

SHORT TITLE:

SEX ROLE IDENTITY IN ADOLESCENCE : ITS EDUCATIONAL IMPACT

CONFORMITY TO SEX ROLE AMONG ADOLESCENTS:
SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

THESIS PRESENTED TO
THE DIVISION OF GRADUATE STUDIES
FACULTY OF EDUCATION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN EDUCATION

JULY 1969

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ABSTRACT :

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BACKGROUND AND EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES
DEPARTMENT : FACULTY OF EDUCATION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY
DEGREE : M. A. (EDUC.)

A study of High School adolescents from the Province of Quebec was conducted to determine their conformity to sex role expectations as defined by Talcott Parsons. Evidence of conflicting sex role patterns was found when investigations were based on role model or values for education and work. Both distributions indicated much convergence of sex roles among both boys and girls. The effect of age, cultural background, socio-economic status and intelligence on the degree of conformity was examined. Cultural background proved the most influential factor while socio-economic status and intelligence differed considerably by sex. The consequences of sex role orientation on educational choices, aspirations and advisors were investigated. The higher social status of certain subject areas seemed more influential on educational choices than sex role expectations. Sex role divergents tended towards high educational aspirations - few rejected education. Sex role orientation proved to have no influence on education advisors.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was conducted with the advice and assistance of several people to whom the researcher is most grateful.

Dr. Eigil D. Pedersen, Associate Professor of Education, McGill University as advisor for this research provided much competent and valuable advice, assistance and encouragement. I am also indebted to him for the use of certain data, compiled for other research which were analysed differently in this study.

Dr. Gerald H. McKay, Professor of Educational Psychology, McGill University, whose advice on several psychological aspects was much appreciated.

Dr. Andrew Effrat, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, contributed several suggestions which are gratefully accepted, have been carefully considered and frequently incorporated.

Mr. Ghislain Caron and Mr. Glenn Cartwright, fellow graduate students in Education, worked co-operatively with the researcher to develop this study and concurring research at the preliminary stages. Their opinions aided in obtaining an objective view of the research.

Finally the interest, encouragement and co-operation of my husband and children were major factors in the instigation and completion of this project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	v
LIST OF TABLES	vi
Chapter	
I. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM	
Introduction	1
Definition of Terms	3
II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES	
Sex Role Differentiation Theory	4
Hypotheses	8
Related Studies	19
III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE	
The Research Sample	29
Procedure	29
Criteria for Sex Role Orientation Differentiation	30
The Assignment of Sex Role Orientation Categories	34
Sex Role Orientation Distribution	35
Degree of Conformity	35
Sex Differences	38

Chapter	Page
The Influence of Certain Sociological Factors	40
Age	40
Cultural Background	42
Socio-Economic Status	45
Intelligence	47
Educational Consequences	49
Relationship Between Field of Interest and Educational Choice	49
Educational Aspiration	52
Major Educational Influence	53
IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	55
APPENDICES	
A - Questionnaire for Establishment of Criteria for Sex Role Orientation Differentiation	59
B - Criteria Questions for Sex Role Orientation Differentiation	61
C - Questions Establishing Sociological Factors Investigated	62
D - Questions Establishing Educational Influences Investigated	63
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
A - Books	64
B - Journals	67

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure I - Basic Differentiation Axes of Child Personality Development	5
Figure II - Qualitative Aspects of Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family	7
Figure III - Stages of Sex Role Development	11

LIST OF TABLES

			Page
Table	I	- Establishment of Validity of Statements as Sex Role Criteria	31
Table	II	- Distribution of Sex Role Weighting According to Sex	33
Table	III	- The Assignment of Sex Role Orientation Categories Based on Education and work Values	34
Table	IV	- Sex Role Orientation Distribution Among Adolescents Based on Education and Work Values	35
Table	V	- Sex Role Orientation Distribution Among Adolescents Based on Role Model	36
Table	VI	- Influence of Sex on Adolescent Sex Role Orientation	38
Table	VII	- Sex Role Orientation Based on Role Model	39
Table	VIII	- Influence of Maturity on Adolescent Sex Role Orientation	41
Table	IX	- Influence of Cultural Background on Adolescent Sex Role Orientation	42
Table	X	- Influence of Cultural Background on Role Model Orientation	43
Table	XI	- Influence of Socio-Economic Status on Adolescent Sex Role Orientation	45
Table	XII	- Influence of Intelligence on Adolescent Sex Role Orientation	47
Table	XIII	- The Impact of Sex Role Orientation on the Discrepancy Between and Adolescent's Field of Interest and Field of Education Choice	50
Table	XIV	- The Impact of Sex Role Orientation on Educational Aspiration	52
Table	XV	- The Impact of Sex Role Orientation on Adolescent Major Education Influences	54

CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Historically and cross culturally, societies of human beings expect their male and female members to fill different roles. Although the expected roles vary considerably from one society to another, the biological status is consistently used as an axis of differentiation.⁽¹⁾ Since biological sex differences are constant in all cultures, sociologists generally agree that the variable sex role expectations are due to varied cultural development influence factors particular to the society.

Until the Victorian era, sex roles were well defined and strongly differentiated. The advent of industrialization and the rapid technological changes during the twentieth century have been accompanied by a gradual "blurring" of the sex roles. This convergence has caused ever-increasing ambiguity and indecision as to the appropriate sex role behaviour. The rapidity of social change in our present society makes young people hesitate to model themselves on the previous generation, for this behaviour and these values may be inappropriate for the future social environment.

There is a marked difference of opinion among sociologists as to the degree of sex role personality differentiation or convergence present in our society. Burgess and Locke view the family as emerging from the

(1) - Zelditch, M. jr. - Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study. - in Parsons, T; Bales, R.F - Family: Socialization and Interaction Process.
(Free Press of Glencoe, Ill - 1955)

traditional institution where roles were observed, to a "companionship" relationship based on affection and intimacy, and producing a democratic environment where equal roles are developing.⁽¹⁾ Parsons, at the other extreme, has formulated a functional sex role differentiation model, applicable⁽²⁾ in the family and reflected in the larger social structure.

Miller and Swanson take an intermediary position, in which they see each spouse choosing his specialized role based on talents, inclination or sex,⁽³⁾ to compliment each other in a "colleague" relationship of equality.

In this research, I have chosen to investigate the degree of application of the Parsonian model to the sex role orientations of high school adolescents. An attempt will be made to segregate educationally meaningful factors influencing the degree of divergence from this sex role model.

The adolescents will be categorized according to their acceptance or rejection of the sex role expectations as outlined by Parsons. Some of the educational consequences of our school system will be examined as they apply to each of these categories. Educational implications suggested by these investigations will be outlined.

- (1) - Burgess, E. W; Locke, H. J; Thomes, M. M - The Family: From Institution to Companionship. (3rd ed.)
(American Book Co. N.Y. - 1963) P. 3
- (2) - Parsons, T - Social Structure and Personality.
(Free Press of Glencoe - Crowell-Collier Publ. Co. - 1964)
P. 43-44
- (3) - Miller, D. R; Swanson, G. E - The Changing American Parent.
(Wiley Co. Ltd. - N.Y. - 1958) P. 199-200

DEFINITION OF TERMS

It was felt important to define a few key terms which appear within the following research since they may have ambiguous connotations or require describing to be meaningful to the reader. These definitions are those of the researcher and are intended to be interpreted within the context of this study.

Adolescent : Pupils attending High School who were respondents in this study, 98% of whom were 13 to 18 years old.

Sex Role : Our culture and society has different expectations for its male and female members. An individual's sex role is the one deemed suitable by society, as interpreted by Talcott Parsons, for his biological sex category.

Sex Role Orientation : An individual's sex role orientation indicates how closely his behaviour, attitudes and values resemble his expected sex role. This is measured along a continuum which is divided into three categories, namely, conformists, convergents and divergents.

Conformists : These pupils indicate general acceptance of the ascribed sex role described by Talcott Parsons, and are likely to behave in accordance with it.

Convergers : These pupils have ambivalent attitudes towards their ascribed sex role values, agreeing with some and disagreeing with others. They show a tendency for equalitarian roles for men and women.

Divergers : These pupils have generally opposing attitudes, interests and values to those expected of their sex. They have to resist strong social pressure in order to pursue their preferred interests and behaviours.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

SEX ROLE DIFFERENTIATION THEORY

As previously mentioned, most sociologists assume that although a child's biological sex differences are ascribed, the cultural psychological differentiation and its significance is learned during socialization. A study of 96 different cultures by Barry, Bacon and Childs, finds absolutely no infant sex personality differentiation in 88 of the societies⁽¹⁾, thus strongly supporting the assumption that awareness of the expected sex role is a "learned" phenomenon.

According to Parsons, there are two basic differentiation axes in the personality development of the child in contemporary American society. The first, "age" is the quantitative measure of prestige and the basis for the establishment of the power hierarchy. The second, "sex" provides the qualitative differentiation of the two functional role types, the "instrumental-adaptive and the "expressive-integrative".⁽²⁾ These are illustrated in Figure I. In this study, concern is restricted to the latter.

Research by Bales and Slater on role differentiation in small groups indicates a similar division of leadership roles.

(1) - Barry, H; Bacon, M. K; Childs, I. L - A Cross-cultural Study of Some Sex Differences in Socialization. - in Winch, R. F; McGinnis, R; Barringer, H - Selected Studies in Marriage and Family. (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, N. Y - 1962)

(2) - Parsons - Social Structure P. 43-44

FIGURE I
BASIC DIFFERENTIATION AXES OF CHILD PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT
AS BASED ON WORK OF TALCOTT PARSONS

QUANTITATIVE	QUALITATIVE FUNCTIONAL ROLE	
	INSTRUMENTAL- ADAPTIVE	EXPRESSIVE- INTEGRATIVE
AGE	SEX (1) INTRAFAMILIAL -Primary Influence	
High Superior	MALE Father - technical expert - executive	FEMALE Mother - emotional & social expert - solidarity leader
Low Inferior	Son - co-operative	Daughter - accommodating loyal
	EXTRA-FAMILIAL -Secondary Influence (2)	
High Superior	School - performance learning	
Low Inferior		Peers - emotional support group solidarity

(1) - Parsons, T - Social Structure and Personality
 (Free Press of Glencoe - Crowell-Collier Publ. Co. - 1964)
 P. 43-44

(2) - Ibid. - P. 105

"The appearance of a differentiation between a person who symbolized the demands of task accomplishment and a person who symbolizes the demands of social and emotional needs is implicit to the very existence of a social system responsive to an environment."⁽¹⁾

Since Parsons sees the family as the foremost socialization influence, he designates it as the first and most important sex role differentiation development area. Similar differentiation is reflected in the entire structure of society. Therefore, the child's extra-familial environments of school and peer group are accorded secondary influence.

Within the family, Parsons assigns the male the "instrumental-adaptive" role which is primarily "task oriented". The social and emotional role, the "expressive-integrative", is filled by the female. The male or husband concentrates on family goal achievement, assuming responsibility for family welfare and family adaption to the exterior social system. The female or wife is concerned primarily with internal management and the integration of the family group. Her responsibilities revolve around the alleviation of tensions and the resolution of problems to promote internal solidarity.⁽²⁾

Certain personality traits necessary to fulfill these roles satisfactorily must be developed during socialization. These are seen in Fig.II following:

- (1) - Bales, R. F; Slater, P. E - Role Differentiation in Small Decision-Making Groups in Parsons, Bales - Family: Socialization and P.303
- (2) - Parsons - Social Structure P. 43-44

Figure II

QUALITATIVE ASPECTS OF ROLE DIFFERENTIATION IN THE
NUCLEAR FAMILY

	INSTRUMENTAL- ADAPTIVE	EXPRESSIVE- INTEGRATIVE
EXPECTED ROLE	1) Achievement of goals - task performance - provider 2) Maintenance of group in ext. society - social control discipline - adaption to ext. conditions - status setter	1) Internal group management - tension alleviation - problem solving 2) Maintenance of int. group solidarity - conciliator - mediator
PERSONALITY TRAITS	confident, ambitious tenacious, competitive aggressive, creative innovator, adaptable organized authoritative independence	appreciative, affectionate understanding, obedient composed, solicitous compassionate, friendly cheerful indulgent dependence

(1) (2) (3)

This theory of Parsons has been supported in cross-cultural research by Zelditch who studied 56 cultures on family role differentiation. He found a definite tendency towards sex role differentiation to appear within the nuclear family with the husband playing the instrumental role and the wife the expressive one. (4)

Parsons sees role differentiation as a prerequisite for organization and stability of all social systems. Therefore, he feels that all societies must socialize members to conform to sex role expectations. (5)

- (1) - Parsons - Social Structure P. 43-44
 (2) - Zelditch - Role Differentiation in P. 317-319
 (3) - Heilbrum, A. B.(jr.) - An Empirical Test of the Modeling Theory of Sex Role Learning - Child Develop. 36 : Sept. 1965 - P. 795
 (4) - Zelditch - Role Differentiation in P. 307-351
 (5) - Parsons - Social Structure and P. 25-26

HYPOTHESES

According to Merton's Theory of Conformist and Deviant Behaviour,
 (1)
 society requires a majority of conformists for stability. This is supported by Parsons, who says that "the primary aspects of social control and socialization, consist of the transformation of the individual from "deviant" to conformist" roles.
 (2)
 He foresees the preservation of the nuclear family because of its function as the principal socialization agent. Current social changes, he acknowledges, are altering family structure and functional roles. The degree of differentiation is not affected by this transition or reallocation; it is only redistributed.

Once a reliable criterion was established to determine each pupil's Sex Role Orientation, the respondents were allocated on a continuum into the three categories previously described. The conformist generally agreed with the Talcott Parsons Model of expected sex roles. The divergent at the opposite extreme of the continuum, had views mostly opposing sex role expectations. The convergent in the middle of the continuum, indicated ambivalence of opinion through his responses denoting a lack of sex role differentiation or a degree on sex role convergence. The sample was examined to determine the number of adolescents in each category.

Hypothesis I a - The majority of adolescents are Sex Role Conformists.

(1) - Merton, R. K - Social Theory and Social Structure
 (Free Press of Glencoe, Ill. - 1957 (revised edt.)

(2) - Parsons - Family Structure P. 58

Reisman and his associates, in their studies of American society, found an ever-increasing number of "other-directed" personality types among the younger generation, particularly in urban areas and upper

(1) income groups. The more "other-directed" the individual, the more he seeks his behaviour cues from others. He strives for approval by adopting the behaviour of those who "count" - the successful. (2)

In our contemporary industrialized society, success is generally measured by the acquisition of economic symbols. Since instrumental qualities and abilities facilitate the achievement of economic success, they would be highly regarded.

Furthermore, Keniston states that some young people "attempt to find as alternative to self-identity in "other-direction." Unable to create (3) any solid basis for their lives, they become hyperadaptable." Consequently, both sexes would strive for instrumental-adaptive qualities. These girls would choose divergence from the expected sex role. Other girls might choose the traditional path to economic success through marriage, thus stressing popularity and expressive qualities. Since girls have a choice of routes, greater conformity to sex roles would be found among boys. The sample was analysed to detect evidence of this trend.

Hypothesis I b - Boys are more likely to be Sex Role Conformists than girls.

(1) - Riesman, D; Glazer, N; Denny, R - The Lonely Crowd
(Yale Univ. Press, New Haven - 1961) P. 19

(2) - Ibid. - P. 21-22

(3) - Keniston, K - Social Changes and Youth in America
in Erikson, E.H (ed.) - Youth: Changes and Challenge
(Basic Books, N.Y - 1963) P. 179

As in other aspects of socialization, Parsons sees the sex role differentiation developing in discontinuous stages, interrupted by periods of reorganization and integration, to permit the individual to re-establish equilibrium prior to further differentiation.

Sex role differentiation commences at the Oedipal stage of the child's development, when he first expands his social interaction beyond the mother-child relationship. He integrates his sex role by identifying his identical role in his "same sex" parent and his differentiated role in his "cross sex" parent. (1) Simultaneously, interaction is occurring among siblings of the same and opposite sex. Koch has found that interaction, particularly with (2) elder siblings, has a marked influence on sex role identification.

This interaction between members of the intimate family group permits the child to master simple role differentiation before being confronted with the (3) complex role differentiation of the larger social system. As the child matures, he uses his family sex role to develop and identify his own integrated "generalized sex role". His self-confidence in his sex role (4) influences the stability of his self image or self concept.

As his contacts expand, he finds extra-familial sex models in his school environment and peer group. The former, mainly teachers,

(1) - Parsons, T - Family Structure and Socialization of the Child
in Parsons & Bales - Family: Socialization and ... P. 95-101

(2) - Koch, H. L - Some Personality Correlates of Sex, Sibling Position
and Sex of Siblings among Five and Six-Year-Old Children
Genetic Psychological Monographs - 1955, 52: 3-50

(3) - Parsons - Family Structure and ... P. 38

(4) - Parsons - Social Structure and ... P. 25-26

primarily set performance and learning role expectations, while the latter (1) concentrate on emotional support and leadership-follower roles.

This seems to interpret the school functional role as "instrumental-adaptive" and the peer group as "expressive-integrative". Within the context of these larger groups, the child learns his culturally expected role or complex of roles.

FIGURE III
STAGES OF SEX ROLE DEVELOPMENT

AGE	ENVIRONMENT			
	INTRA-FAMILIAL (PRIMARY INFLUENCE)		EXTRA-FAMILIAL (SECONDARY INFLUENCE)	
	PARENTS	SIBLINGS	SCHOOL	PEERS
LEARNING				
OEDIPAL STAGE independence from exclusive mother- child relationship	Same sex and cross sex parents	Older of both sexes	-	-
Latency Period	Both parents	Older siblings	Teacher	Same sex peers
ADOLESCENCE STAGE	Both parents	Older siblings	Teacher	Same and opposite sex peers
PERFORMING				
ADULT STAGE	Family of Procreation		Exterior Society	
	Marital partners Parents	Children	Occupational Role	Community Role

(1) - Ibid. - P. 105

The stages of sex role personality development are illustrated in Figure III. In extra-familial environment during the Latency period, the child learns roles from interaction with same sex peers. During the Adolescent stage he gradually masters opposite sex interaction roles. By late adolescence he should have internalized adult sex roles which will serve him in the establishment of his family or procreation role, his occupational role and his community role.⁽¹⁾ The data were examined to determine whether sex role personality conformity indeed increased with age in adolescence.

Hypothesis II-a - Sex Role Conformity increases as the adolescent matures.

The province of Quebec has the unique characteristic of containing two major different groups within its population who have varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The larger use the French language and its school system is largely influenced by Roman Catholic ideology. The smaller group communicates in English and has a school system endorsing Protestant principles.

When examining the values of Protestants, Weber postulated their endorsement of the spirit of capitalism. The leading principle of capitalism, in his opinion, is that "economic acquisition is no longer subordinate to man as means for satisfaction of his material needs; it dominates man and becomes the ultimate purpose of his life."⁽²⁾

(1) - Parsons - Family Structure and P. 126-131

(2) - Weber, M - The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism
(Trans. by T. Parsons) Charles Scribner's Sons, N.Y-1953) P.53

Warner and Srole, in their study of ethnic groups in Yankee City, have shown that although both Protestants and Catholics emphasize success, the "Catholic definition is to live honourably and reach everlasting happiness with God" while the Protestants associate it with the acquisition of value symbols associated with an industrialized, capitalistic economy.⁽¹⁾ This being so the Protestants would likely promote instrumental-adaptive personality development, since it facilitates the acquisition of economic symbols in our society and the Catholics would promote expressive-integrative development for humanistic reasons of happiness and honour. An analysis of the data was made to determine whether this trend existed in the sample.

- Hypothesis II-b - 1) French Catholic adolescent boys tend less towards Sex Role Conformity than English Protestant boys.
- 2) French Catholic adolescent girls tend more towards Sex Role Conformity than English Protestant girls.

Parsons implies that his Role Differentiation Theory is applicable to all American Society, in fact he states that the essential theoretical outline is not "culture-bound".⁽²⁾ Rodman, however, interprets these views as an exposition of American middle class family patterns.⁽³⁾

- (1) - Warner, W. L; Srole, L - The Social System of American Ethnic Groups (Yale Univ. Press, New Haven - 1945) P. 243
- (2) - Parsons - Family Structure P. 36
- (3) - Rodman, H - Talcott Parsons' Views of the Changing American Family in Marriage, Family and Society - ed. H. Rodman (Random House, Tor. - 1965) P. 262-269

Similar implications might be concluded from results of Davis' study on social class differences in socialization. He found that the lower class had more permissive child-rearing habits, while middle class parents emphasized social conformity, through severe social control, in order to attain high achievement. (1) A later study by Koln on social class differences in parental values, found that middle class parents took social acceptance for granted while lower class parents strove to achieve it by emphasizing obedience to authority. He found that the middle class stressed self-control and consideration, rather than obedience, thus giving scope for curiosity and creativity which in turn demands responsibility and understanding on the part of the individual rather than acceptance and conformity. (2)

Parsons has acknowledged in recent writings that social changes are altering family structure and roles. With increased upward mobility, the middle class husband's occupational role demands ever-increasing specialization and commitment to extra-familial pursuits. This relegates many home tasks and disciplinary responsibilities to the wife, thus reducing paternal authority. This results in an increasingly permissive home atmosphere, permitting and encouraging increased individuality in the child. (3)

(1) - Davis, A - Social Class Influences on Learning
(Harvard Univ. Press, Boston - 1955)

(2) - Koln, M. - Social Class and Parental Values
American Journal of Sociology 64: 337-351 - 1959.

(3) - Parsons - Social Structure P. 214

These studies show two opposing middle class characteristics; one stressing conformity and acceptance, the other creativity and individuality. The data were examined to compare the degree of conformity present among the social classes of this sample.

Hypothesis II-c - The middle class adolescent has greater tendency towards Sex Role Divergence than the working class adolescent.

It would require a degree of creativity and imagination on the part of a pupil to reject and diverge from the established role expectations, as well as motivation or initiative to overcome strong conforming pressures. When studying adolescents, Rivlin has found that basic requirements for creativity are above average intelligence, skill and training and a personality suitable to instigate action.⁽¹⁾ Therefore, one would suspect that the more intelligent pupils would diverge more often from sex role expectations than others. The data were examined for this tendency.

Hypothesis II-d - The lower the intelligence of an adolescent the greater the tendency towards Sex Role conformity.

The four preceding sociological factors were selected for investigation since they seem the most relevant to the Quebec School system. Children are divided along these lines in school. Age grading is used throughout the system. Many large schools sub-divide the age groups using intelligence as the criterion. Schools tend to be class differentiated for they serve residential districts limited to families of similar socio-economic status. Finally, there are two school systems in Quebec separated along religious lines, Protestant and Catholic.

(1) - Rivlin, L. G - Creativity and the Self-Attitude and Sociability of High School Students. - Journal of Educational Psychology
50, No.4 : 147-152 - 1959

In his assessment of the present educational system, Reisman states that one of the tasks for education is "to connect the two sexes culturally and intellectually by giving women access to the world of industry, commerce and politics... while giving men the access to the world of art, child care and emotions, that has often in the West been reserved as a women's sphere. The great majority of boys fall into traditional role definitions of male subjects and interests, while... the girl that is interested in science and a career rather than domesticity and a job, has a hard row to hoe."⁽¹⁾

In Yankee City studies by Warner and his associates, this is also shown to be true. The girls predominate in humanistic and commercial subjects, while all the students in the scientific courses and most in the general academic course were males.⁽²⁾

In an attempt to assess the pressure exerted on pupils to follow this expected pattern, the discrepancy between fields of interest and actual fields of educational choice was examined for each of the sex role orientation categories.

Hypothesis III-a - The discrepancy between the educational field of interest and the field of educational choice increases as Sex Role Conformity decreases.

(1) - Riesman, D - Modern Society's Challenge to Education: The Social Scientist's View - Professional Reprints in Education, No.8215 (Chas. E. Merrill Books - 1959) P.16

(2) - Warner, W. L - Yankee City (abridged edition) (Yale Univ. Press, New Haven - 1963) P. 195

The absence of correspondence between a pupil's sex role orientation needs and his social role expectations will place him under much strain and tension as to whether he will conform to follow expectations or deviate to satisfy his needs. Parsons and Shils state that any deviant has three alternatives from which to select his course of action. He may, firstly, withdraw from the society which alienates him. Secondly, he may evade fulfilling the socially accepted expectations. Lastly, he may rebel by (1) openly refusing to conform and in this way fulfilling his own needs.

The first two alternatives suggest that he would be disillusioned and disoriented causing him to place little value on educational achievement and thus to have low educational aspirations. The latter however, would stimulate and motivate him to have high educational aspirations in order to fulfill his needs and prove his disregard for social censure. The assumption is that the alternative selected would depend on the individual's degree of success, the reinforcement he receives and the strength of his ego. The data were examined to detect whether sex role divergents did tend towards extreme educational aspirations, either high or low.

Hypothesis III-b - As Sex Role Conformity decreases, the educational aspirations tend towards high or low extremes.

- (1) - Parsons, T; Shils, E. A - Personality as a System of Action in Parsons, T; Shils, E. A (eds.) - Towards a General Theory of Action (Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass. - 1962) P. 157

Freidenberg points out that schools, although professing policies of progress and change, are essentially bureaucratic, conservative institutions who "attack problems of self-definition in a heterogeneous student group as if they were problems in social integration."⁽¹⁾ Their objective being conformity and consensus, the preservation of individual differences is beyond them. If pupils are surrounded by this conforming pressure, it would seem that students who did not endorse expected attitudes would seek educational advice outside the school.

Hypothesis III-c-1 - As the Sex Role Conformity increases the adolescents are more influenced in educational matters by the school.

Since non-conformist adolescents are apt to find a greater "generation gap" between their values and those of their elders, they are more likely to turn to peers for educational advice, since their attitudes are likely to coincide more closely. The data were examined to see if there were evidence of this pattern.

Hypothesis III-c-2 - As Sex Role Conformity decreases adolescents are more influenced by their peers in educational matters.

(1) - Freidenberg, E. Z - The Vanishing Adolescent
(Dell Publishing Co., N.Y. - 1959) P. 91

RELATED STUDIES

This Sex Role Differentiation Theory has been supported by
 Bales (1953)⁽¹⁾ and later Bales and Slater (1955)⁽²⁾ in their studies
 of the equilibrium in small groups. Terman and Tyler (1954) found
 unquestionable sex differences in interests in areas such as recreation,
 school subjects, occupational aspirations as well as behaviour differences
 in aggressiveness. They suggest that these may be attributes to the
 effects of social sex typing, however.⁽³⁾

Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) developed a Modelling Theory of Sex
 Role learning which was based on differentiated sex roles, thus confirming
 their acceptance of them.⁽⁴⁾ When investigating sex role typing,
 Beilin and Werner (1957)⁽⁵⁾ working with college undergraduates, and
 Sherriffs and McKee (1957)⁽⁶⁾ classifying adult youth workers opinions,
 found the male-female expectations very similar to Parsons' instrumental-
 adaptive and expressive-integrative classification categories.

On the other hand, Brown (1957) reported in studies of pre-adolescent
 children that boys accepted masculine roles more consistently than girls
 did feminine roles. In fact at some stages, girls had stronger masculine

- (1) - Bales, R. F - The Equilibrium Problem in Small Groups in Parsons, T;
 Bales, R.F; Shils, E. A (eds.) - Working Paper in the Theory of
 Action (Free Press of Glencoe - N.Y - 1953) P.111-163
- (2) - Bales and Slater - Role Differentiation in P. 303
- (3) - Terman, M; Tyler L.E - Psychological Sex Differences in
 Carmichael, L - Manual of Child Psychology (2nd ed.)
 (Wiley Co. N.Y - 1954) P. 1081-1098
- (4) - Sears, R. R; Maccoby, E. E; Levin, H - Patterns of Child Rearing
 (Row Peterson - 1957)
- (5) - Beilin, H; Werner, E - Sex Role Expectations and Criteria of Social
 Adjustment for Young Adults - Journ. of Clin. Psychol. 13: 341-3
- (6) - Sherriffs, A. C; McKee, J. P - Qualitative Aspects of Beliefs about
 Men and Women - J of Personal. 25: 451-464 Je'57

(1)
 role aspirations. Simultaneously, Botts (1957) studying marriage task organization, found three patterns: 1) complimentary (differentiated) 2) independent (separate activities) 3) joint (combined co-operative activities). She also found that family mobility induced the adoption of the joint relationship, reducing the differentiation and resulting in more equalitarian sex roles.
 (2)

Disturbed by the contrasting views of Parsons and Brown, Silcock (1966) studied Australian young people of both sexes for their interpretation of the male-female role differentiation. She found considerable overlapping of activities and interests. The results shattered the clearly defined dichotomy between appropriate male and female actions and qualities. The entire sample showed 36% overlapping; while among girls alone, 60% were assigned to the overlapping category.

Seeley, Sim and Loosley (1956) in a Canadian study reflected this trend when they stated that "there seems to be growing convergence between types of social behaviour, once more clearly distinguished as male or female."
 (4)

(1) - Brown, D. G - Masculinity-Femininity Development in Children
 J of Consult. Psychol. 21: 197-202, 1957

(2) - Botts, E - Family and Social Networks
 (Tavistock Publ. - London - 1957) P. 59-61; 92-96

(3) - Silcock, A - Where Sex Role Converge
 Times Educational Supplement No.2686:1148, Nov. 11, '66

(4) - Seeley, J. R; Sim A. R; Loosley, E. W - Crestwood Heights: A Study of the Culture of Suburban Life. (Basic Books, N. Y - 1956) P.103

In spite of the fact that Harper (1947)⁽¹⁾ found women more conformist than men in his study of young adults and Jones (1954)⁽²⁾ sees girls as more submissive and more influenced by social expectations, there seems to be growing indication that girls are aggressively altering their sex role. Kluckholm points out that the wife-mother role expectations with its subordination to the family instead of independence; its aesthetic instead of instrumental emphasis and its preoccupation with the present instead of the future, is contrary to dominant American values and is being rejected by the educated women.⁽³⁾

Webb (1963) found that high school pupils place higher value on masculine traits. His investigations show that a boy's social status is enhanced by his masculine sex role preference while a girl's status is higher if she is flexible rather than feminine.⁽⁴⁾ Komarovsky (1953) found the best adjusted girl was the intelligent but not brilliant girl who could earn her living but did not attempt to compete with men.⁽⁵⁾

Rabban (1950) in studies of children's sex role identification found that boys had a clearer sex role concept than girls who were often ambivalent.⁽⁶⁾

- (1) - Harper, R. A - Is Conformity a General or Specific Behaviour Trait? Amer. Socio. Review 12: 81-86, 1947
- (2) - Jones, V - Character Development in Children - An Objective Approach in Carmicheal, L - Manual of Child Psychology (2nd ed.) (Wiley Co. N.Y - 1954) P. 797
- (3) - Kluckholm, F. R - Dominant and Varient Value Observations in Kluckholm, G; Murray, H. A - Personality in Nature and Culture (2nd ed.) (Alfred A. Kroepe. N.Y - 1956) P. 355-7
- (4) - Webb, A. P - Sex Role Preference and Adjustment in Early Adolescents Child Develop. 34: 609-618 S '63
- (5) - Komarovsky, M - Women of the Modern World - Their Education and Their Dilemmas (Little & Brown, Boston - 1953) P. 74
- (6) - Rabban, M - Sex Role Identification in Young Children in Two Diverse Social Groups Genet. Psychol. Monogr. 42: 81-158 '50

Studies by Sherriffs and McKee (1959) found that women were exerting pressure to have men orient more towards interpersonal relations and the expression of human feelings which are qualities contrary to the traditional male sex role expectations. (1) If this is so, they would be pressing towards further convergence.

In his conformity studies, Harper (1947) found a definite indication that conformity increases with age. (2) Rabban (1950) (3) and Zuk (1958) (4) found that sex appropriate behaviour increases especially towards the later adolescent years. There was significant increase in girls adopting expected behaviour between 16 and 18 years old.

On the other hand, Hartley (1961), in her study of children's interpretation of and attitudes towards adult sex roles, reports that as girls mature they develop an increasingly negative response to the current female sex role. (5) This would imply that the maturing girl would tend more towards non-conformity.

In his research on the family in Canada, Elkin (1964) found that in English Canada "both men and women recognize that the roles are not as in the past, clearly allotted by sexual status." (6) In French Canada, tradition gives the father greater prestige and authority, but

(1) - Sherriffs, A. C; McKee, J. P - Men's and Women's Beliefs, Ideals and Self-Concepts - Amer. J. of Sociol. 44:356-363 - 1959

(2) - Harper - Is Conformity P. 85

(3) - Rabban - Sex Role Identification

(4) - Zuk, G. H - Sex Appropriate Behaviour in Adolescence
J. of Genet. Psychol. - 93: 15-32 - 1958

(5) - Hartley, R. E - Current Patterns in Sex Role: Children's Perspective - Nat. Ass. Women Deans & Counsell. J. 25: 3-13 - '61

(6) - Elkin, F - The Family in Canada
Can. Conference on the Family - Apr. 1964 - P. 100

the French Canadian wife of to-day, although superficially submissive, has much power with the children.⁽¹⁾

Blood and Wolfe (1960) point out that Catholic educational institutions place emphasis on prescribed sex roles for men and women. There is evidence of less traditional attitudes among many Catholics to-day, however.⁽²⁾

Both Davis (1955)⁽³⁾ and Kahl (1961)⁽⁴⁾ indicate a greater emphasis on conformity among the middle class than the rest of the population. This tendency would seem inapplicable to sex role acceptance however, for Terman and Miles (1936) noted a tendency towards smaller sex differences among the higher social classes particularly if it is combined with higher education.⁽⁵⁾ Barry, Bacon and Child (1962) found a similar relationship in their cross-cultural studies.⁽⁶⁾ The Seeley, Sims and Loosley (1956) findings of sex role convergence in Crestwood Heights, an upper middle class suburb,⁽⁷⁾ would substantiate this argument.

Hartley (1961) reports, in her study of 8 to 11 year old children, that "upper middle class girls showed, in anticipation of adulthood,

- (1) - Garigue, P - La Vie Familiale des Canadiens Francais
(Univ. de Montreal Press - 1962)
- (2) - Blood, R. O; Wolfe, D. M - Husbands and Wives
(Free Press - Collier - MacMillan - 1960) P. 56
- (3) - Davis, A - Social Class Influence on Learning
(Harvard Univ. Press - 1955)
- (4) - Kahl, J. A - The American Class Structure
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston, N.Y - 1961)
- (5) - Terman L. M; Miles, C. C - Sex and Personality
(McGraw Hill N.Y - 1936)
- (6) - Barry, Bacon & Child - A Cross-Cultural Study P. 270
- (7) - Seeley, Sims & Loosley - Crestwood Heights P. 103

unmistakenly less enthusiasm for the traditional female role than the lower class." (1) She found that "the home-career conflict, to the extent that it exists, is primarily an upper middle class problem." The professional careers of this group, can not be interrupted for home-making years as easily as the work found acceptable to the lower class girls. (2)

(3) Rabban (1950), (4) Zelditch (1955) and (5) Komarovski (1964) have all noted that the highest sex role differentiation is found among very high or low socio-economic groups, while the greatest sex role "blurring" occurs in the middle class.

In his studies on "gifted" children, Terman found that during adolescence, boys of high or average intelligence had a similar degree of masculinity, however there was a dissimilarity among the girls where those of higher intelligence tended to have higher masculinity. (6) This tendency for gifted girls only towards non-conformity, could indicate their determination to acquire the higher status sex role benefits. Since the boy's expected sex role endorses masculinity, he has no obstacle to overcome.

Mussen (1961), studying adolescent boys, found those who adopted the male role qualities and interests expected in our culture, were the most stable emotionally and socially. He also noted that boys with

(1) - Hartley - Current Patterns in Sex Roles P. 8

(2) - Ibid. - P. 13

(3) - Rabban - Sex Role Identification

(4) - Zelditch - Role Differentiation P. 343

(5) - Komarovski, M - Blue Collar Marriage
(Random House, N.Y - 1964)

(6) - Terman, L. M. (ed.) - Genetic Studies of Genius - Vol. IV
The Gifted Child Grows Up - (Stanford Univ. Pr. - 1947) P. 30-34

feminine type interests were likely to manifest the feminine personality and social characteristics of our culture. (1) These sex-typed interest patterns could be applied to educational subject choices. Cottle (1968) found that verbal aptitude was positively correlated to femininity while mechanical attitude was correlated to masculinity among women. He also found that the best predictor of grades was popularity which was frequently dependent on the adoption of the expected sex role behaviour. For women particularly, unpopularity was associated with masculinity. (2) In a Canadian Study, Fleming (1957) showed that although girls have a higher achievement level than boys, approximately half as many aspire to university education. He predicts that should the more able girls replace the less able boys in universities, the sex ratio would change and bring about a great change in adult sex roles. (3)

In his studies of adolescence, Coleman (1962) states that adolescent achievement norms are created by adult institutions; the family and the school. The school activities instigates the establishment of certain norms which the adolescent is apt to endorse in his educational decisions. (4)

On the other hand Stone and Church (1957) point out that adolescents not having been accorded adult status, seek peer prestige by conforming

- (1) - Mussen, P - Some Antecedents and Consequents of Masculine Sex-Typing in Adolescent Boys - Psychol. Monogr. 75 (No.2): 24 - 1961
- (2) - Cottle, T. J - Family Perceptions, Sex Role Identity and Prediction of School Performance - Educ. & Psychol. Measurements 28: 861-886 - Aug. '68
- (3) - Fleming, W. G - Background and Personality Factors Associated with Educational and Occupational Plans and Careers of Ontario Grade 13 Students - (O.C.E - Toronto - 1957) P. 22-25
- (4) - Coleman; J. S - The Adolescent Society - The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education.
(Free Press of Glencoe - MacMillan Co. N.Y - 1962)

(1)
 strictly to peer values and judgements. This would suggest that the educational standards and choices of the peer group would be most influential. Brittain (1966) found that older siblings exerted significant influence. Siblings of the same sex tended to encourage peer group conformity, while siblings of the opposite sex tended significantly toward
 (2)
 parental conformity.

Henry (1963) states that the price of peer social acceptance is conformity and one's loss of freedom and individuality. However, he finds strong-willed adolescents are squeezed out of conforming groups and join
 (3)
 forces to stimulate each other. He sees the school as an institution discouraging creativity and propagating the conformist values, preoccupations
 (4)
 and fears found in the culture. Thus the non-conforming adolescent would look elsewhere for stimulation and advice.

The preceeding writings and investigations indicate the existence of varied opinions among social scientists regarding contemporary sex roles. The Sex Role Differentiation dichotomy, based on the works of Talcott Parsons, has been supported and substantiated by several researchers prior to 1957. In the past decade, in America and abroad, a skeptical group has shown that this sex role pattern may not apply to our present society. Their

- (1) - Stone, L. J; Church, J - Childhood and Adolescence - A Psychology of the Growing Person (Random House - N.Y - 1957) P. 275-278
- (2) - Brittain, C. V - Age and Sex of Siblings and Conformity Towards Parents Versus Peers in Adolescence - Child Develop. 37: 709-14 '66
- (3) - Henry, J - Culture Against Man
 (Vintage Books - N. Y. - 1963) P. 148
- (4) - Ibid. - P. 287

investigations suggest that society may be evolving a new sex role pattern tending towards equalitarianism rather than differentiation. Simultaneously, the rigidity of sex roles of the past seem to be replaced by flexibility.

Several factors seem to be contributing to this trend. Since both boys and girls are eligible for similar educational and occupational preparation, it is difficult to expect their activities and interests as adults to be channelled into divergent paths. The increased mobility of the family, induced by our industrial system, has altered family relationships. Finally, the growing importance of economic symbols as a measure of status, has stimulated expectations for women as well as men to be wage-earners. This is accompanied by the corresponding necessity to have both co-operate and share home responsibilities.

This trend would seem most prevalent in the middle and upper middle class for it is congruent with their values and aspirations. The Protestant ethic would seem to urge them to endorse this ambitious pattern also. There is evidence, however, that other ethnic and religious groups are increasingly adopting the same model. Intelligence would seem to be a major factor in this role pattern, for it is directly related to the motivation level as well as the educational and occupational possibilities.

Since instrumental qualities seem to be given more status and considered more desirable, it would follow that girls would require more readjustment than boys. Some evidence shows, however, that the

girls are urging boys to adopt more expressive roles to fill the partial void and simultaneously increasing the convergence of roles.

Should an alteration of sex roles be taking place, it may result in a major readjustment in educational aspirations and achievements. It may also emphasize the "generation gap" so that adolescents may consider conservative adult views outdated in educational guidance.

Thus if indeed the sex role is changing, social scientists foresee unpredictable and far-reaching changes possible in our society.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

THE RESEARCH SAMPLE

The data used for this study were collected in 1965 by Dr. E. Pedersen, in connection with his research program at Harvard University.

The sample, comprised of 6457 Grade VIII and Grade X pupil respondents, was drawn from 38 secondary schools in the Province of Quebec ranging in size from 50 to 1200 students. The schools represented all major regional groups; urban, rural, linguistic, religious and ethnic. Although a random sample of pupils was selected, it is not a true sample of the adolescent population since an undeterminable number would have left school already.

After preliminary trials and a pilot study, bilingual questionnaires were perfected for the pupils and their teachers. Only part of the information collected was relevant to the original research. The remaining data were collected anticipating possible future studies such as this one.

All questions used for this study can be found in Appendices B, C and D.

PROCEDURE

Sex Role Orientation criterion was established by assessing each pupil's position on an instrumental-adaptive expressive-integrative continuum, according to his responses to tested evaluating questions.

The pupils were then assigned to three categories - conformist, convergent or divergent based on five criteria questions derived from role model and values of education and work. The preliminary distribution analysis of the adolescents in these categories revealed an unexpected majority of divergents over conformists, prompting further scrutiny and examination of the results. The absence of error or reversal of sex was verified by manual card checking. Since Talcott Parsons theory was most likely to apply to role model, this question was analysed individually by sex and cultural background, these being the seemingly most significant factors involved. Upon verification that indeed role model did correspond to the Sex Role Differentiation Theory under investigation it was decided to base the Sex Role orientation on the four value questions only.

All variables were then assessed in relation to the three Sex Role Orientation categories. The findings were analysed for significance by the Chi Square Test and accepted at the .05 level. To facilitate the comparison of findings, percentages were also included in the tables.

CRITERIA FOR SEX ROLE ORIENTATION DIFFERENTIATION

To establish the validity of certain responses as measurement for instrumental-adaptive and expressive-integrative tendencies, an exploratory set of twenty-seven questionnaire responses were assessed by an eleven member pilot group. The twenty most relevant statements were selected from these assessments. A rating form was compiled describing the four sought-after character traits in an individual agreeing with the statement. This rating form is in Appendix A.

The form was completed by 103 persons of both sexes and ranging from 12 to 40 or more years of age. Their sociological and psychological experience ranging from none to the advanced training of university professors.

TABLE I

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF VALIDITY OF STATEMENTS AS SEX ROLE CRITERIA

N - 103

STATEMENTS	SEX ROLE CHARACTER TRAITS RESPONSES					SEX ROLE CATEGORY	ELIMINATED FOR INAPPLICABILITY	PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSE IN SEX ROLE CAT.	PREDOMINATE TRAIT	BASIC AREA OF VALUE JUDGEMENT	SELECTED STATEMENTS
	INST.	ADAPT.	EXP.	INTEG.	NONE						
1	83	9	3	6	3	IA		89.3	INST.	ROLE MODEL	*
2	0	11	83	7	2	EI		87.4	EXP.	ROLE MODEL	*
3	91	6	2	3	1	IA		94.2	INST.	MODEL EDUC.	
4	1	34	27	39	2	EI		64.0	----	----	
5	88	11	2	2	0	IA		96.1	INST.	WORK	*
6	4	7	63	24	5	EI		84.4	EXP.	WORK	*
7	6	55	13	22	7	IA		59.2	----	----	
8	20	60	9	11	13	IA		77.6	----	----	
9	3	12	30	55	3	EI		82.5	INTEG.	EDUC.	*
10	4	14	21	25	19	EI	+	----	----	----	
11	74	2	13	10	4	IA		73.8	----	----	
12	68	13	10	2	10	IA	+	----	----	----	
13	11	54	14	9	10	IA	+	----	----	----	
14	92	4	1	5	1	IA		93.2	INST.	WORK	
15	5	78	9	6	5	IA		80.6	ADAPT.	EDUC.	*
16	33	27	111	8	23	IA	+	----	----	----	
17	6	17	30	30	19	EI	+	----	----	----	
18	80	6	10	0	7	IA		84.3	INST.	WORK	
19	21	56	15	1	10	IA	+	----	----	----	
20	86	3	2	3	9	IA	+	----	----	----	

The results are presented in Table I. Statements 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19 and 20 were directly eliminated since over 10 per cent of the assessors found them inapplicable. The remaining statements were evaluated according to the percentage of agreement among the respondents of the rating form. Statements 4, 7, 8 and 10 were eliminated since they received under 80 per cent agreement.

Statements 5, 6, 9 and 15 were selected as the four criterion statements among the nine with acceptable reliability, for the following reasons:

- 1) The four sought-after character traits each emerged as prominent ones.
- 2) The two Sex Role Orientations were equally represented.
- 3) The statements were based equally on the two value judgement areas examined, namely, a) education and b) work.

The four evaluated statements, which combined serve as criterion for Sex Role Orientation, are measured by Question 2, 3, 4 and 5 in Appendix B. The role model statements, 1 and 2 are measured by the two responses to question 1 in Appendix B.

Of the original sample of 6457, 752 pupils (305 girls and 447 boys) were deleted for the omission of one or more of the responses to the questions in Appendix B. The final experimental sample contained 5705 pupils, of which 3185 were boys and 2520 were girls. Each pupil's Sex Role Orientation was assessed by his responses to the four criteria questions. Each response was weighted between 1 and 5. The weight of 5 indicating strong instrumental-adaptive tendencies and 1 denoting strong expressive-integrative tendencies. The neutral response of "no strong opinion" received a weight of 3. Thus on all four responses each pupil would be rated between 4 and 20. The distribution of the weightings is presented in Table II.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF SEX ROLE WEIGHTING ACCORDING TO SEX

SEX ROLE WEIGHTING	SEX			
	GIRLS		BOYS	
	NO.	(%)	NO.	(%)
4	0	(0)	0	(0)
5	1	(0)	3	(.1)
6	3	(.1)	13	(.4)
7	21	(.8)	41	(1.3)
8	59	(2.3)	106	(3.3)
9	138	(5.5)	193	(6.1)
10	237	(9.4)	377	(11.8)
11	389	(15.4)	538	(16.9)
12	532	(21.1)	754	(23.7)
13	486	(19.3)	527	(16.5)
14	377	(15.0)	351	(11.0)
15	187	(7.4)	165	(5.2)
16	61	(2.4)	81	(2.5)
17	20	(.8)	25	(.8)
18	6	(.2)	7	(.2)
19	3	(.1)	4	(.1)
20	0	(0)	0	(0)
TOTALS	2520		3185	

THE ASSIGNMENT OF SEX ROLE ORIENTATION CATEGORIES.

The Sex Role Orientation continuum was divided into the three arbitrary categories by the researcher, namely 1) conformist 2) convergent and 3) divergent. The low ratings indicate expressive-integrative inclinations (conformist for girls, divergent for boys) while the high ratings indicate instrumental-adaptive inclinations (conformist for boys, divergent for girls). Middle ratings show a lack of strong opinions on these values and/or a combination of both sex role expectations present. In either case it suggests little sex role differentiation or convergence.

Pupils receiving weightings of 10, 11, 13 or 14 were eliminated for indefinite Sex Role Orientation. The final experimental sample used consisted of 2423 pupils (1031 girls and 1392 boys). Their distribution in Sex Role Orientation categories is shown in Table III.

TABLE III
THE ASSIGNMENT OF SEX ROLE ORIENTATION CATEGORIES
BASED ON EDUCATION AND WORK VALUES

SEX	CATEGORY	WEIGHT	NUMBER	PER CENT
GIRLS N=1031	CONFORMIST	4-9	222	21.53
	CONVERGENT	12	532	51.60
	DIVERGENT	15-20	277	26.87
BOYS N=1392	CONFORMIST	15-20	282	20.26
	CONVERGENT	12	754	54.17
	DIVERGENT	4-9	356	25.57
TOTALS			2423	

SEX ROLE ORIENTATION DISTRIBUTION

DEGREE OF CONFORMITY

It was established earlier that the majority of individuals in a society, must conform to the established norms and expectations, in order to maintain order and stability. The Sex Role Differentiation Theory of Talcott Parsons supports the premise that males are expected to have the instrumental-adaptive qualities and the female should fulfill expressive-integrative expectations. The degree of conformity of our sample adolescents to these expectations was examined and recorded in Table IV.

Hypothesis I a - The majority of adolescents are sex role conformists.

TABLE IV

SEX ROLE ORIENTATION DISTRIBUTION AMONG ADOLESCENTS
BASED ON EDUCATION AND WORK VALUES

SEX ROLE ORIENTATION (VALUES)	ADOLESCENT RESPONDENTS	
	NUMBER	PER CENT
CONFORMISTS	504	20.80
CONVERGENTS	1286	53.07
DIVERGENTS	633	26.12
TOTAL	2423	

The preceding findings show that only 20.8 per cent of the sample are conformists while 26.12 per cent are divergents, definitely disproving Hypothesis I-a and seriously questioning the applicability of the Sex Role Differentiation theory developed by Talcott Parsons to this sample. The largest group the convergents (53.07) per cent) shows a decided ambivalence or uncertainty of values among contemporary adolescents. This is evidence of a "blurring" of the sex roles in this age group. The number of divergents who oppose expectations was greater than expected and was cause for further investigation. As explained in the procedure, it was decided to examine the same sample on their Sex Role Orientation based on Role Model. The results of this investigation are reported in Table V.

TABLE V
SEX ROLE ORIENTATION DISTRIBUTION AMONG ADOLESCENTS BASED ON
ROLE MODEL

SEX ROLE ORIENTATION (ROLE MODEL)	ADOLESCENT RESPONDENTS	
	NUMBER	PER CENT
CONFORMISTS	1277	57.25
DIVERGENTS	955	42.57
TOTAL	2232	

A comparison of Tables IV and V, demonstrates a considerable difference in the proportions of conformists and divergents. Table V substantiates

Hypothesis I-a where Table IV does not. This would suggest that the adolescent's values and attitudes towards education and work do not consistently reflect his role model or self image as has been thought. It was stated by Super (1957) that the choice of an occupation requires a young person to examine his self concept and adjust his selection to the kind of person he sees himself to be.⁽¹⁾ These findings would indicate an area of research which could be investigated at a later date.

(1) - Super, D. R - The Psychology of Careers
Harper Row, N. Y - 1957, P. 191

SEX DIFFERENCES

The researcher suspects that among contemporary adolescents, the Sex Role Differentiation Theory is more frequently applicable to boys than to girls for the reasons previously outlined. An analysis of the data was made to detect any evidence of this trend if it exists. The results are to be found in Table VI.

Hypothesis I b - Boys are more likely to be Sex Role Conformists than girls.

TABLE VI
INFLUENCE OF SEX ON ADOLESCENT SEX ROLE ORIENTATION

SEX	SEX ROLE ORIENTATION					
	CONFORMIST		CONVERGENT		DIVERGENT	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
GIRLS N=1031	222	(21.53)	532	(51.60)	277	(26.87)
BOYS N=1392	282	(20.26)	754	(54.17)	356	(25.57)
TOTAL N=2423	504	(20.80)	1286	(53.07)	633	(26.53)
$\chi^2 = 1.57$ df = 2 P = .5						

The findings in Table VI do not support Hypothesis I-a for there are no significant differences between sexes in Sex Role conformity when it is judged on their values in education and work. The same investigation was conducted on their Role Model Sex Role Orientation. The findings are reported in Table VII.

TABLE VII
SEX ROLE ORIENTATION BASED ON ROLE MODEL

SEX	ROLE MODEL	
	EXPRESSIVE INTEGRATIVE	INSTRUMENTAL ADAPTIVE
	NO. PER CENT	NO. PER CENT
GIRLS N=928	(CONFORMISTS) 569 (61.31)	(DIVERGENTS) 359 (38.69)
BOYS N=1304	(DIVERGENTS) 596 (45.71)	(CONFORMISTS) 708 (54.29)
TOTAL	1165	1067
$\chi^2 = 52.94$ df = 1 P = < .001		

When analysing Sex Role Orientation by Sex based on Role Model, a very significant relationship was observed but it was reversed from Hypothesis I-a. More girls were found to be conformists than boys. This would suggest that girls place more importance on social acceptance than boys. We again see noticeable differences in findings when the sex role orientation is based on role model or values.

THE INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The questions used to ascertain the following sociological factors will be found in Appendix C. The opinion of the pupil's teacher was used to determine socio-economic status and intelligence as well as the language and religion of the school. The Sex Role Orientation in all the following investigations is the one based on the pupil's values in education and work unless stated otherwise.

AGE

Talcott Parsons postulates a gradual adaption to sex role expectations during adolescence as maturity and social pressures increase. The data were examined for evidence of this trend in Table VIII.

Hypothesis II a - Sex Role Conformity increases as the adolescent matures.

The investigation reported in Table VIII indicates that Hypothesis II-a is not applicable. Significance was found among the boys but the increase in conformity was highest in the middle adolescent stage and decreased again with further maturity. A similar trend was found among the girls but it was not significant. This increase in conformity might be due to the great importance placed on social acceptance by adolescents of this age group. Since this investigation shows that sex role conformity does not increase with maturity, it casts some doubts on the supposition that the "generation gap" in sex role values will resolve itself as the youth enters further stages in his life cycle development.

TABLE VIII

INFLUENCE OF MATURITY ON ADOLESCENT SEX ROLE ORIENTATION

AGE	SEX ROLE ORIENTATION					
	CONFORMIST		CONVERGENT		DIVERGENT	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
GIRLS N=1031						
EARLY ADOL. N=362	70	(19.34)	199	(54.97)	93	(25.69)
MIDDLE ADOL. N=520	120	(23.08)	260	(50.00)	140	(26.92)
LATE ADOL. N=149	32	(21.48)	73	(48.99)	44	(29.53)
$\chi^2 = 3.22 \text{ df} = 4 \quad P = .5$						
BOYS N=1392						
EARLY ADOL. N=463	77	(16.63)	256	(55.29)	130	(28.08)
MIDDLE ADOL. N=638	149	(23.35)	335	(52.51)	154	(24.14)
LATE ADOL. N=291	56	(19.24)	163	(56.01)	72	(24.74)
$\chi^2 = 8.518 \text{ df} = 4 \quad P = .03$						

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Since there are two distinctly different cultural groups in the Province of Quebec, their impact on the adolescent sex role development could be different. The data were examined to detect any significant differences.

Hypothesis II b - 1) French Catholic adolescent boys tend less towards conformity than English Protestant boys.

- 2) French Catholic adolescent girls tend more towards conformity than English Protestant girls.

TABLE IX

INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL BACKGROUND ON ADOLESCENT SEX ROLE ORIENTATION

CULTURAL BACKGROUND	SEX ROLE ORIENTATION					
	CONFORMIST		CONVERGENT		DIVERGENT	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
GIRLS N=928						
FRENCH CATH. N=549	199	(36.25)	269	(49.0)	81	(14.75)
ENG. PROT. N=379	13	(3.43)	205	(54.09)	161	(42.48)
2 X = 172.94 df = 2 P = < .001						
BOYS N=1304						
FRENCH CATH. N=907	110	(12.13)	474	(52.26)	323	(35.61)
ENG. PROT. N=397	153	(38.54)	224	(56.42)	20	(5.04)
2 X = 194.53 df = 2 P = < .001						

The English Catholic pupils were eliminated from this investigation to avoid contamination of the data. This variable is determined for the school instead of the individual, however, it is assumed that the very small number of pupils of other religions would not significantly affect the findings.

The very significant results in Table IX confirms both Hypotheses II b-1 and II b-2, and indicate the consequential influence of cultural environment in the formation of adolescent values and attitudes. The Province of Quebec provides an unique opportunity to examine the impact of cultural background when other environmental factors are comparatively constant. Because of the significance of this variable, it was examined in relation to the Role Model by sex. This investigation is reported in Table X.

TABLE X

INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL BACKGROUND ON ROLE MODEL ORIENTATION

CULTURAL BACKGROUND	ROLE MODEL ORIENTATION			
	EXPRESSIVE INTEGRATIVE		INSTRUMENTAL ADAPTIVE	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
GIRLS N=928				
FR. CATH. N=549	339	(61.75)	210	(38.25)
ENG. PROT. N=379	230	(60.69)	149	(39.31)
2 X = .11 df = 1 P = .25				
BOYS N=1304				
FR. CATH. N=907	460	(50.72)	447	(49.28)
ENG. PROT. N=397	136	(34.26)	261	(65.74)
2 X = 30.15 df = 1 P = <.001				

The findings of Table X also confirm Hypothesis II b-1 but not II b-2 showing that among the girls sex role values for role model differ considerably from those for education or work. The English Protestant adopt a very similar self-image as the French Catholic girls but differ widely in values for education and work. In other words, they continue to pursue an expressive-integrative feminine role, while adopting opposite attitudes when deciding on education and careers. The French Catholic boys have a decidedly less instrumental-adaptive attitude than their English Protestant counterparts, in both self-image and attitudes towards education and careers. This could handicap them in their adjustment and advancement in a highly industrialized society.

Since all the schools participating in the study were public schools, it has been assumed that they would contain few actual upper class pupils who tend to enrol in private schools. The upper socio-economic class was felt to belong to the upper middle class and therefore was included with the middle class. This datum was obtained from the teacher questionnaire thus adding objectivity to the information.

The findings on social class influence in sex role orientation differs widely between sexes. Hypothesis II c was proven significantly true for boys, however there were no significant differences among the girls. The greater degree of conformity among working class boys may be due to the fact that the father is less home-oriented than his middle class counterpart. His socializing is with other men of his age group rather than with his family, while the middle class father whose job usually demands more travelling often spends free time with his family to compensate for his frequent absences. Thus the middle class father is a male role model for his son. The boys would emulate these values in their sex role image. The working class girls would seem to have very similar sex role orientation as the middle class. Possibly many aspire to raise their social status by adopting instrumental-adaptive attitudes of their middle class counterparts. This might indicate a greater class consciousness and ambition for upward class mobility among working class girls than among boys.

In Table XII the Above Average category refers to pupils with an IQ of above 112. The Average pupils have IQ's between 97 and 112, while the Below Average category is made up of pupils with IQ's of less than 97. The IQ scores of the pupils were contributed by the teachers. In approximately 50 per cent of the cases, the intelligence was measured by recognized tests, otherwise it was teacher estimated.

The results in Table XII show a considerable sex difference in the influence of intelligence on sex role orientation. The girls confirm Hypothesis II d, for the lower their intelligence the greater their tendency towards conformity. They also confirm the postulation that divergence is more attractive to the highly intelligent for they have the ability to pursue it successfully.

The boys' results are only significant at the .1 level and show slightly different patterns. The boys of lower intelligence tend towards conformity but those of high intelligence pursue it even more strongly. It would seem that boys and girls of lower intelligence choose conformity because it is a more acceptable status and easier to pursue. The instrumental-adaptive attitudes are chosen by highly intelligent boys (as conformists) and girls (as divergents) because they usually reap larger economic rewards. Their ability potential motivates them towards ambitious pursuits. In all cases, a high proportion have convergent values indicating a growing lack of adolescent sex role differentiation at all levels of intelligence.

EDUCATIONAL CONSEQUENCES

The questions used in determining the educational consequences of an adolescent's sex role orientation, based on his values in education and work, can be found in Appendix D.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIELD OF INTEREST AND EDUCATIONAL CHOICE

The researcher suspected that the adolescent whose interests differ from those expected by society for his sex, was coerced by social pressures to adjust or alter his aspirations in a more acceptable direction. A comparison was made of the pupil's principal interest (humanities or science) and his educational choice (humanities, science or both equally) in each of the sex role categories. The degree of discrepancy between the two was recorded as "partial" when he chose to study both fields equally and as "different" when a complete reversal was observed. The results were analyzed to determine whether the discrepancy was significantly less for pupils conforming to the expected sex role than those who did not.

Hypothesis III a - The discrepancy between the field of educational interest and the field of educational choice increases as Sex Role Conformity decreases.

TABLE XIII

THE IMPACT OF SEX ROLE ORIENTATION ON THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN
AN ADOLESCENT'S FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL INTEREST AND HIS
FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL CHOICE.

DISCREPANCY	SEX ROLE ORIENTATION					
	CONFORMIST		CONVERGENT		DIVERGENT	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
GIRLS N=1027						
SAME N=445	88	(40.0)	223	(42.08)	144	(51.99)
PARTIAL N=400	103	(46.82)	212	(40.0)	85	(30.69)
DIFFERENT N=172	29	(13.18)	95	(17.29)	48	(17.33)
TOTAL	220		530		277	
2 X = 15.87 df = 4 P = .01						
BOYS N=1385						
SAME N=405	81	(28.93)	224	(29.79)	100	(28.33)
PARTIAL N=806	149	(53.21)	444	(59.04)	213	(60.34)
DIFFERENT N=174	50	(17.86)	84	(11.17)	40	(11.33)
TOTAL	280		752		353	
2 X = 9.59 df = 4 P = .05						

The findings in Table XIII are significant but disprove Hypothesis III-a particularly among the girls. The majority of divergent girls decide on their field of interest and pursue it even more strongly than those of other sex role categories. On the other hand the majority of

divergent boys decide on partial adjustment. These boys may feel that their divergent values and interests are not practical or applicable to their future occupational activities, thus pressing them to develop equally in both educational fields. Very few divergents are prompted to select the different field exclusively however showing little affect of social pressure. This tendency to develop equally in both fields is much stronger among boys of all sex role categories than among girls. The boys' desire for broader basic development may be in preparation of their interpretation of their future sex role responsibilities while girls are less concerned with the wage earner role.

The findings in Table XIV indicate significant relationship between sex role categories and educational aspirations. The larger proportion of girls have medium level aspirations while the majority of boys have high aspirations. This agrees with the findings of Flemming (1957) who suggests⁽¹⁾ that our society conditions girls to moderate aspirations.

The girls only confirmed the hypothesized pattern that aspirations increase as conformity decreases. Neither sex supported the supposition that as conformity decreases it might lead to disillusionment and disproportionately low aspirations. Therefore divergents tend to be motivated to high aspirations, overcoming social disapproval rather than succumbing to it and retreating. Among the boys, as conformity decreased aspirations also decreased. This lower motivation may be due to the lower status accorded expressive-integrative tendencies in our society. These trends would seem to imply that divergence from sex role expectations is less detrimental to the self-image and consequently educational aspirations, than inclinations towards the character traits, values and interests of the lower status sex role.

MAJOR EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE

In seeking to determine where adolescents of different sex role orientations look for assistance in making educational decisions, his three major interaction groups were examined - the school, the parents and the peer group. The school advisors include teachers and guidance counsellors; the parents are the mother or father and the peer group includes siblings as well as friends of one's age for they are both contemporaries.

(1) - Fleming - Background and Personality Factors

- Hypothesis III c 1) As Sex Role Conformity increases the adolescent is more influenced in educational matters by the school.
- 2) As Sex Role Conformity decreases adolescents are more influenced in educational matters by their peers.

TABLE XV
THE IMPACT OF SEX ROLE ORIENTATION ON ADOLESCENT MAJOR EDUCATIONAL
INFLUENCES

MAJOR EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE	SEX ROLE ORIENTATION					
	CONFORMIST		CONVERGENT		DIVERGENT	
	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT	NO.	PER CENT
GIRLS N=1020						
SCHOOL	64	(28.96)	165	(31.37)	89	(32.60)
N=318						
PARENTS	86	(38.91)	220	(41.83)	111	(40.66)
N=417						
PEERS	38	(17.19)	78	(14.83)	44	(16.12)
N=160						
OTHERS	33	(14.93)	63	(11.98)	29	(10.62)
N=125						
TOTAL	221		526		273	
2						
X = 3.38 df = 6 P = .8						
BOYS N=1381						
SCHOOL	79	(28.42)	234	(31.28)	117	(32.96)
N=430						
PARENTS	114	(41.01)	316	(42.25)	136	(38.31)
N=566						
PEERS	48	(17.27)	98	(13.10)	48	(13.52)
N=194						
OTHER	37	(13.31)	100	(13.37)	54	(15.21)
N=191						
TOTAL	278		748		355	
2						
X = 5.21 df = 6 P = .5						

The hypotheses proposed concerning the relationship between sex role orientation and major educational influences were not supported by the above findings. Conformists are not more influenced by the school; nor are divergents more influenced by peers. In fact a slight reverse trend is apparent in the latter hypothesis.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As stated in the introduction, there is a difference of opinion among sociologists concerning the degree of sex role differentiation, as described in the works of Talcott Parsons, which exists in contemporary youth. The study was conducted among 6457 high school adolescents throughout the province of Quebec, to determine to what extent the Sex Role Orientation was applicable.

The Sex Role categories were necessarily arbitrarily decided upon by the researcher but in any case the distribution was such that a majority of the adolescents fell into the convergence category. This group lacked concern for Sex Role differentiation values and attitudes or adopted a combination of the expected male and female values. Therefore, there seems to be evidence of sex role "blurring" or the reduction of sex role differentiation.

During the preliminary investigation, there seemed to be some contamination of the criteria based on a combination of the role model's admired qualities and values placed on education and work. When separate analyses for role model qualities and the values were conducted, it became evident that a considerable number of adolescents were selecting conflicting orientation in these areas. This finding seems to question the assumption that a person's values, attitudes and choices in such areas as education or careers reflects his role model choice or self-image. Although this finding is not fully developed in this study, it suggests an interesting area for further investigation.

With revised sex role criteria, based on values for education and work only, the influence of several sociological factors was investigated. It was found that in role model qualities girls had a greater tendency than boys to conform to their expected sex role. This might indicate that they place more importance on social acceptance than boys do.

The high degree of convergence in both sexes suggests that adolescents generally are attempting to integrate the conflicting qualities of the two sex roles into new integrated sex roles.

It was anticipated that social pressure would increasingly tend to persuade adolescents towards conformity as they mature. There was significant change for boys in the degree of conformity but this occurred at the middle adolescent years and decreased again with further maturity. This might be due to an urgent adolescent desire for social acceptance at this age. A similar, but less significant pattern, was observed among the girls. This would tend to disprove the explanation for the "generation gap" in values, as a temporary situation which would rectify itself in later years.

When sex role orientation, based on values for education and work, was examined according to cultural background a high degree of significance was found for both sexes. In the similar examination based on role model qualities, it was found that the English Protestant girls had largely lost their instrumental-adaptive attitudes and had become as expressive-integrative as their French Catholic counterparts. This again demonstrates that adolescents adopt different orientation depending on the values investigated and these can be conflicting. In both investigations the French Catholic boys had more tendency towards expressive-integrative orientation than did English Protestant boys. This tendency would handicap somewhat their adjustment and advancement in our highly industrialized society.

On investigating the relationship of social class on sex role orientation it was found that working class boys tended significantly more towards conformity than did middle class boys. This would seem to be related to

recognized sociological differences in class attitudes and values. Lacking male models on which to pattern themselves, middle class boys look for social approval through conformity to expectations. However, there was no significant difference among the girls. This appears to indicate that lower class girls are prone to adopting middle class attitudes.

The influence of intelligence on sex role orientation was also examined. This factor seemed considerably more significant for girls than for boys, although a .1 degree of significance was found for boys. This would support our postulation that divergence is more attractive to the highly intelligent for they are more effective in pursuing it. The lower degree of divergence in highly intelligent boys is explainable by the fact that their ambitions to achieve status through economic symbols are best realized in the instrumental-adaptive pursuits. The large percentage of convergence at all levels of intelligence again shows evidence of a frequent lack of sex role differentiation.

The impact of an adolescent's sex role orientation on certain educational factors was then analysed. The effect of the discrepancy between an adolescent's educational interests and educational choice was examined. It was found that in girls particularly, the divergents pursued their interests in spite of the social pressure to change to educational expectations. The divergent boys tended more towards compromise by dividing their educational choices in both fields equally. This may be due to their realization that broad education would equip them best to perform their future role expectation of wage earner. The girls can afford a more independent attitude towards preparation for work. Few divergent boys changed to the opposite educational field however where the earning potential was greatest.

When the relationship between sex role orientation and educational aspirations was examined it was found that aspirations increased as conformity

decreased among the girls, while the opposite was true for the boys. This would seem to be connected with the fact that instrumental-adaptive inclinations lead to higher aspirations regardless of sex. These inclinations, dominant in conformist boys and divergent girls, receive higher status and are better rewarded in our industrialized society. In neither sex was there evidence of divergence leading to disillusionment and causing disproportionately low aspirations. Divergents do not appear inclined to submit to social disapproval by rejecting education.

The final factor examined was the relationship between sex role orientation and the seeking of educational advice between school advisors, parents, peers or others. There were no significant trends found in this area.

Several conclusions drawn from the preceding study are enumerated below:

- 1) A high degree of convergence of sex roles is evident among contemporary youth, resulting in less sex role differentiation.
- 2) Adolescents do not necessarily adopt a similar sex role orientation in their values as their self-image. Conflict is found between role model and values for education and work in several instances.
- 3) During maturation, any tendency towards greater conformity occurs in the middle adolescent years, decreasing again in late adolescence.
- 4) English Protestant girls are found to have role model values similar to French Catholic girls, i.e. expressive-integrative, but differ widely in their values for education and work. Among the boys, French Catholics are consistently more divergent than English Protestants.
- 5) Working class girls seem to adopt many middle class values and aspirations. Greater divergence is observed among middle class boys than working class boys.
- 6) In both sexes, divergence promoted high aspirations with no evidence that it causes disillusionment or rejection of education.

CHAPTER V

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE TO ESTABLISH CRITERIA FOR SEX ROLE ORIENTATION DIFFERENTIATION

Macdonald College - April 1969.

I am a graduate student doing research in Education. I would appreciate your opinion in order to establish the validity of the following statements as criteria for determining certain characteristics among adolescents. Please read the description of these characteristics and insert your opinion as requested.

My address is on the reverse side of this paper. On completion of the questionnaire, please fold the paper to reveal the address and deposit it in the College Mailbox.

Your interest and co-operation is much appreciated. Thank you.

It is not necessary to identify yourself but the following information would be most useful. Please check the correct category.

- sex male ☐ female ☐
- age 12-18 ☐, 19-25 ☐, 25-40 ☐, 40 or over ☐
- Have you any training in psychology or sociology? yes ☐ no ☐
- Were you previously familiar with the character traits mentioned above? yes ☐ no ☐.

Character Traits	Description				
Instrumental (Ins.)	- task oriented - interested in accomplishing things. - concerned with earning one's living and providing for material needs.				
Adaptive (Ad.)	- flexible in outlook - ability to adjust to expectations and changes. - concerned with one's standing in society.				
Expressive (Ex.)	- people oriented - concerned with people's emotional and social needs. - concerned with assisting to resolve personal problems.				
Integrative (Int.)	- concerned with group social relationship and maintenance of solidarity - interest in alleviating tensions within group.				
Please read each statement carefully. Check the above trait(s) which you feel would be characteristic of an adolescent agreeing with the statement. Check the last column if you feel that none are applicable. <u>DO NOT</u> give your opinion of the statement.					
Statements	Ins.	Ad.	Ex.	Int.	None
1) Most young people admire and want to be like some other person because he has the ability to get things done.					

APPENDIX A (cont'd.)

Statements	Ins.	Ad.	Ex.	Int.	None
2) Most young people admire and want to be like some other person because he has the ability to be good to people.					
3) The good thing about education is the training you get that will enable you to earn a good salary to buy the things you need.					
4) I hope to do well at school so as not to disappoint those who have expectations in me. I want to please others.					
5) Work is important for it enables you to be independent and not have to rely on others for food, clothing and money.					
6) Work is important for, by getting money or having influential position, you are able to help other people.					
7) Education is important for without it we would never be able to change our ways for the better.					
8) It will be hard work to keep up to the changes taking place in the world, but it will definitely be worth the effort.					
9) The most important thing about education is that it helps you have a good family life.					
10) No matter how good a job you get, you should always remember that some day you will need help from friends and family.					
11) Work is important mainly because it helps you provide for your family.					
12) If you get a good education you will never have to depend on other people for the things you need.					
13) Education is exciting because it leads you to new fields and acquaints you with new ideas.					
14) Just about the most important thing about work is that it helps you get money for the things you like to have.					
15) Education is the way to change to a new life through new ideas.					
16) The real value of education is that it will qualify a person to move away from home to do whatever he pleases.					
17) No amount of education will ever make it certain that you will not have to depend on others to help you at times; you shouldn't really worry about accepting such help.					
18) A very important result of working is the money you get, because it enables you to do more of the things you like to do.					
19) A student should develop his talents regardless of opportunities at home. If he can't find the kind of work he is best at where he lives he should go elsewhere.					
20) One of the best things about being well educated is that you never have to worry about where the next meal is coming from.					

APPENDIX B

CRITERIA QUESTIONS FOR SEX ROLE ORIENTATION DIFFERENTIATION

The following questions were answered by the High School adolescent respondents. The weight assigned to each response is indicated in the brackets.

QUALITATIVE STATEMENTS	RESPONSES		
	INSTRUMENTAL ADAPTIVE	NEUTRAL	EXPRESSIVE INTEGRATIVE
1) Most young People admire and want to be like some other person. Choose only one of the two responses that you admire about the person of your choice.	- The person's ability to get things done.		-The person's ability to be good to people
2) An important thing about work is that it enables you to be independent and not have to rely on others for food, clothing and spending money.	-Strongly agree (5) Agree (4)	-No strong opinion (3)	-Disagree (2) Strongly disagree (1)
3) Education is the way to change to a new way of life through new ideas.	-Strongly agree (5) Agree (4)	-No strong opinion (3)	-Disagree (2) Strongly disagree (1)
4) The important thing about working is that, by getting money or having an influential position, you are able to help other people.	-Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (5)	-No strong opinion (3)	-Strongly agree (2) Agree (1)
5) The important thing about a good education is that it helps you have a good family life.	-Disagree (4) Strongly disagree (5)	-No strong opinion (3)	-Strongly agree (2) Agree (1)

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS ESTABLISHING THE SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS INVESTIGATED

All questions are from the High School Pupil Questionnaire except those preceded by (T) which were answered by their teachers.

1) AGE

Question: How old are you?

Categories: a) Early Adolescent - 14 years old and under
b) Middle Adolescent - 15 or 16 years old
c) Late Adolescent - 17 years old and over

2) CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Question: (T) Which of the following categories best describes your school?

Categories: a) French Catholic
b) English Protestant

3) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Question: (T) Where would you rank this student's family in terms of social class level?

Categories: a) Middle Class and Upper Class
b) Working Class

4) INTELLIGENCE

Question: (T) The IQ of the student. If a measured score is at hand, use it; if more than one is available, use the most recent; if no score is convenient use the adjective check list.

Categories: a) Above Average - IQ of 113 or more
b) Average - IQ of 97 - 112
c) Below Average - IQ of 96 or less

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONS ESTABLISHING THE INFLUENTIAL SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The following questions are from the High School Pupil Questionnaire.

1) DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL INTEREST AND CHOICE

Field of Educational Interest

Question: Academic subjects are sometimes classified as humanities (history, literature, philosophy, etc.) and sciences (mathematics, physics, biology, etc.). Which branch do you find the more interesting of the two?

Categories: a) Humanities
b) Sciences

Field of Educational Choice

Question: As you go on with your studies (or if you go on with your studies) which branch will (or would) you emphasize?

Categories: a) Humanities
b) Sciences
c) Both Equally

2) EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

Question: Suppose you had all the money and ability needed, how far would you like to go before you stop attending school?

Categories: a) High - Bachelor university degree or more
b) Medium - High School diploma and/or some university
c) Low - less than finishing High School

3) MAJOR EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES

Question: Of the persons in the list below which one would you think influenced you the most about what subject you should study or what courses you should take in High School or college?

Categories: a) School - teachers, counsellors
b) Parents - mother, father
c) Peers - sibling, friend
d) Others

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