

Psychological Androgyny: A Black Female Perspective¹

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The focus of the present study is the relationship between Masculine and Feminine personality attributes (as measured by the PAQ), sex role attitudes, and socialization antecedents among a sample of Black women. The majority of the Black women in this study report Androgynous sexual identities, but have traditional beliefs about the female role in the family. Androgynous women are more likely to be positively identified with both mother and father. Women who are college graduates have more liberal views about the female role and are more likely to identify themselves as Masculine and Undifferentiated. Regardless of sexual identity category, the subjects are all heavily invested in the mothering role. Racial comparisons indicate more Black women are in the Androgynous category and more White women in the Undifferentiated category. White respondents have more liberal sex role attitudes than the Black respondents.

Changing sexual attitudes and values have affected all groups in America. While there is a large body of empirical data on sex roles and sexual identity among Whites (Mason, Czajka, and Arber, 1976), systematic information about sexual identity and sexual role attitudes in the Black population has been virtually nonexistent. Billingsley (1968), Hill (1977), and Staples (1978) challenged the myths surrounding family structure and sex roles in the Black community by analyzing the intra-group dynamics, the influence of political and social change on families, and the interchangeable nature of social roles in the Black family network. However, even with this research, little

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empirical data exists on sex role socialization, sexual identity, or sex role attitudes of adult Black men and women.

Although there is considerable consensus about sex-appropriate characteristics, cross-cultural studies suggest that there are tremendous variations in sex roles. The issue of cultural diversity in sex roles is especially important for this research. Acknowledging cultural variations in sex roles also implies that differences between men and women are not biologically determined; but, instead are based on cultural prescriptions about sex appropriate behavior.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between early socialization experiences, adult sexual identity, and sex role attitudes among a sample of Black American women. A central area of exploration is the relationship between psychological masculinity and femininity, sex role attitudes. A thorough exploration of sexual identity and sex role attitudes requires an understanding of the socialization origins and the influences of intervening variables which impact on these adult personality traits. The major independent variables are: childhood socialization experiences, parental attitudes, religiosity, and attitudes towards mothering. The present study was designed to address these major questions:

1. What is the relationship between early socialization experiences, family structure, parental attitudes, and sexual identity?
2. What is the relationship between demographic characteristics and sexual identity?
3. How are sex role attitudes mediated by sexual identity?
4. Is there a relationship between self-esteem, sex role attitudes, and father presence in the family of origin?
5. What is the relationship between race, sexual identity, and sex role attitudes?

The Measurement of Masculinity and Femininity

Concern about the antithetical treatment of masculinity and femininity in social scientific theory and measures was the catalyst for the construction of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) (Bem, 1974) and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) (Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, 1974). These measurement tools yielded a new dimension in the understanding of sexual identity: androgyny. Both inventories present a dualistic approach to measuring masculine and feminine attributes as orthogonal dimensions and produce an androgyny score which measures the existence of both feminine and masculine attributes in the same individual.

Given the tenor of our times, the concept of psychological androgyny is very seductive. In research using the BSRI, Bem (1974) stressed the relationship between cognitive processing and the motivational dynamics of androgynous and sex-typed persons. Spence and Helmreich (1978) rejected the motivational approach of Bem. Instead, they argue that responses to the PAQ are a relatively accurate assessment of a person's repertoire of personality characteristics or traits. They view masculinity and femininity as personality constructs as opposed to sex role related behavior.

Sex Role Socialization

There are two distinct theoretical frameworks on the sex role socialization of Black women. One group views Black women as being socialized to be self-sufficient, independent, hardworking, and resourceful (Ladner, 1971; Stack, 1974). This is in clear contrast to the female who is socialized to be dependent, emotional, and expressive in her orientation. On the other hand, Gurin and Gaylord (1976) argue that Black women are socialized to accept a traditional female role. They found that sex role influences inhibit career choices and aspirations for Black college women in similar ways as White college women. Both Black and White college women were more likely to aspire to a traditional feminine field like teaching instead of medicine (Gurin and Gaylord, 1976). Hershey (1978) also concluded that both Black men and women ascribe to traditional sex role norms and that sex is a more powerful determiner than race in sex role identities. However, Fleming (1989) found in her research on Blacks in White college environments that Black women are not stronger or more dominant but they are less passive and dependent, less feminine in a traditional sense, than White women.

The apparent variance in these two positions characterizes the complex nature of sex roles and the heterogeneity of the Black population. Variation in the aforementioned research samples may also be due to social class differences as well as differences between idealized roles and actual behavior. Ladner (1971) and Stack (1974) studied a black urban, poor community, while Gurin and Gaylord (1976) and Hershey (1978) studied middle-class Black college women. The differences in the sample might suggest that Black middle-class women have a more traditional sex role socialization and lower-class Black women have a less sex-stereotyped socialization. However, lack of empirical justification makes such an interpretation premature. Instead, sex role socialization patterns in the Black population make a convincing case for conceptualizing masculinity and femininity as orthogonal dimensions.

Parental Influences

Parental attributes and behavior are a central focus of this study because of the influence parents have in the development of sexual identity. Psychoanalytic and social learning theorists differ in terms of the dynamic aspects of parental identification. The traditional or psychoanalytic perspective associates appropriate gender identity with the affective relationship and identification between the child and the same sex parent, while social learning theory views the acquisition of sex-typed behaviors in terms of imitative learning experiences and reinforcement of traits that are culturally sex-typed. In a comparison of differences in socialization practices, Johnson (1975) presented the father as more demanding of sex-typed behavior in their sons, however, mothers were *less* likely to differentiate between children's behavior according to sex.

Others, Chodorow (1978), Binion (1979), and Baumrind (1980) have found greater congruity between daughters and their mothers. In a study on mother-daughter sex role attitudes, Binion (1979) observed that irrespective of racial group, the best predictor of the daughter's sex role attitudes was her mother's attitudes. Studies by Burlew (1982) and Miller (1988) also indicate that the mother's accomplishments, both in education and career outside the home, are important to the development of Black females, especially in encouraging the pursuit of non-traditional occupations and more liberal sex role attitudes. Chodorow's (1978) psychoanalytic treatise on mothering, noted the importance of the mother-daughter relationship and reported that daughters are socialized to be like their mothers and consequently spend a great deal of time with them. Baumrind (1980) observed that socialization practices within family networks have a greater effect on the development of independence and other personality characteristics in girls than in boys. If this is so, parental influences on adult sexual identity are even more important variables to investigate in a female sample.

Cultural Influences

This present study is an explanatory investigation of the transcultural validity of the PAQ. While R. Helmreich (personal communication, May 5, 1980), indicated that samples from Mexico, Germany, Tunisia, and France look very similar to American norms, there is virtually no data on non-White U.S. samples. This research offers an important opportunity to understand the cross-cultural significance on the PAQ as a measurement tool. The theoretical issues addressed relate to the similarities or differences in a distribution of Black women and White women in the four sexual identity categories,

viz, whether Black women are more likely to describe themselves as androgynous on the PAQ and whether there are cross-cultural differences in sexual identity. This study also examines the degree to which self-reported masculine and feminine characteristics dictate role preferences and gender expected behavior. How do marital status, number of children, attitudes towards mother, religiosity, education, and sex role attitudes relate to androgyny? Is the psychological concept of androgyny a useful tool in predicting and understanding the sex role behavior and attitudes of Black American women?

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

The sample population consisted of 123 adult Black women recruited from a Michigan Employment Security Commission (MESC) branch office, which drew from a larger catchment area, but was located in a low-income inter-city community near downtown Detroit. Participation was voluntary and all subjects were paid at the completion of their interview. The interview was presented as paid employment and because continuation of employment benefits is contingent on willingness to accept paid employment, there is reason to expect that a representative group of women was obtained.

Approximately 34.1% of the Black women in the study were 18-21 years old; 29.3% were 22-25 years old; 30.9% were 26-34 years old; and 5.7% were 35 years and older. The median age of the Black women was 23.0 years. The mean age of the women was 25.2 years ($SD = 6.4$). The percentage distributions for marital status indicate that 22.8% of the respondents were married; 13.0% were separated; 5.7% were divorced; and 58.5% have never married. Educational attainment figures show that 18.7% of the subjects were less than high school graduates; 30.9% were high school graduates; 41.5% had some college; and 8.9% were college graduates. The mean years of schooling was 12.8 years.

The majority of the Black women in the sample, 79.3% were Protestant; 5.8% Catholic; 5.8% Moslem; and 9.1% reported no religious affiliation. The percentage distributions for family income indicate that 4.1% reported no family income; 28.7% reported an income of \$1,000-4,999; 19.7% an income of \$5,000-9,999; 19.7% an income of \$10,000-14,999; 18.9% an income of \$15,000-19,000; and 9.0% reported a family income of \$20,000 or more. Population statistics from a City of Detroit sample survey of educational levels and family income figures yield results similar to the sample study.

The Comparison Sample

In order to explore racial differences in sexual identity and sex role attitudes, the White female subjects who participated in the MESC survey were used as a comparison group. The total sample drawn from MESC consisted of 175 women; 123 or 70.7% were Black, 45 or 26.4% were White, and the remaining women were of other racial or ethnic backgrounds. The mean age of the White women in the comparison sample was 26.04 years ($SD = 5.8$) and the mean years of schooling was 12.13 years ($SD = 2.3$); these differences were not significant. Overall, the Black and White women in the study samples were very similar.

There were two demographic areas where the sample differed. Approximately 45.7% of the White comparison women have never married, 13.0% were divorced, 4.3% separated, and 37.0% were married, $X^2(3) = 8.25, p < .04$. There were also significant differences in current religion for the two racial groups. The majority of the White comparison group, 45.7% were Catholic, 34.8% were Protestant, 4.3% were Jewish, 6.5% reported other affiliations, and 8.7% reported no current religion, $X^2(4) = 46.79, p < .0001$.

Procedure

Personal face-to-face interviews were administered to all the women. The interviews averaged from two to three and a half hours and covered social family history, attitudes, self-perceptions, parenting behaviors, social support, attitudes toward children, and demographic characteristics.

Female interviewers were recruited and trained by the research staff. The interviews were conducted in the project offices in private rooms set aside for this purpose. Respondents and interviewers were matched by race and sex. Subjects received monetary remuneration at the end of the interview.

Measures

The questionnaire administered in the study was developed for use with low income, low education women as a part of a larger national study which investigated measurement issues with diverse populations. The measurement areas included: (1) sexual identity, (2) sex role attitudes, (3) mothering/attitudes about children, (4) social history/early socialization, and (5) self-perceptions. All of the measures used in the questionnaire were developed by project research staff at the Institute for Social Research, in conjunction with existing instruments in the area.

Personal Attributes Questionnaire and New Sex Role Index. The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) developed by Spence et al. (1974) was administered to a random half of the subjects. The new version of the PAQ, developed by the research staff is called the New Sex Role Index (NSRI) (Tucker, Colten, & Douvan, 1976). Alpha coefficients were computed for both sex role measures; the PAQ femininity scale was .68 and the PAQ masculinity scale was .66. Likewise for the NSRI the femininity scale was .73 and the masculinity scale was .68. These alpha coefficients indicate good reliability (Cronbach, 1951).

Subjects taking the PAQ were asked to rate themselves on a 5-point scale, by circling a letter from A (low pole) to E (high pole). On the NSRI, the respondents were asked to rate themselves on a scale from 1 to 5 for each descriptor, where 1 = not all true of me and 5 = very true of me. After pre-testing the NSRI and the PAQ, changes were made in language and method of administration. The NSRI was developed to insure greater reliability and validity for use in a national study of low-income, low-education women. The changes in the PAQ to create the NSRI were minor and included more simple language and the labeling of the adjectives at only one of the scale. The interviewers read the items aloud and the respondents circled their answers on a response card which also had a list of the items. The purpose of this procedure was twofold; it eliminated any reading difficulties and it offered privacy for the respondent during the interview.

Results from the pre-test to demonstrate the relationship between the PAQ and the NSRI had a correlation of .87 for the total PAQ and the total NSRI. The correlation for the masculinity scale was .81 and for the femininity scale was .79 (Tucker et al., 1976). These correlations are quite high and suggest that the two measures are similar and that the items could be pooled for analytical purposes.

Median Split Method. The four sexual identity categories were derived by crossing the masculinity and femininity scores of the PAQ and NSRI. Subjects who scored above or at the median on the PAQ femininity scale, for example, were classified as high feminine. Those who scored below the median were classified as low feminine. The same procedures were also used for both scales of the NSRI. After the medians were derived, respondents were classified as Masculine (high masculine-low feminine), Feminine (high feminine-low masculine), Undifferentiated (low feminine-low masculine), and Androgynous (high masculine-high feminine). Subjects who took the same version of the measure were classified into the four sexual identity categories, then the PAQ and NSRI group were combined for analyses. The cross-classification used was developed to ensure measurement integrity.

Sex Role Attitudes Measure. The sex role attitude measures were developed from the following sources: Steinmann and Fox, 1966; Spence and

Helmreich, 1972. Responses to the items were on a 4-point scale from "agree a lot" to "disagree a lot," where a high score = liberal attitudes on Factor 1 and a high score on the other factors indicates agreement with the factor. The total score on each factor was used for analysis. The items in the sex role attitudes measure are presented in Table I. Four factors were derived through principle component factor analysis with varimax rotation. Alpha coefficients were computed for the four sex role attitude factors; the factors and corresponding alpha levels are also presented in Table I. Each factor is considered separately in analysis.

Early Socialization and Family History Measures. The variables which measure early socialization cover a broad range and include: *Perceptions and Closeness to Parents*. A semantic differential description of each parent included pairs of word opposites measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale, there

Table I. Cronbach's Alpha Coefficients for Sex Role Attitudes Factors

Sex Role Attitudes Factor	Items	Alpha coefficient
Sex Role Attitudes I: ^a Traditional Sex Role Ideology	1. The only way for women to survive is to have men protect them. 2. When a man works hard all day, he should not have to help with the housework. 3. Raising children should be more a mother's job than a father's. 4. Men make better bosses than women.	.6175
Sex Role Attitudes II: Women are strong and men are weak	1. Women can handle a lot more hurt than men can. 2. Though they like to think differently, men are really the ones who need to be taken care of. 3. A woman can get along without a man better than a man can get along without a woman.	.4960
Sex Role Attitudes III: Comfort with women	1. I am more at ease with a group of women than with a group of men. 2. I find it easier to share my most important feelings with another woman than with a man.	.4968
Sex Role Attitudes IV: ^b Men are not nice to women	1. I have often felt that men are more interested in my body than in me as a person. 2. Most men don't take women seriously. 3. Women are badly used more than men.	.5012

Note: Responses were scored on a four-point scale. 4 = agree a lot; 3 = agree a little; 2 = disagree a little; 1 = disagree a lot.

^aScoring reversed on all items for index construction; high score = liberal and low score = traditional.

^bThis factor may represent a broader measure of inequalities in the social status of men and women.

were 14 word pairs for both mother and father. The differential description of parent, *Closeness to Mother and to Father*, was measured by two separate items on a 4-point scale. *Parent's Education*: Mother's and father's education were both measured on a 7-point scale, however, in analysis, a five level education variable was constructed. *Father/Stepfather Presence or Absence*: the respondent was asked "who raised you most of the time until you were 12 years old?" The 14 categories of kin were recorded so that (1) includes four family constellations with a father or stepfather present and (2) father absence (including mother only and other kin situations). *Religiosity in the Family of Origin*: This item asked "How religious was your family?" It was scored on a 4-point scale. *Family Interaction*: two items were used as general measures of interpersonal dynamics in the family of origin. *Family Economic Situation*: This item asked "which card best describes the family's economic situation most of the time while you were growing up?" A 4-point response scale was used. Each item was considered separately in analysis.

Self-Perceptions During Childhood. *Perceptions of Childhood Happiness*: These items assessed perceptions of loneliness, feeling loved and wanted, popularity and embarrassment with peers before 12 years old and from 12-16 years old, they were measured on a 4-point scale and were summed into two separate indices, *Perceptions of Rigidity and Punishment in R's Upbringing*. Three items were summed to form an index of *Rigidity and Punishment* in childhood. *Childhood Sex Role Experiences*: These four items asked about the respondent's desire to be a boy and perceptions of differences in treatment and expectations according to gender and were recorded on a 4-point scale.

Attitudes Towards Mothering. The cluster of measures includes attitudes about mothering, the importance of children, whether or not the respondent has a lover, number of children, and age at birth of first child. Each item was considered separately in analysis.

Self-Esteem. This 10-item measure is the Bachman self-esteem index (Bachman, Kahn, Davidson, and Johnson, 1967). This index was chosen because of its successful use with noncollege education individuals, as well as Black low-income populations (Jennings, 1975).

RESULTS

Using the median split method described earlier in the measures section, the results from the Black women in this sample indicate that 36.6% identify themselves as Androgynous, 17.9% Feminine, 23.6% Masculine, and 22.0% Undifferentiated. These results support the theoretical expectations of this study, that Black women are more likely to identify them-

selves as Androgynous. The pattern of these results is consistent with more demanding family roles, different socialization practices, and cultural expectations. It is not surprising that the agentic and instrumental characteristics of this sample should be elevated, as expressed in the increased percentage of Androgynous and Masculine women. The distribution of Black women in this study is similar to female varsity athletes (Colker & Widom, 1980) and female scientists (Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Neither research sample contained African American women.

Family Structure and Parental Influences

Analysis of variance results for the four sexual identity groups indicate no overall differences on measures of interaction in this family of origin. Basically, all the four groups described their family life during childhood as "happy." Overall, religiosity in the family of origin was not significantly related to sexual identity group, however, a planned analysis of the mean differences were in the predicted direction with feminine women reporting greater religiosity in their families during childhood. All four groups of women were also reared in similar economic circumstances during childhood.

The majority (48.8%) of the women in the sample were raised in two parent households, 35% were raised by only a mother, 3.3% by a mother and stepfather, 3.3% by both grandparents, 8% by other kin, and 1.6% were raised by foster parents or in other institutional situations. More than one variable was generated to measure the influence of household composition on sexual identity; no significant differences were found. Approximately 30.8% of the undifferentiated women, 40.9% of the feminine women, 46.4% of the masculine women, and 51.1% of the androgynous women were reared without a father or stepfather present. These differences are not significant.

The findings indicate that neither mother's nor father's educational attainment is related to sexual identity category in this sample of Black women. It is interesting to note that approximately 25% of the feminine women were *not* more likely to be reared in the household without a father or stepfather present.

The positiveness towards mother measure provides support for the research hypothesis and demonstrates that androgynous women have the most positive appraisal and masculine women the least positive appraisal of mother, ($F(3, 119) = 4.59, p < .01$). It should be noted that positiveness towards the mother explains approximately 11% of the variance in the dependent variable. The results show that androgynous women are significantly more likely than any of the other groups to describe their mothers in positive terms. Similarly, androgynous are also the most positive in their appraisal of their

father; masculine and undifferentiated women are the next most positive, while the feminine women are the least positive, ($F(3, 90) = 5.09, p < .003$).

The results from the parental descriptor variables provide overwhelming support for the relationship predicted in the study and indicate that, androgynous women are more likely to identify with traits and behavior exhibited by both mother and father. These results also indicate that sex-typed women, both feminine and masculine, have more negative perceptions of their cross-sex parent (i.e., feminine women are negative towards their fathers and masculine women are negative towards their mothers). While the analysis of variance results for closeness to mother approached standard levels of significance ($p < .08$), with androgynous women reporting greater closeness to their mothers than the other groups, a planned comparison was performed and the pairwise t-test results reveal that regardless of sexual identity group, women in this sample are significantly more likely to have a positive description of their mother ($M = 77.31$) than their fathers ($M = 68.37$), $t(90) = 3.75, p < .003$. Similarly, the women also report feeling significantly closer to their mother ($M = 3.64$) than they did to their fathers ($M = 2.91$), $t(70) = 5.02, p < .0001$.

Perceptions of Happiness During Childhood

An examination of the results shows that happiness during childhood ($F(3, 122) = 2.97, p < .03$) and adolescence ($F(3, 121) = 2.70, p < .05$) is significantly related to sexual identity. The mean difference between the androgynous and feminine women in the pairwise comparison on happiness before 12 years old is also significant ($F(1, 122) = 6.92, p < .01$). The pairwise comparison between the androgynous and masculine groups is also significant ($F(1, 122) = 4.69, p < .03$). Androgynous women are more likely than both feminine and masculine women to report feeling happy while growing up before 12 years of age. There are also significant pairwise relationships in happiness from 12 to 16 years old between androgynous and feminine women ($F(1, 21) = 4.36, p < .04$). Androgynous women report greater amounts of happiness than both the feminine and masculine identified women during adolescence.

Perceptions of rigidity and punishment during childhood are not related to sexual identity. When asked to describe the kind of child they were, the overwhelming majority (93.1%) of the women sample felt they were "good kids." An internalized sense of feeling loved, wanted, and popular (i.e., happiness during childhood) proved to be more important in relationship to categorical group than specific socialization practices (i.e., rigidity and punishment).

Multivariate Analysis. Because the bivariate and descriptive statistics presented earlier did not produce consistent results regarding early socialization variables, discriminant function analyses were performed to determine which early socialization variables best distinguished between the four sexual identity groups. The discriminant function analyses show a sexual identity group for 50.7% of the women in the sample. The parental descriptor measures were best at predicting membership in the androgynous group. The ability of the four parental attributes indices to predict membership in the other sex role identity groups is not impressive, in fact only 27.3% of the feminine women are predicted correctly.

A combination of the four variables which measured sex role experience in childhood accurately predicted sexual identity group for 44.54% of the women. Again, this set of variables was best at predicting membership in the androgynous category and poor at predicting membership in the masculine, feminine, or undifferentiated categories.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Results from a chi-square analysis indicate that the respondent's religious affiliation, current family income, and age are not related to sexual identity. While the majority (63%) of the women in the sample are between 18-25 years old, perusal of the mean ages indicates that feminine women (27.2 years), are slightly older than androgynous (25.9 years), masculine (24.6 years) or undifferentiated (22.9 years).

Education is the only demographic characteristic that significantly relates to sexual identity. Results from the respondent's educational level indicate that 17.2% of masculine, 11.1% of undifferentiated, 6.7% of androgynous, and none of the feminine identified women are college graduates. Approximately 40% of the androgynous women, 22.7% of the feminine, 55.2% of the masculine, and 44.4% of the undifferentiated women have some college education. Results for high school graduates yield different figures, with 33.3% of the androgynous women, 54.5% of the feminine, 10.3% of the masculine, and 29.6% of the undifferentiated women indicating they are high school graduates ($X^2(9) = 16.39, p < .05$). Mean years of education show masculine identified women with the highest number of years of education (13.4 years), followed by undifferentiated (12.9 years), androgynous (12.6 years), and feminine identified women (12.1 years). These significant results support the research hypothesis, that the college educated are more likely to identify themselves as masculine or androgynous, however, the large percentage of undifferentiated women who are also college educated was an unexpected finding.

Marital status differences by sexual identity group show that 40.9% of the feminine, 31% of the masculine, 26.7% of the androgynous, and 11.1% of the undifferentiated women are married. In contrast to these percentages approximately 40.9% of the feminine women, 48.3% of the masculine women, 55.6% of the androgynous women, and 66.7% of the undifferentiated women have *never* married. Similar percentages are reported in the separated and divorced categories for all four sexual identity groups. The overwhelming majority of all the women report having a lover. These differences are not statistically significant.

Mothering/Attitudes About Children

Androgynous (60%) and feminine women (68.2%) are more likely to have children than masculine women (37.9%) and undifferentiated women (48.1%), ($X^2(3) = 5.81, p < .12$). Analysis of variance results in Table II, demonstrate that on the average women in the sample were 20 years old at the birth of their first child. The findings of the four children/mothering variables are reported only for women who have children. Moreover, the results in Table II indicate that the mean number of children a woman has is significantly related to sexual identity. Feminine and masculine women have the largest number of children, while undifferentiated women have the smallest number of children. The number of children a woman has accounts for approximately 17% of the variance in sexual identity. These findings are supportive of the research hypothesis.

Besides the number of children a woman has, thinking you are a good mother also significantly relates to sexual identity. Analysis of variance results in Table II indicate that androgynous women are significantly more likely than any of the other identity groups to think they are good mothers. Given the 18% variance accounted for, there is considerable agreement between the groups in terms of enjoyment derived from motherhood; all the women enjoy being mothers.

Sex Role Attitudes

Among the four sex role attitudes factors displayed in Table II, only the Traditional Sex Role Ideology Factor relates significantly to sexual identity. As predicted, feminine women have the most traditional attitudes about women's roles, while women in the undifferentiated category have the most liberal sex role ideology. Results from pairwise comparisons lend further support to these observed differences; undifferentiated women are significantly

Table II. Analyses of Variance of Sex Role Attitudes and Statuses by Sexual Identity Group

Variables	Andro	Fem	Masc	Undif	MSB	MSW	df	F	eta ²
Importance of Children	3.63	3.57	3.64	3.54	.67	.39	3,64	.14	.004
Number of Children	1.92	2.53	2.45	1.23	4.79	1.19	3,64	4.02 ^g	.17
Age at Birth of First Child	21.04	20.01	19.00	19.77	12.46	22.26	3,65	.56	.03
Good Mother	2.81	2.43	2.45	2.31	.98	.21	3,64	4.60 ^g	.18
Enjoy Being a Mother	2.70	2.36	2.27	2.46	.66	.30	3,64	2.22 ^e	.10
Sex Role Attitudes I ^a									
Traditional Sex Role Ideology	11.71	10.59	12.38	12.65	20.21	8.03	3,121	2.52 ^f	.06
Sex Role Attitudes II ^b									
Women are Strong, Men are Weak	8.84	8.05	8.52	8.07	4.85	5.16	3,122	.94	.02
Sex Role Attitudes III ^c									
Comfort with Women	4.51	5.05	4.79	5.22	3.27	3.20	3,121	1.02	.03
Sex Role Attitudes IV ^d									
Men are Not Nice to Women	8.64	9.18	8.07	8.70	5.32	4.11	3,122	1.29	.03

^aHigh score = liberal; low score = traditional.

^bHigh score = women strong, men weak.

^cHigh score = comfort with women.

^dHigh score = men not nice to women

^e $p < .09$.

^f $p < .06$.

^g $p < .01$.

more liberal than feminine women ($F(1, 121) = 6.32, p < .03$). Therefore, with regard to attitudes about the female role in the family, feminine and androgynous women are more traditional; with masculine and undifferentiated women reporting greater liberalism. For the other sex role attitude factors shown in Table II, the findings do not differ significantly among the four sexual identity groups, although mean scores indicate consistent trends in the data.

Father/Stepfather Present

An exploratory question in this study was the relationship between sex role attitudes, and father presence while growing up. Results from *t*-tests performed on these separate variables demonstrate that women who are reared with a father or stepfather present experience greater self-esteem in adulthood ($t = 1.80, p < .08$) and have more liberal views about the woman's role in the family ($t(118) = 1.68, p < .05$ (two-tailed test)). The difference in self-esteem approached but did not reach standard level of significance, however, the sex role attitude differences are statistically significant.

Racial Comparisons

A central exploratory hypothesis in this study sought to understand the relationship between the four sexual identity groups and race. The chi-square values reveal a higher percentage of Black women in the androgynous category (35.8%) as compared to White women (15.6%) and a higher percentage of White women in the undifferentiated category (37.8%) as compared to Black women (28.5%). Approximately, 16.3% of the Black women and 22.2% of the White women identified themselves as feminine; while 19.5% of the Black women and 24.4% of the White women identified themselves as masculine ($X^2(3) = 6.40, p < .09$). While the chi-square value doesn't reach standard levels of significance, the magnitude and direction of the results are important to report for later discussion in addition to being supportive of the research hypothesis. The sample and comparison subjects are very similar but differ regarding marital status and current religion. Because of the socio-demographic similarities, these results suggest that racial differences are important in masculine/feminine identification. It should be noted that the percentages are based on median splits derived from combining scores for both racial groups. This procedure was necessary to insure that subjects were classified into the four categories based on scores from both Black and White respondents.

A *t*-test of difference in the sex role attitude measures by race was performed. The findings indicate significant difference in Sex Role Attitudes I/Traditional Sex Role Ideology between the Black ($M = 11.87$) and White women ($M = 13.44$) in the study ($t(166) = 3.24, p < .001$). White women have significantly more liberal attitudes towards the female role in the family. On the other hand, Black women ($M = 8.62$) are significantly more likely than White women ($M = 7.58$), ($t(167) = 2.80, p < .01$), to believe that men are not nice to women/Sex Role Attitudes IV. Women in the two racial groups are similar in the belief that "women are strong and men are weak" and in their expressed "comfort with other women."

DISCUSSION

The focus of the present study is the relationship between masculine and feminine personality attributes as measured by the PAQ, sex role attitudes, and socialization antecedents in a sample of contemporary Black American women. The results indicate cultural influences on the relationship between sex role attitudes and sexual identity which have not been empirically demonstrated heretofore and raise some important cross-cultural issues in the understanding of psychological androgyny. The majority of the Black women in this sample report androgynous sexual identities, but have traditional beliefs about the female role in the family.

The findings on parental identification strongly support the literature which concludes that parents are critical role models in personality development and sex role learning of the child. The data from the present study indicate a strong positive identification between Black women and their mothers which supports Chodorow's (1978) and Baumrind's (1980) notion that because of the organizational asymmetry in the family structure, children initially identify with their mothers. Overall, the women are much closer to their mothers than their fathers; it is important to note that father presence or absence is not related to sexual identity.

Androgynous women are more likely to be positively identified with both mother and father. However, feminine women identify more strongly with their mothers and masculine women identify more strongly with their fathers. These findings support the investigation of Kelly and Worell (1976), who found that androgynous women identified simultaneously with *both* feminine and masculine characteristics. They also found that for females, parental encouragement of achievement, permissiveness, and consistency of discipline were critical socialization indicators for androgyny.

Ladner (1971) and Stack (1974) both emphasize the central role Black women play in the socialization of children in their domestic units. The cur-

rent findings support the mother's role in the Black family as influential in shaping the daughter's sexual identity. Research on White families also reports a higher degree of interaction between daughters and their kin (Adams, 1968). The greater involvement of women in their extended family networks seems to be an unusual occurrence rather than an unique aspect of Black families. A possible by-product of the high degree of involvement women have in the family is a preference for the maternal side of the family, therefore, more stress on maternal relatives in the Black community is not indicative of matrifocal or matriarchal families, but represents a universal pattern.

The other variables which explore socialization in the family of origin show the importance of feeling loved and wanted by your family during childhood and adolescence and having a warm, consistent, happy upbringing where the female child is close to both parents (but closer to mother) as critical socialization indicators for androgyny among Black women. While religiosity in the family of origin was only marginally predictive of group membership, it was supportive of the research hypothesis.

Sexual identity and sex role attitudes are significantly related to respondent's education. Women who are college graduates have more liberal views about female roles and are more likely to identify themselves as masculine and undifferentiated. These findings suggest college education allows Black women more avenues for self-expression. It also suggests that well-educated Black women are considerably less supportive of traditional sex role norms and beliefs than women with less education. Hershey (1978) found a similar education effect, Black women and men with more education and higher family incomes were less stereotyped than other groups about sex appropriate characteristics.

Overall, the findings suggest that for Black women there is a strong cultural component to the relationship between sex role attitudes and sexual identity. For example, masculine respondents are more likely than androgynous to be currently married; while androgynous respondents are more likely than masculine to have never married. Findings regarding children are also interesting, androgynous and feminine are significantly more likely to have children, but masculine women who have children have more children. Furthermore, undifferentiated and masculine women are significantly more liberal than androgynous or feminine women on a measure of traditional sex role ideology. These results suggest that for Black women masculine traits are not antithetical to beliefs about the desirability or legitimacy of certain stereotypic feminine role expectations. Regardless of sexual identity category, the Black women in this sample are all heavily invested in the mothering role.

The findings on racial differences in sexual identity found in this study have several implications, however, interpretations must be cautious because the results only approached standard levels of significance. The sex role atti-

tudes results, however, are statistically significant and indicate that race has an influence on sex role attitudes, such that White women are more liberal about the female role in the family than Black women. The White respondents in this study are also significantly more likely to be married than the Black respondents which might suggest that they would be more traditional given the greater likelihood of their being in the wife role. However, the results do not support such a hypothesis for the White women in this sample, regardless of marital status they are more likely to have a more liberal sex role ideology than the Black women respondents (see Table I).

The religious differences between the two racial groups also indicates the important relationship between race and sex role attitudes. Given modern religious practices and the broad range of church affiliations included in the Protestant category for Black women, it is not surprising that even though White women are more likely to practice Catholicism, they are still more liberal than Black females. The Church in the Black community tends to be conservative and traditional in this teachings regarding the female role in the family. A strong religious orientation is characterized as one of the strengths of Black families (Hill, 1977). The present study indicates that Blacks are less secular than other groups and express greater involvement and belief in traditional religion.

While speculative, these data also suggest that greater liberalism in sex role attitudes among the White respondents seems congruent with the high percentage of White women who identified themselves as undifferentiated in their sexual identity and suggests some ambivalence regarding sex-typed behaviors. Overall, the findings of racial differences, especially regarding sex role attitudes, indicate that White women have more cultural freedom to express liberal sex role attitudes within American society and within their domestic network than Black women. This is further supported by the significant differences between the groups on Sex Role Attitudes IV, "Men are not nice to women." There are fewer negative interpersonal consequences for White women in the expression of their liberal beliefs about the female role in the family, especially with men. These data indicate that White women have more options than Black women in terms of expression of sex role attitudes. The racial differences data are very provocative and indicate the need to do further comparative work in order to understand the impact of interpersonal relationships and the influence of sex role attitudes on the constructs of Masculinity and Femininity.

The theoretical considerations of these findings are numerous. These data provide cross-cultural support for Spence and Helmreich's (1979) conceptualization of the PAQ as measuring dispositions which endure over time and have trans-situational significance. For the Black women, in this sample, there is a complex relationship between expressive and instrumental traits

dimensions and general sex role attitudes; such that, knowing the sexual identity group of a subject in this sample does not permit accurate prediction of their sex role behavior or attitudes. These data provide support for the Helmreich et al. (1979) notion that personality dimensions are only minimally related to many sex role behaviors and partially support the assertion by Bem (1975) that androgynous subjects are more flexible in social roles.

These data provide empirical justification for the duality of Black American women's sexual identity. While the respondents are more likely to identify themselves as Androgynous, their traditional sex role attitudes display the co-existing fear many capable Black women have of being rejected if they don't adhere to and participate in socially sanctioned sex role behaviors. Historically, Black women have always participated in the labor force. As a result of economic necessity, Black women's participation in the labor force has been viewed as a compulsory and expected role (Stolz, 1986). Often, women who were mothers and wives and had to work were pitied, praised, and sometimes viewed as "masculine." Paid work and career aspirations have sometimes caused interpersonal disadvantages for Black women, especially since the wider society viewed wage earner and homemaker as mutually exclusive. Black women who had young children and worked outside of their homes were seen as departing from established feminine roles (Malson, 1983). Black women must be more Androgynous or Masculine to make it in the work world, but they must also maintain traditional beliefs about the female role in order to sustain meaningful relationships within their domestic network; especially with men. The Androgynous and Masculine respondents, in this sample, also appear to be more flexible in social roles. For Black women, sexual identity and sex role attitudes appear to be separate personality issues.

Sexual identity is viewed in the literature as having a critical relationship to adjustment, coping, and adaptation. Androgyny, as such, has a positive relationship to mental health (Jordan-Viola, Fassberg, & Viola, 1976; Kimlicka, Cross, & Tarni, 1983). The results from other research (Binion, in press) found that Black women who identify themselves as Androgynous are more dependent than Masculine and Undifferentiated subjects. Binion (in press) differs from Kelly & Worell (1977) and Helmreich et al. (1979) regarding high masculine subjects and psychological well-being. However, the findings are supportive of the idea posited earlier that dependency is a salient emotional issue for contemporary Black women.

For the Black women in this sample, Masculine and Femininity are orthogonal co-existing characteristics, which may or may not predict sex role behavior. These results indicate the multidimensionality of the constructs of Masculinity and Femininity for Black women and have been a test of the degree to which individual Masculine and Feminine characteristics dictate

role preference and gender expected behavior. The lack of congruity between the PAQ categories and sex role related behaviors for Black women provides evidence to support Spence and Helmreich's contention that sexual identity is a relatively permanent attributional statement which describes personality constructs and internalized characteristics of the person's repertoire of traits.

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