found that those males who had scored as feminine during adolescence coped better as adults than did

those adolescents who had scored as masculine. As adults, the feminine adolescent males were found to be relatively more self-accepting, more self-confident, and to have more leadership characteristics. Mussen suggests that the sociability of the feminine adolescents may be essential for the achievement of satisfactory interpersonal relationships and vocational success in adulthood. On the other hand, masculine adolescent males were found to have positive self-conceptions and self-assurance but in adulthood this decreased and they continued to be relatively more self-sufficient (independent) and less socially oriented (more detached). Of further interest, is the finding that masculine male adults were found to have relatively high needs for abasement. This suggests that Urberg and Labouvie-Vief's (1976) finding with regard to early adolescent males is still a feature of adult males although possibly adult males use the defensiveness of masculinity to mask the need.

Androgynous adolescents of both sexes score high on self-esteem so the results of Hypothesis 2 are partly confirmed. This result is well supported by other studies in the area (see Chapter 1) and suggests that those who have internally differentiated or "split", according to Lasowick (1955), the masculine and feminine parts of their sexual identity in an ego-syntonic way, are psychologically advantaged as reflected in their self-esteem scores.

The last result of note is the high percentage of undifferentiated adolescent boys. Given the psychological profile of the undifferentiated that emerged in Chapter 3, this is cause for concern and may indicate that this stage of adolescence is a much more difficult one for boys than for girls.

Gender schema theory again fails to illuminate this situation. It would appear unlikely that, according to Bem, there is such a high percentage of "deviance" in the population explained by multiple confusing social models or maladaptive cognitions that interpret them. The interpretation by the present researcher is that this result is explained by the possibility that the present research has tapped the on-going process of sexual identity development as proposed previously in intrapsychic terms. It is likely that the slower development of boys (as implied by Urberg and Labouvie-Vief above) is revealed by these results and a high percentage of boys at this age are rejecting and denying their sexual identity formation in advance of the sexual identity crisis which is likely to follow.

However, in the opinion of the present researcher, this result is unlikely to indicate that half the families of adolescent boys are necessarily chronically dysfunctional as reported by Block (1973). It is more likely that the strain of containing an undifferentiated boy triggers for the time being those issues of the parents which have been unresolved

giving family relationships a dysfunctional flavour. Klopfer (1954) indicates that Rorschach profiles for those in their thirties often show an introverted pattern because at this stage of adult development people often undergo a reassessment of identity. He sees it as a healthy development, one that is necessary in order to prevent later "middle-age panic". It is therefore likely that as undifferentiated adolescent boys are acting out their unresolved sexual identity difficulties, their parents are simultaneously undergoing their own identity crises leaving the parents less available to the boy. The interaction of these child and parent needs coalescing may give family dynamics the dysfunctional flavour noted among the undifferentiated.

The results generated by Hypothesis 1 and those generated by Hypothesis 2, seem to indicate that among early adolescents and adolescents proper, femininity rather than masculinity is associated with higher self-esteem. While this can be seen for those who score in the feminine range, it is likely that the feminine component of androgyny also explains the high scores of the androgynous. In early adolescence masculinity was rated at an intermediate level, but by adolescence proper it has dropped down to a comparable level with the undifferentiateds and has no significant relationship with self-esteem. However, this situation is reversed with late adolescents. These results will now be discussed.

6.3 Discussion of Findings Regarding the Development of Sex-Role Identity in Late Adolescence

Although there were no results that reached significance in this group (possibly because of the sample size), from the descriptive statistics it can be seen that the androgynous groups of males and females scored higher than the other sex-role identity groups on self-esteem. Furthermore, the self-esteem scores for the androgynous females were much higher and there was a higher percentage of androgynous females than androgynous males. However, there was no effect for sex ($P = .2368$) and the distribution of sex-role categories is reproduced for both sexes (i.e. from highest levels of self-esteem to lowest the ranking is androgynous, masculine, feminine, and finally the undifferentiated.)

This is a distribution which finally replicates much of the empirical findings in the area, particularly those of Bem. As with the early adolescents, gender schema theory may have some explanatory value because of the lack of sex differences, and the ranking of masculinity in first or second place as it correlates with measures of psychological health is well documented in almost all previous research (see Chapter 1 for more details).

Although this is not a longitudinal study and therefore comparisions need to be made with caution, nevertheless, it is worth noting that the androgynous female undergraduate subjects have the highest recorded levels of self-esteem in

the present research *whereas they were notably* lower than the males in the 15 year old sample. It is therefore possible that females undergo dramatic internal changes between adolescence proper and late adolescence. By comparision, there is very little change between the two age groups of male subjects. It was postulated earlier that girls may negotiate the identity crisis at an earlier stage than boys. While this crisis may serve to reduce self-esteem at the time because psychic energy is being rechannelled and needed elsewhere, when the crisis has been negotiated, this energy is freed and made available in the form of adaptive defenses which increase self-esteem.

It was noted earlier that Waterman and Nevid (1977) found 64% of undergraduate males were in the foraclosure position of ego status with regard to sexual identity and these results may help to explain the lower self-esteem scores of the androgynous males relative to the female undergraduates.

While all results and interpretations in the present research are limited to the subjects sampled, it should also be borne in mind that the undergraduates were sampled at a university residence and therefore were living away from home. Sullivan and Sullivan (1980) found that when late adolescents leave home there is an improvement in child-parent relationships and that the independence of living away from home seemed to allow or encourage the development of a new level of autonomous interdependence. If this is so, it may be

reflected in the present results and reduce the generalizability of these results. It is also noted that in the present study undergraduates were tested and that testing other groups of late adolescents may produce different results.

From another point of view, it may be that when the external separation from the parents is accomplished, it may encourage a partial internal separation to the benefit of the developing ego. As *Goleman (1980)* says, "The real significance of leaving h[illegible] inner one, not an outer one... Leaving home is a [illegible]phor for finishing the developmental tasks of adolescence; this act, more than any other, symbolizes chidhood's end" (p.61). In some respects, this comment may be analogous with the psychoanalytic conception of late adolescence as a time of consolidation of internal processes. However, the present results suggest that females may be more progressed in this respect than males.

Finally, in comparing the results of the late adolescents it is notable that masculinity, which scored at an intermediate level for early adolescents and at a reduced level for adolescents proper, has ascended and ranks, in this sample, next to the androgynous in self-esteem. It may be that those late adolescents who have to cope with the stresses of university life as well as living away from home, can succeed if they have adequate defenses to contain their dependency needs while developing the more assertive profile

of the masculine. This may be a distribution that is peculiar to late adolescence and the number of times this distribution is reported in the empirical literature may be a function of the undergraduate samples so often used for testing and generalization. It also raises the possibility that at this developmental stage it is the masculine component that is reflected in the high scores of the androgynous. This suggestion has been made by several other researchers (see Chapter 1) and while it may be the case for late adolescents, the present research suggests that this does not hold for younger adolescents where the prominence of femininity is clear. Taken together, the present results show a pyramidal formation in the relationship between sex-role identity and self-esteem over three stages of adolescence. That is to say, at early adolescence androgyny, femininity, and to some extent masculinity are associated with higher levels of self-esteem. At adolescence proper the relationship holds for androgyny and femininity, and at late adolescence the relationship seems to be primarily with androgyny (see Tables 4, 9, and 14)

Although the results generated by Hypothesis 4 have been incorporated into the above discussions, an overview will be given below.

6.4 Discussion of Findings Regarding the Incidence of Androgyny Across the Three Developmental Stages

Hypothesis 4 postulating an increase in the incidence of

androgyny as age increased was rejected. In the mixed male and female sample across the three age groups the incidence was exactly the same at 25%. However, a breakdown by sex and age revealed differences. This breakdown showed a fairly similar incidence for the two sexes at early adolescence (i.e. male incidence is 23.5% and female incidence is 26.5%). However, at adolescence proper the polarization noted between the sexes in other respects is repeated; that is to say the male incidence of androgyny at adolescence is 14.5% and the female incidence is 40.6%. This difference is repeated in the sample of late adolescents where the male incidence of androgyny is 17.6% and the female incidence is 36.3%.

These results indicate that at any of the three stages of development under consideration 1/4 of the mixed population can be expected to score in the androgyny range. At the same time after early adolescence more of this population may be expected to be female than to be male. This result reflects earlier discussion which indicated different developmental paths for males and females with females meeting developmental crises in a different form to males and at an earlier stage. Furthermore, these results indicate that at early adolescence there is very little difference between the sexes but at adolescence proper girls have dealt with more of the crises than boys and that, in some respects, this developmental lead holds at late adolescence.

It is difficult to state unequivocally why this should be so

but from the perspective of psychoanalytic theory discussed in Chapter 3 there is an early bifurcation in the developmental paths of the sexes which may play a part. It will be remembered that boys and girls negotiate the oedipal phase before entering latency and that boys undergo a massive repression of oedipal strivings at this stage ensuring that the adolescent resuscitation of these strivings is slow and resistant to pubertal stimulation. This process may be underlying the present results. For girls the process is somewhat different. Their repression of oedipal strivings is not so intense. In fact, the theory states that girls, to some extent, keep these strivings alive during latency and this phenomenon is responsible for the enrichment and depth of the inner life seen at adolescence as a wider emotional background expressed in fantasy, intuition, and empathy.

Empirical and theoretical discussions presented in this dissertation often reflect sex differences particularly with regard to the enactment of sex-role identity and it is possible that this early developmental bifurcation underlies differences in ego development, ego status, moral development and the nature of interpersonal relations and their primacy for females. It is therefore possible that this early intrapsychic process helps to explain the higher percentage of androgynous females after the stage of early adolescence.

6.5 Discussion Regarding the Incidence of Androgyny in a South African Sample

Bem (1977) reports a 25% incidence of androgyny among American undergraduates who constituted her norm group. Hypothesis 5 stating that a similar incidence will be found in a South African sample could therefore be accepted. This hypothesis was intended to serve as a reference point. If a significant difference was found with regard to this incidence, it would raise the possibility of substantial cross-cultural differences between the American and South African societies with the possible implication that American results could not be generalized to this country and, consequently, all results would need replication. However, the exact replication of incidence in a mixed sample increases the confidence with which American results can be interpreted in South African samples. It also raises the possibility that universal intrapsychic processes account for developmental processes rather than qualitatively different social processes.

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