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Integral Energy Psychology
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THE CONCEPT OF IDENTIFICATION©
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A. PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY OF IDENTIFICATION

1. Process And Stages In The Development Of Identification

In Freud's theory, identification is always based on an <u>emotional tie with an object</u> (usually a parent); however, his conception of the nature of this tie changed along with psychoanalytic theory in general. The chief usage of the term implies that "... a child gives its emotional allegiance to one of its parents and attempts to duplicate in its own life the ideas, attitudes, and behavior of the parent with whom it is identifying." (Bronfenbrenner, 1958, p. 163)

In the theory of psychosexual development, Freud speaks of "primary identification" which is part of the infant's primitive reactions to objects. "The primitive reactions of imitating what is perceived and the oral introjection of what is perceived belong close together ....primary identification denotes that actually 'putting into the mouth' and 'imitation for perception's sake' are one and the same and represent the very first relation to objects. In this primary identification, instinctual behavior and ego behavior are not differentiated from each other... Identifications play a great part in the process of building up the subsequent ego, whose nature therefore depends on the personalities of the persons around the infant." (Fenichel, 1945, p. 37)

This process is the prototype of the mechanism by which the physical and social environment effects the development of the infant. The development of the superego in the early stages involves the internalization of the mother through an act of introjection - the first instinctual aim directed toward objects. (Fenichel, 1945, p. 102) The forerunners of the superego are the "internalized parental prohibitions" which are accepted by the child as part of his living up to parental standards and ideals. The superego is established in the resolution of the "Oedipus complex".

Bronfenbrenner (1960) has summarized the Freudian theory of this process and has treated the topic in a historical manner. In the paper, "On Narcissism", Freud introduces the notion of the ego ideal and conscience (the precursors of the superego concept) and also develops the notion of an attachment to another person based on other than direct sexual impulse and desire, i.e., anaclitic object choice. This is an object choice which is essentially presexual in character and based on a dependency relationship with the mother or the person having to do with the feeding, care, and protection of the child. This anaclitic relationship serves as the basis for <u>anaclitic identification.</u>

Freud's first explicit discussion of identification occurred in "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917). In order to explain the development of extreme self-criticism and feelings of worthlessness in persons who had recently lost a loved one, he proposed the following developmental process: (1) In early childhood there is a "preliminary" form of identification in which ego and object are fused in a single undifferentiated pattern. (2) Out of this there develops object choice, i.e., the attachment of the libido to a person (typically the parent). (3) Finally, owing to a real injury or disappointment concerned with this loved person, the object relationship is destroyed.

This process is represented as a mechanism for the resolution of the Oedipus complex in <u>Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego</u>. The child begins with preliminary identification with both parents but in the case of the boy the identification develops into a sexual object-cathexis toward his mother. The boy notices, however, that his father stands in his way and the identification takes on a hostile tone and becomes identical with the wish to replace his father in regard to his mother. The identification with the loved and hated object thereby become fused. According to Bronfenbrenner (1960),

Freud's first formal definition of identification occurs in the distinction between identification with the father and the choice of the father as an object. In the former the father is what one would like to be (the tie is attached to the subject of the ego) and this is possible before any sexual object choice has been made. In the father as an object the father is what one would like to have (the tie attaches to the object of the ego). In identification, one endeavors to mold his own ego after the one that has been taken as a model.

2. Mechanisms In The Development Of Identification

The mechanism of identification with the father for the boy is the fear of the punitive, castrating aspect (this is the primary force which brings about the resolution of the Oedipus conflict and the development of identification). This is the basis for Anna Freud's concept of "identification with the aggressor". Freud conceived of the process as different for the female. Since she is already "castrated", she presumably has no incentive for identifying with the "aggressor" and hence, developing a superego. In searching for an alternative theory of identification for the female, Freud turned to an explanation via anaclitic identification based on the loss of a loved object.

Although Freud did not treat them as such, these two mechanisms of identification have relevance for differences in personality not only between the sexes but within. Anaclitic identification fosters the development of the superego whereas identification with the aggressor leads toward the adoption of the aggressor's hostile outlook, not only toward the self but toward the environment in general. Anna Freud describes the mechanism as one in which the child attempts to defend himself against aggression and power by emulating the characteristics of the person wielding power. "A child experiences severe anxiety because of conflict between his own infantile desires and the injunctions and prohibitions of parents and other moral authorities. Under the pressure of this anxiety, the child searches...for a means of reducing his anxiety...If he consciously aligns himself <u>with</u> the aggressive, punitive socializer, or, more exactly, pretends that he <u>is</u> that person, the child then has no more reason to fear him, the conflict disappears, and anxiety abates." (Mowrer, 1950, p. 588)

Bronfenbrenner (1960) concludes that aggressive identification probably requires a situation in which the person is dependent upon the aggressor and cannot escape his influence (cf. Bettelheime's

description of nazi war prisoners). Probably both processes operate simultaneously and neither type of identification can occur unless the child is, in some sense, dependent on the parent. Whiting's (1959) "status-envy" theory of superego development is similar to the identification with the aggressor hypothesis with overtones of Brim's (1958) conception of power and identification. The status-envy hypothesis is that "... a person will identify with, and hence accept the moral values of, any person who is a successful rival with respect to resources which he covets but cannot control...where a child and a father frequently compete... and where the father is often successful...then the child should envy the father and hence identify with him." (Whiting, 1959, p. 188) The conditions that create envy also make the child feel powerless and make him fear retaliation from the more powerful person. The anxious nature of such feelings could well be reduced by identification with the aggressor.

3. Content Of Identification (The Outcome)

Freud says "...parents and similar authorities follow the dictates of their own superegos in the upbringing of children...the superego of the child is not really built up on the model of the parents, but on that of the parents' superego; it takes over the same content, it becomes the vehicle of tradition and of all the age-long values which have been handed down in this way from generation to generation." (in (Mowrer, 1950, pp. 585-586) Again, "...in the ego there exists a faculty that incessantly watches, criticizes and compares, and in this way is set against the other part of the ego...the [delusional] patient...perceives within his ego the rule of a faculty which measures his actual ego and all his activities by an ego-ideal, which he has created for himself in the course of his development." (in Mowrer, 1950, p. 584)

There are two major uses of the term identification in Freud's writings, according to Bronfenbrenner (1960):

(1) A process, i.e., the sequential interplay of forces (internal and external) which impel the child to take on the characteristics of the parent (this includes both anaclitic and aggressive identification).

(2) An outcome, i.e., the resultant similarity in the characteristics of the child and the model. Also there are three aspects of the parent which the child may pattern: (a) The parent's overt behavior, (b) The parent's motives, or (c) The parent's aspirations for the child.

B. PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES OF IDENTIFICATION

Following Bronfenbrenner's (1960) outline, I discuss various versions of Freudian theory as criticized, modified, and extended by psychologists. This usually involves, in some way, an alternative mechanism derived from learning theory.

1. Stoke

Stoke (1954) criticizes the concept of identification as being over-simplified in that Freud did not treat separately the two aspects of "emotional acceptance as an ideal" and "attempts to duplicate behavior".

To prove his point he lists several factors influencing identification: (1) The biological fact of sex and its predisposition to some forms of behavior, (2) The social pressures upon children to identify with their own sex, (3) The degree of affection accorded to the child by the person with whom identification is attempted (the "identificand"), (4) The extent to which the child's needs are gratified by the identificand, (5) The degree of acquaintance which the identifier has with the identified person, (6) The clarity of the role of the identificand, (7) The capacity of the child to be like the identificand, (8) The temperament of the child in relation to the identificand, (9) The attitude of influential persons toward the identificand, (10) The existence of strong needs on the part of the child which conflict with or coincide with the requirements and Pattern of the identificand.

There are two studies bearing on the ninth point - the effect of influential persons upon identification. Bach's study (1946) of the effects of separation of the father upon children's doll play included an analysis of the effects of the mother's attitude toward the father upon the type of fantasy the child exhibited, in father separated families. Comparing four cases of mothers on the extremes of the favorable-unfavorable dimension he found that children whose mothers gave a favorable father type showed more aggression by the father doll and also more affection given to the father doll than in the case of unfavorable father type where the father doll was used very little. The other study was that of Helper (1955).

Using high school students and their parents, he had them fill out questionnaires "as you see yourselves": also the students filled it out "as you would most like to be" (child's ideal self-concept) and for the parents "describe your child as you would most like him to be" (parent's ideal for the child). This latter measure shows a significant relationship to maternal approval of the father. Likewise, the tendency for the boy to assume similarity with his father is correlated with the mother's approval of the father as a model. When the mother approves of the father as a model, the boy is more likely not only to see himself as similar to his father but also to aspire to the ideals actually held for him by his father. In general the study suggests that children are more likely to take on the characteristic of a particular parent when that parent is approved of as a model by the mother and this is especially important for the boy's emulation of parental characteristics and ideals.

Stoke distinguishes two types of identification, emotional and behavioral, and treats them analogously to Hull's D times $_sH_r$. (1) Emotional identification produces an attempt (or desire) to identify behaviorally. (2) Lack of emotional identification will produce no conscious attempt at behavioral identification. (3) The success of behavior identification will be affected by the capacity of the individual to adopt the role. (4) Temperamental similarities between parents and children tend to produce behavioral similarities while dissimilarities tend to produce unlike behavior. This will be true regardless of the presence or absence of emotional identification.

Stoke does not discuss the mechanisms by which these types of identification come about, but one can say that it would be treated as a regular learning process. He does discuss the role of fear in identification. In the course of disobeying parental commands and receiving punishment (including the loss of love) for their disobedience, children come to anticipate punishment. The tensions surrounding punishment and its expectation become attached to the concept of disobedience to parental wishes. When these wishes become incorporated into the child's ego-ideal the attached fears of punishment accompany them.

2. Mowrer and Lair

Mowrer (1950) uses a distinction made by Lair (W.S. Lair, <u>Psycho-Analytic Theory of Identification</u>, Ph.D. dissertation, 1949, Harvard) between <u>developmental</u> and <u>defensive</u> identification (similar to anaclitic and aggressive identification). In both types the person is "frustrated". However, in the case of developmental identification, frustration arises from a sense of helplessness and loneliness (the parent is absent and the infant wishes him present) while in defensive identification it arises from interference and punishment (the parent is present and the infant wishes him absent). "But the latter wish brings the average child into intolerable conflict: while he hates the parent for his disciplinary actions, he also loves the parent and experiences acute anxiety at the prospect of his really being separated...from him..." (Mowrer, 1950, p. 592)

Mowrer posits a series of identifications through which the child passes which involve the progressive differentiation of social objects first with respect to age and then to sex (this is similar to T. Parsons' theory). He maintains that Freud confused the issue by assuming that object choice was primary and identification derived therefrom. Because of this Freud believed that the psychosexual development of boys was simpler than that of girls since boys can at an early age take women as sex objects and retain them as such throughout life; girls (like boys) take the mother as the first sex object but must later abandon this object choice in favor of men and assume instead an identification with the mother. Mowrer's alternative hypothesis assumes the reverse sequence. "Because the infant's first experiences of care and affection are with the mother we infer...that there will be a tendency for children of <u>both</u> sexes to identify with the mother. This provides a path of development which the female child can follow indefinitely; but the male child must, in some way, abandon the mother as a personal model and shift his loyalties and ambitions to his father. Once the boy and the girl are securely aligned with the mother and the father, respectively, <u>in terms of their basic character structure</u>, then, as specific sexual needs arise, they can be handled along lines prescribed as correct and proper for members of their particular sex." (Mowrer, 1950, p. 607). "...the first stage of identification, which in principle is probably no different from...imitation, is ordinarily with the mother, as the most familiar, most responsive, most loving parent. Later, when <u>sex-typing</u> of the child becomes important and the more <u>restrictive aspects of culture</u> have to be transmitted, the boy is encouraged to take his father as a model, whereas the girl can retain the mother as a model." (Mowrer, 1950, p. 616)

3. Sanford; Miller and Dollard; Lazowick and Kagan

Sanford (1955) believes that the Mowrer-Lair "defensive identification" is actually "developmental", that is, it is impelled by fear of the loss of love which Mowrer regards as the hallmark of "developmental identification". Sanford uses the term "introjection" for "developmental identification". Also he emphasizes the likelihood that parental love (or punishment) need not result in "internalization" of the parent's attitudes but rather they may simply reinforce behavior directly. He therefore proposes learning through reinforcement as a simpler and more general mechanism to account for the child's adoption of parental characteristics.

The theory of imitation developed by Miller and Dollard (1941) is similar to this. "One organism happens to be doing what another organism is doing at the moment that some drive is reduced, some problem solved, a reward experienced. The situation, or stimulus-pattern existing just before the reward occurs is thus drive-plus-stimulation-coming-from-behavior-of-other-organism; and it is therefore the connection between this total <u>constellation</u> and the response which gets strengthened
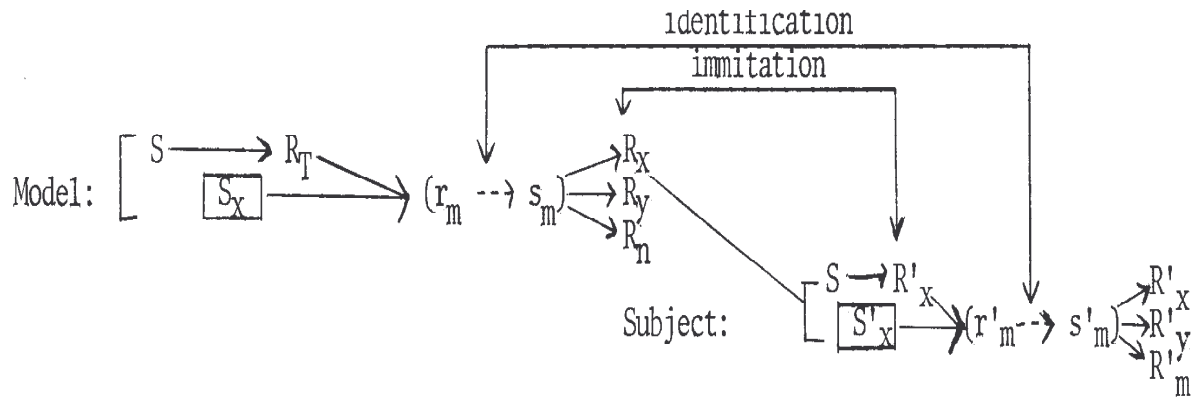
by the ensuing reward. If the response in question is regularly followed by reward when the 'cue' provided by the behavior of the other organism is present, and only at such times, then this response on the part of the first organism will tend to occur only, or at least predominantly, when the same response is being made by the second organism". (Mowrer, 1950, p. 576) At this point we say the behavior is "imitative". A special type of imitation is called "matched-dependent behavior". Here the behavior of the one organism is like that of another (matched) and is cued off by the other (dependent). "Copying" is the most highly evolved form of imitation; "...an extension and elaboration of matched-dependent behavior in which there is a deliberate attempt on the part of the subject, and perhaps also on the part of the model, to make the subject's behavior approximate...that of the model. The underlying dynamic of imitation....is that it helps living organisms find the solutions to problems more quickly than they would on the basis of...trial and error efforts." (Mowrer, 1950, p. 577)

Lazowick (1955) has formulated a <u>mediation theory of identification</u> based on Osgood (1953, pp. 392-412), He recognizes that identification is something more than learned specific S-R connections for then the person has "identified" to the extent that he behaves like the model only in those situations and with those specific reaction patterns learned from the model. "If, however, identification consists in alteration of the personality structure, perceptions, or meanings, then we might expect the subject to exhibit behavior similar to that of the model without ever having had to learn each and every response pattern reflecting this similarity....It is proposed here that <u>meanings</u> are learned which collectively make up the individual's frame of reference." (Lazowick, 1955, p. 176)

The brief statement of the theory is that imitation relates similarities of behavior between subject and model whereas identification relates similarities of mediating processes between subject and model. (see diagram)

The "Osgoodian" formulation of how this comes about is as follows: Stimulation from an external object (S) elicits a set of complex reactions (R_T). Certain signs(S_x)regularly antedate or accompany the total stimulation from the object and these tend to evoke a reduced portion of R_T (r_m) as a "representational mediating process". The self stimulation (S_m) resulting from this mediational process is the awareness of meaning and may become associated with a variety of responses (R_x, R_y , R_n). The subject observes the model's behavior (R_x, R_y, etc.) to various objects or signs (S, $\square$)in certain situations. The subject copies or approximates the reaction patterns (R'_x, R'_y, etc.) without at first having any understanding of their significance, meaning or purpose -- this is imitation. The signs (S_x) associated with the subject's imitative acts (R'x, etc.) will tend to evoke subsets of this behavior (r'_m). The self-stimulation (S'_m) resulting from these subsets of imitated behavior is the meaning associated with the response hierarchy (R'_x, R'_y, R'_m). This imitative behavior, if rewarded sufficiently, will tend to generalize. The relation between the subject's set of meanings, r'_m (subsets of behavior imitated from the model) and the model's set of meaning (r_m) is <u>identification</u>. Thus we have a schema which allows one to get from a Miller and Dollard (1941) theory of social behavior to an approximation of dynamic Freudian theory of identification. This also provides a rationale for the popular use of similarity of questionnaire-answering-behavior between model and subject as a measure of identification.

$$\text{Model:} \quad \begin{bmatrix} S \longrightarrow R_T \\ \boxed{S_x} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow (r_m \dashrightarrow s_m) \begin{array}{l} \to R_x \\ \to R_y \\ \to R_n \end{array}$$

identification
imitation

$$\text{Subject:} \quad \begin{bmatrix} S \longrightarrow R'_x \\ \boxed{S'_x} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow (r'_m \dashrightarrow s'_m) \begin{array}{l} \to R'_x \\ \to R'_y \\ \to R'_m \end{array}$$

Kagan's (1958) approach is similar to Lazowick's in that "Identification is defined as an acquired, cognitive response within a person (S). The content of this response is that some of the attributes, motives, characteristics, and affective states of a model (M) are part of S's psychological organization....the S may react to events occurring to M as if they occurred to him." (Kagan, 1958, p. 298)

The acquisition and maintenance of an identification occurs as follows (1) "Initially the S perceives that the M possesses or commands goals and satisfactions that the S desires. This perception leads to a wish to possess these desired goal states." (Kagan, 1958, p. 298) (2) "The wish to command the goal states of the M leads to the desire to possess the characteristics of the M because S believes that if he were similar to the M he would command the desired goals the S assumes that the more similarity there is between the S and M the more likely S is to possess or command the desired goal states of the M." (Kagan, 1958, pp. 298-299) (3) "The identification response (i.e., 'some of the characteristics of the model are mine') is reinforced each time S perceives or is told that he is similar to the M." (Kagan, 1958, p. 299) (4) "In order for the identification belief to be maintained, the S must not only perceive similarity between S and M but he also must experience some of the desired, affective goal states of the M." (Kagan, 1958, p. 300)

Perception of similarity between S and M reinforces the identification response; the social environment rewards imitative behaviors with affection and praise and these direct reinforcements strengthen the tendency to imitate adults independently of any identification motives; thirdly, the anxiety over anticipated loss of love motivates the identification response: "...many social prohibitions which the M practices are learned by the S in situations in which this anxiety motivates the acquisition and maintenance of the response. The reinforcement for the learned prohibition is continued acceptance and consequent reduction in anxiety over rejection." (Kagan, 1958, p.301) The two important goals motivating identification are: (1). The feeling of mastery over the environment and, (2).The need for love and affection.

4. Sears and Courtney; Miller and Swanson; Levin; Maccoby; Bach; Pintler; Hill

a. Theory

P.D. Courtney (<u>Identification and Learning: A Theoretical Analysis</u>, Ph.D. dissertation, 1949, Harvard U.) attempted an analysis of the mother-child interaction in terms of learning theory and pointed out that the mother fulfills two roles: at first she is primarily in a supporting, helpful, "mother" role and later enters into a punishing, thwarting, and directing "teacher" role. As a result the second stage gives rise to ambivalence (conflict and anxiety) in the child. (Mowrer, 1959, p. 595)

Sears (1957) has given a much more adequate account of identification in terms of Hullian type learning theory. He defines identification as a <u>secondary motivational system</u> for which "acting like the mother" is a goal response. This motive gives rise to behavior in which the individual acts like another person but is distinguished from conventional learning by the absence of specific training. "It is the apparent 'absorption' of these characteristics without specific training....that shortcuts the direct training process." (Sears, 1957, p. 152).

The antecedents of identification result from the child's initial biological dependence upon the mother which produces in the infant a secondary drive system of dependency-on-the-mother. "....since it is being assumed that the child does not discriminate between himself and his mother, the perception of <u>her</u> actions becomes an integral part of his action sequences....if the mother is absent on some occasion when drive stimuli occur and start off one of the child's action sequences, he will attempt to perform those parts of the total sequence for which his mother was normally responsible....occurrence (of imitation) in the child with dependency drive for which the mother's actions are the appropriate rewards will permit the child to reward himself....when he is motivated to secure the mother's nurturing responses, he can imitate her affectionate attitudes and gestures himself and hence secure at least partial gratification of his dependency drive...the degree of identification of the child with his mother should bear a curvilinear relationship to the amount of affectionate nurture the mother gives.

If she is universally present and always plays a part in the dyadic mother-child sequence, the child will never have occasion to perform mother-acts, i.e., to establish identification. On the other hand, if she is continuously punitive, and is rarely associated with the satisfying completion of the child's goal striving, her acts will have no part in his action sequence, and there will be no initial instigation to act like her." (Sears, 1957, pp. 154-155)

b. Data

(1) Sex Role Learning

Two early studies (Bach, 1946; Sears, Pintler & Sears, 1946) took advantage of the war absence of fathers to study the effects of fathers on their children's fantasy aggression. Bach (1946) was also interested in the children's other fantasy about their absent fathers and found that father-separated children produce an idealistic fantasy picture of the father, i.e., he has a good time with his family and is enjoyed by them, he gives and receives much affection and has little marital discord, shows very little hostility and does not exert his authority. Father separated children's fantasies show significantly more (than father present children), stereotyped social recreations ad affection for

children. They show significantly less, aggression from father, directions from father, father in a depressed mood, aggression against children by father, aggression against father by mother, aggression-total involving father, and per cent of acts involving father.

Sears, Pintler, and Sears (1946) were more interested in aggression per se. In general they found that for girls the father's presence or absence made very little difference in the amount of fantasy aggression (the father-present girls were even a trifle less aggressive. For the boys, however, the father-absent group was significantly less aggressive. The original hypothesis (that an absent father was a source of frustration and therefore there should be more aggression from children in these households) was not upheld and they formulate a sex-typing hypothesis. For the boy, the father serves as one of the most important models and without his father in the home the boy must model his behavior after his mother. At best there is a delay in his opportunity to develop the sex-typing that would be going on continuously from birth if both parents were in the home. At earlier ages sex differences would be less clearly established in children whose fathers were absent than in those whose fathers were in the home.

During the preschool years the father contributes heavily toward the sex-typing of boys in respect to their expression of aggression and probably serves as a more aggressive model than the mother. (His absence results in less frequent aggressive acts in doll play). The father's aggressiveness operates as a frustration at least to his son for when the father is absent the boy shows equal aggression toward both parent dolls, but when he is present there is greater aggression toward the father doll. Also, the father apparently exercises more rigid control over the boy than does the mother; with the father present, boys express much aggression toward the boy doll, while his absence is associated with very low boy doll aggression. The father therefore serves both as a model and a frustrator whose control over the son leads the boy to fantasized self-aggression as well as father-aggression. These relations are most pronounced during the fourth and fifth years. Younger boys do not react with differential amounts of aggression toward the two parents but as boys get older and more aggressive, they come into more conflict with the father (Oedipus situation). There is no indication that the girls are more frustrated when the father is present but his absence is associated with greater aggression (particularly self-aggression) during the fourth year.

P. Sears (1953) summarizes the data gathered in the Boston area study relevant to sex-typing and child-rearing practices. The sex-typed identification behavior shown by young children in role-playing is a function of the positive instigation to play the role and the negative inhibition against it. The crucial antecedent factors include: "(a) child's recognition of the fact of his own sex, (b) nuturance or warmth of the parent chiefly responsible for child-rearing, (c) warmth of same-sex parent, (d) anxiety, which may arise from punishment or from restriction on the child's attempts to be self-directing." (P. Sears, 1953, p. 431) The girl retains her initial identification with the mother, while the boy, under most circumstances, must shift his to the father. The boy's shift retards the smooth development of the process while his gradual adoption of a new model is frustrating to him and puts him in a state of conflict as to whom he should act like. Therefore boys in their sixth year should be less fully identified with their fathers than girls are with their mothers and they should have a less complete identification with the adult role. (Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957)

The results are: "(a) Girls choose the mother doll as agent significantly more frequently than the father doll. (b) Boys do not make this differential choice; however, they use the father doll more than the girls do. (c) Positive choices for the same sex role and avoidance of the opposite sex role are in general associated with antecedent conditions of warmth, permissiveness, and low restrictions. (d) Delayed role-playing (scores low in the first session, presumably through inhibition

but high second session) occurs in children whose homes appear to be lacking in warmth and high in restriction of activities which may bother the parents. (e) Boys take the mother role most strongly under the following conditions: mother, but not father, is high in warmth; mother is high in sex permissiveness, restrictive of the child's mobility outside the home, and critical in her evaluation of her husband." (P. Sears, 1953, p. 431)

Levin and Sears (1956) explicate further their views on the relation between identification and fantasy aggression. The assumption is that aggression is a quality in the parent's behavior that a child can recognize. The child in doll play situation is assumed to adopt the role of his most-identified-with-parent and act out that parent's characteristics. They formulate several hypotheses:

> (1) The more strongly a child is identified with a given parent the more nearly he will approximate, in doll play, the level of aggression he perceives as characteristic of that parent (i.e., the amount of doll play aggression using doll of parent P is a function of the amount of identification with P times the amount of aggression P is perceived as displaying in life). The chief identificand for a child at age five to six is assumed to be the parent of the same sex. Also it is assumed that the relative strength of an object choice is greater for girls than for boys.

> Therefore: (2) the father's level of aggression will be most influential in determining the boy's frequency of aggressive doll acts, and the mother's level will be most influential for the girl's. The determinants of the child's perception of his same-sexed parent's aggressiveness are his perception of the sex role and his own personal experience of parental aggression. For most children the clearest indication of parental aggression results from the severity with which the parents punish the child for his aggressive acts toward them. The important aspect of this experience is assumed to be the distinctiveness of the cues it provides the child. These cues become even more distinctive when the chief punisher is the parent with whom the child identifies the most.

> Hence: (hyp.3) the frequency of doll play aggression will be greater in boys than in girls due to the male role perception (verified).

> (hyp.4) The frequency will be greater when punishment for aggression is severe because of more distinctive cues (not verified).

> (hyp.5) Given severe punishment for aggression, the frequency of doll play aggression will be greater when the parent of the same sex is the chief disciplinarian (verified).

Identification is found to be a significant positive influence for boys in doll play aggression but not for girls. Levin and Sears (1956) believe the reason for this is that the male role is an aggressive one and the actual day-to-day demonstration of this fact by the father's use of severe punishment may add little to the boy's understanding of how he should behave. It is more important that he have high identification with the role. For girls the appropriate sex role model is typically non-aggressive and only if the particular model most visible to the girl (her mother) is especially aggressive does the girl adopt an aggressive way of behaving.

(2) Development of Conscience

Miller and Swanson in their study, found "...a close relation between discipline and intensity of guilt expressed in story endings...the psychologically manipulated show the most guilt." (Miller & Swanson, 1956, p. 155) A similar conclusion was arrived at by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957). Children with well-developed conscience had mothers who were relatively warm toward them but who made their love contingent on the child's good behavior. What they call "love-oriented" child rearing techniques aided in the development of conscience. They found that high use of praise, high use of isolation, high use of reasoning, low use of deprivation of privileges, and low use of physical punishment by the mother in her child rearing were associated with the child having a high conscience. The use of withdrawal of love makes very little difference in strength of conscience if the mother is relatively cold; this technique is only meaningful in mothers who are relatively warm in the first place.

Hill (1960) discusses the positive aspects of conscience development in his paper on the acquisition of values. The content of the process is similar to Lazowick's (1955) in that values and meanings are broad aspects of the model's behavior which the subject internalizes in some manner. Hill (1960) also brings in the concept of "vicarious reinforcement" which is similar to Kagan's (1958) "motivation to command or experience desired goal states of a model". "'Vicarious reinforcement involves the generalization of reinforcers which others receive. A given act is reinforced for S as a result of the act being performed by M, followed by reinforcement to M." (Hill, 1960, p. 321) The manner in which this produces identification is as follows: "Stimulus generalization should occur not only from M's behavior to S's, but also from one act of M's to another. As a result, if M is frequently reinforced, S should find it rewarding to resemble M in general, including imitation of some of M's behaviors which S has never seen rewarded." (Hill, 1960, p. 321)

In his discussion of the treatment of development of conscience by Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957), Hill (1960) maintains that the use of "love oriented" techniques of discipline may not be crucial per se but that if the same temporal aspects of punishment could be established the use of "materialistic" forms of discipline would produce the same strength of conscience. The effect of the love oriented techniques may be to accentuate the learning of several different responses which all contribute to an overall judgment of high conscience.

"Physical punishment is likely to occur all at once and be over quickly, while punishment by deprivation of objects or privileges is likely to be either for a fixed period of time or for as long as the disciplinarian finds convenient. Discipline by withdrawal of love, on the other hand, probably much more often lasts until the child makes some symbolic renunciation of his wrongdoing...The child is deprived of his parents' love...for as much or as little time as is necessary to get him to make such a symbolic renunciation. When he has made it, he is restored to his parents' favor...On repeated occasions of transgression, punishment by withdrawal of love, and symbolic renunciation, the child may be expected not only to learn the renunciation response as an escape from parental disfavor but eventually to use it as an avoidance...response...The result of this hypothesized sequence of events is that the child makes a verbal response which is in effect an instruction to himself not to repeat his wrongdoing. The next time temptation comes, he is more likely to make this verbal response before transgressing." (Hill, 1960, pp. 325-326)

High conscience "...will be due to the fact that punishment continues until the child makes a symbolic renunciation, rather than to the fact that the punishment involves withdrawal of love."

(Hill, 1960, p. 326) The use of love oriented discipline and the tendency to make termination of punishment contingent on symbolic renunciation are probably correlated. The strength of conscience would be correlated more highly with response contingency than with love orientation.

C. SOCIOLOGICAL AND ROLE THEORETICAL FORMULATIONS OF IDENTIFICATION

1. Brim

Brim (1957, 1958) and Parsons (1951, 1953, 1955), using a combination of symbolic interaction and structure-function concepts, analyze the family as a social system with identification treated as one of the processes of socialization. A social system exists when two (or more) individuals interact with each other on the basis of common expectations about appropriate behavior for themselves and for the other person. The social system, by influencing the degree of interaction between its members, is related to the types of roles learned in the system; one learns most completely those roles which he himself plays, as well as the roles of the others with whom he most frequently interacts.

According to Brim, the parent-child system is a member of a larger class of systems whose function is to train society's members. Their major function is to produce certain kinds of behavior and attitudes in the member of the system who is being trained. Generally the roles in the system are such that they are complementary to each other, and when competently performed lead to successful discharge of the functions of the system for the larger society. The content of a role is the feelings one should have, the behavior one should perform, the effects one should produce. These are customarily prescribed by society's members for the incumbent of the role and they are normative in nature, that is, they state what is good or appropriate behavior for the person occupying a certain role in a certain system.

Prescriptions for roles in any social system are directed to the successful discharge of the function of that system for society. The role prescriptions are based on the theories (implicit or explicit) about human behavior and include the behavior believed by the society to be instrumental to the achievement of the function of the system. Changes in role prescriptions will occur either when the theory of human nature which underlies the prescription changes, or when there is a change in the function ascribed to the system. Because the roles in a social system are mutually cooperative and facilitative in the achievement of the function of the system, a given role which has some specific prescription will require that other roles in the system carry reciprocal prescriptions such that the performance of the latter will fit that of the former.

Therefore that which is prescribed is actually the relation between roles in the system. This is the broad theory in which Brim (1957) places his discussion of learning and family structure (1958). One learns the behavior appropriate to his position in a system through interaction with others who hold normative beliefs about what his role should be and who are able to reward and punish him for correct and incorrect actions. As part of the same process one acquires expectations of how others in the system behave. This is indispensable to the actor, for he must be able to predict what others expect of him and how they will react to him, in order to guide his own role performance successfully.

Accurate or erroneous understanding and prediction are conceived as rewarding or punishing respectively, and learning proceeds _via_ the law of effect. Learning the role of others occurs through

the actor's taking the role of the other, i.e., trying to act as the other would act. This is commonly covert in adults with certain responses of the other's role being made, run through, completed and rewarded if accurate. This process adds to the repertoire of possible actions of a person and such actions, as part of one's repertoire of learned responses, are available for performance by an actor not simply in taking the role of the other, but as resources which he can and does use as part of his own role performance.

The causes for this process may exist on three levels of deliberateness:

(1) The person may note that the other is successful to a high degree in some of his behavior and consciously transfer to his own role such behavioral elements for trial. To the extent they prove successful for him in his performance he will adopt them.

(2) Faced with novel situations where his own behavior fails, the elements of others' roles are already learned and available for trial and hence will tend to be tried before the development of completely new responses.

(3) The actions learned by taking the role of others are ordinarily performed implicitly and under limited conditions. The cues which guide and elicit one's own role performance may be difficult to differentiate from the cues eliciting taking the role of the other. This is especially difficult in the case of very young children.

The process of discrimination between what belongs to the self and what belongs to the other is aided by the guidance of other persons. Rewards and punishments administrated by others govern the discrimination process. When the process of assimilation comes primarily from inability to discriminate between roles then when greater attention is paid to helping the learner discriminate, the process of assimilation is to a degree arrested. Brim (1958, p. 3) states an interesting general hypothesis about power and identification: Given two persons with whom the actor interacts and who differ in power over the actor (i.e., differ in the degree to which they control rewards and punishments for the actor) the actor will adopt more of the characteristics of the powerful person. This is due to the fact that it is more important to the actor to predict the behavior of the powerful person (he is motivated more strongly to take his role, i.e., identify, because the rewards and punishments are more impressive and the learning consequently better).

In the reanalysis of Koch's data, Brim formulates some specific hypotheses about sex-role learning among children with different sibling distributions.

The general hypothesis is: When the child begins his differentiation between the father and mother sex- roles he is helped in making the differentiation if he has a cross-sex sibling.

Specific hypotheses:

      (1) Cross-sex (compared with same-sex) siblings possess more traits appropriate to the cross-sex role. When taking the role of the other in interaction, cross-sex siblings must take the role of the opposite sex, and the assimilation of roles takes place (confirmed).

      (2) This effect is more noticeable for the younger (compared with older) sibling in that the older one is more powerful and is more able to differentiate his own from his sibling's role (confirmed).

      (3) Assuming that siblings close in age interact more than those not close in age, then this effect would be more noticeable for the siblings who are closest together in age (not confirmed). The reanalysis of the Koch data is not a very powerful test of the hypotheses and the tables which contain the basic data are explained in an extremely confusing (and I believe incorrect) manner.

2. Parsons

Parsons has given much attention to the concept of identification and has formulated a sociological theory of the Freudian formulation, taking account of family and social structure. [Bronfenbrenner, (1960) however, feels that very little new insight, but a lot of bad syntax has been added.] Parson's general criticism of Freud is stated as follows: "...the trouble comes from sticking to the attempt to deal only with the relation to <u>one</u> role-personality in a situation where multiple role-relations are already involved. In the case of 'primary' identification there was only one object, the nurturing or 'caring' mother. Identification with this object could be treated as an adequate focus of the total internalization process. From the child's point of view, ...he and the mother become one. When it comes to the oedipal period....for the boy his father is only one of four basic types of object. The process of discriminating him as an object and developing a stable orientation toward him as distinguished from the mother is <u>one part</u> of a more general process of reorganization of his personality system...in terms of an altered relation to an external social system. The essential point is that <u>both</u> of these are systems." (Parsons, 1955, pp. 91-92).

The core of the theories of both Parsons and Freud is the generalized motive to become like another person. Identification is "...the acquisition of <u>generalized</u> patterns of orientation motivated by an attachment to a social object. An attachment...develops at the point where not only alter's specific acts are significant to ego as sanctions but where by generalization ego has become sensitive to alter's attitudes toward him as a person...When alter is cathected <u>as a person</u>, as distinguished from specific attributes, possessions, or actions, we speak of an <u>attachment</u>. ...Because of the element of generality in attachments, the patterns of value-orientation taken over through identification are necessarily generalized..." (Parsons & Shils, 1951, p. 130).

Identification and imitation are two forms of social learning: "....<u>imitation</u>....assumes only that alter provides a model for the specific pattern learned without being an object of a generalized cathectic attachment;....<u>identification</u>....implies that alter is the object of such an attachment and therefore serves as a model not only with respect to a specific pattern in a specific context of learning but also as a model in a generalized sense. Alter becomes...a model for general orientations, not merely for specific patterns." (Parsons & Shils, 1951, p. 129)

At various places in his writings Parsons, like all good grand systematizers, offers a four stage paradigm of social control: The four sequential stages are (Parsons, 1955, pp. 39-41):

(1) <u>Permissiveness</u> - where the person is allowed to express himself, the period of oral dependency (mother-child identity).

(2) <u>Support</u> - where the excessive demands of the individual are tolerated and he is accepted as a person, the period of love attachment (parent-self object differentiation).

(3) <u>Denial of reciprocity</u> - which involves the denial of response-reward including the gratification in being duly punished for an aggressive act, the latency period (four object family role systems).

(4) <u>Manipulation of rewards</u> - which involves a process of reinforcing reality oriented adaptive instrumental performance, maturity.

In her treatment of the child, the mother begins with permissiveness and support which develops in the child a diffuse attachment to her (dependency). Once dependency has come to be well established, the demands for attention and specific acts of care expand. From the mother's point of view, the child manifests illegitimate positive wishes. His dependency in general is welcomed and rewarded but the excessive manifestations are trimmed by the denial of reciprocity. The balance between denial of reciprocity and positive reward gradually leads to the establishment of a stable orientation or expectation system in the child. When this process has reached a certain stage we say that the internalization of the mother as an object (in her role as a source of care) has taken place. This is what Freud meant by the ego's primary identification (Parsons, 1955, p. 65).

Parson's fundamental idea is that the child passes through a <u>series of identifications</u> and the nature of these successive identifications is determined by the reciprocal roles taken by the parent and child at successive stages of the child's development. At the outset the young child cannot respond to the parental roles in their fully differentiated form. Also, the parental behaviors to which the child is exposed are segmental and not representative of the complete role-repertoire of each parent. It is not the mother as a total personality that is internalized but only that aspect of her with which the child has had a meaningful relationship of interaction. Therefore, at any given stage the child identifies, not with the parent as a total person, but with the reciprocal role-relationship that is functional for the child at this time (Cf. Mowrer, 1950).

The sequence of these role-relationships is as follows: Following his identification with the mother as a source of care, the child enters the stage of "love dependency" in which the mother's expressions of affection become rewarding in and of themselves and the child becomes responsive to the "expressive" aspects of the mother's function. Since a mother's love is conditional the denial of reciprocity at this level leads to internalization of the mother as a giver of love.

At the oedipal ((third) stage, identification reaches a new level of complexity. At both of the earlier levels the mother was still undifferentiated with respect to sex. In the oedipal phase the child first recognizes and internalizes the distinction between male and female, simultaneously in relation to his parents and himself. The differentiation occurs because of a shift in the parental role pattern presented to the child, i.e., the expressive and instrumental functions are now divided between the parents. "Before he has internalized the father as an object the child cannot be fully sensitive to his

attitudes as sanctions. He can, however, be motivated to do things which please both mother and father and be rewarded by the mother's love and nurturance. By some such process he comes to cathect the father - because mother both loves father and backs him up - and from this generalized parental object...a qualitatively different object can be differentiated out." (Parsons, 1955, p. 81)

Parsons uses the principal of differential reinforcement in explaining the selection of the appropriate sex-role. In identifying with the parent of the same sex the child begins to exhibit behavior which is sex-typed but not identical with behavior of the adult parent. The discrepancy is more marked for the boy and is related to the lack of clarity of the male role and the anxiety which is generated by the very conflict that motivates the child to seek a new identity.

In summary; at an early age the child is only able to identify with the most concrete actions of the parent which are directly relevant to his well-being, and even then the identification is a diffuse and relatively undifferentiated type. Later, with increasing capacity to abstract and discriminate, the child becomes capable of internalizing patterns which are both more subtle and more symbolic. If the parent "denies reciprocity" and "manipulates rewards" in relation to the symbolic aspects of the parent-child relationship then it is this more abstract reciprocal role pattern which becomes internalized. Parsons' successive levels of identification represent a progressive differentiation of ever more complex role-relationships between the self, the parent, and ultimately society. Parsons says that it was Freud's failure to recognize this that accounts for the vagueness in his theory.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1960) the major tenets of Parsons' theory are:

> (1) The type of identification is a function of the developmental capacities of the child. Early identifications are more diffuse and related to concrete behavior; later ones are more differentiated and organized around symbolic role-entities.

> (2) Identification involves both motivational and cognitive elements; the cathected pattern is determined in part by the substantive and formal properties of the model. What the child strives to internalize will vary with the content and clarity of the reciprocal role relationships in which he is a participant.

D. MUSSEN AND MASCULINITY

Mussen and his associates Mussen, 1961; Mussen & Distler, 1959; Mussen & Distler, 1960; Payne & Mussen, 1956) have concentrated on some antecedents and consequents of masculine identity in boys. In the first study (Payne & Mussen, 1956) they used as a base Mowrer (1950) and Sears, Pintler, and Sears (1946). Their hypotheses were:

> (1) "The degree to which boys identify with their fathers is related to the degree to which they perceive him as rewarding, i.e., the extent of his kindness, helpfulness, warmth.

> (2) The degree of father identification is related to the differential reward values of the two parents...to the extent to which the father is seen as relatively more rewarding than the mother.

> (3) The degree of father identification in boys is related to the degree to which they perceive their families (parents as a unit) as rewarding.

(4) Among boys, a high degree of father identification is conducive to adequate social and emotional adjustment." (Payne & Mussen, 1956, p. 359)

The measure of identification, based on fifty items from the "California Psychological Inventory", was the number of items father and son answered alike minus the number of items mother and son answered alike (a strange measure contaminated by mother-father similarity'). They used twenty adolescent boys on each extreme of the distribution of these scores. To measure family relations they used projective incomplete stories; ratings by home room teachers were used as the measure of adjustment.

The fourth hypothesis was but weakly supported and identification does not seem to be related to self adjustment as rated. There was a significant correlation between the self masculinity score and father identification score (both based on the same instrument). One interesting finding is that there is no relation between father identification and the father's masculinity score but there is a significant negative relation to the mother's, i.e., the more masculine the mother the less strongly the boy tends to identify with his father. Bronfenbrenner (1960) reports two Ph.D. theses which show these same relationships. L.M. Lansky (Patterns of Defense Against Conflict, U. of Mich., 1955) found that ".....boys with feminine scores tend to come from homes in which the father has relinquished the traditional paternal responsibilities...but has taken over activities associated with the maternal role (Bronfenbrenner, 1958, p. 120) N. Altucher (Conflict in Sex Identification in Boys, U. of Mich., 1956) found that "...adolescent boys with scores classified as feminine are more likely to come from families in which there was little parental role differentiation in household activities and in which the mother rather than the father tended to dominate the setting of limits for the child." (Bronfenbrenner, 1958, p. 120)

In the next study Mussen and Distler (1959) attempted to compare the validity of the three hypotheses of mechanisms of identification:

      (1) defensive or aggressive identification,
      (2) developmental-anaclytic identification,
      (3) role theory -Brim's hypothesis about the relationship between power and identification.

They used a projective measure of identification ("IT Scale for Children") and structured doll play (incomplete family situations) as a measure of parent-child relations. All three hypotheses were supported but the investigators leaned toward favoring the role-playing power hypothesis. For boys, the sex typing of interests is more directly related to their perception of their fathers than of their mothers. A high level of masculine identification does not depend on any one specific type of father-son relationship and, from the child's point of view, the significant factor is the father's salience (his importance in the child's life) rather than the particular technique he uses in dealing with his child. "...the boy should be most strongly motivated to imitate or to practice his father's role frequently if he has a great deal of interaction with his father and sees him as a powerful source of rewards and punishments. Under these circumstances, the child gets extensive experience playing the father's role and adopts more of the father's characteristics, including those connected specifically with his sex-role." (Mussen & Distler, 1959, p. 355)

Stated in terms of behavior theory: "Among those with whom the preschool boy has intimate associations, the father is the one who has the most adequate knowledge of appropriate masculine behavior. If there is a high level of father-son interaction...the father should frequently, and fairly regularly, reward the son's sex-appropriate responses when they occur. Consequently, the boy's

masculine responses should be relatively, rapidly and effectively strengthened, while his sex-inappropriate responses become extinguished." (Mussen & Distler, 1959, p. 355)

The next study (Mussen & Distler, 1960) reports the interviews with the mothers of the children used in the previous study. The interview was similar to that used by Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957). They state that highly masculine boys live in relatively permissive, nonpunitive family climates and are happier and more relaxed in their relationships with their parents than boys from stricter homes. Under these circumstances they are likely to seek frequent contact with their parents and to be relatively uninhibited in trying out many imitative responses in their presence. Responses that are appropriately sex-typed will be rewarded and hence gain in strength, while inappropriate responses will not be rewarded and thus will be weakened.

In a stricter, more rigid home the child may tend to withdraw from his parents and for this reason will have less opportunity to learn which responses are most appropriate to his sex role. In the process of ego and superego development the child has a number of identification models. Different aspects of his psychological structure become modeled after different identificands. For the five year old boy both parents serve as models for conscience development, the moral values and ethical standards are products of identifications with the parents, and a high degree of conscience development depends upon positive affectional relationships between the child and both parents.

The boy's adoption of masculine interests, however, must almost exclusively be the product of his identification with his father, for he is the parent who serves as the model for masculinity. Since the mother can not be the model, her part in her son's acquisition of masculine characteristics can not be as vital as the father's. Sex-typing for the boy is a consequent of warm and affectionate interactions with his father.

In the latest (and in some ways the poorest) study, Mussen (1961) uses as a measure of sex-typing the score on the Strong MF scale. He has several sets of ratings and TAT stories (to measure masculine characteristics and behavior and acceptance of the father) and some objective personality scales (to measure adjustment). The hypotheses were as follows:

> (hyp.l) "...adolescent boys whose interests are strongly and appropriately sex-typed regard their relationships with their fathers as favorable and rewarding, while boys with more feminine interests are less likely to regard their interactions with their fathers in this way." (Mussen, 1961, p. 22) (confirmed).

> (hyp.2) "...as the boy matures, he is likely to encounter increasing familial, peer, and general societal pressure to identify with his father and thus to 'learn to think, feel, and act like a member of his own sex' - i.e., to adopt sex-appropriate motivational patterns and personality characteristics as well as overt masculine behavior and interests...with increased age, the various qualities that compose the male sex role form a coherent pattern, becoming more consistent, crystallized, and consolidated." (Mussen, 1961, pp. 1-2)

Masculine is defined in terms of Parsons' instrumental (task) vs. expressive (social-emotional) functions. High masculinity of interests is associated with instrumental characteristics (e.g., adequacy, achievement, control) and low masculinity or relatively feminine interests with emotional-expressive characteristics (e.g., affection, dependence, gregariousness). "...among adolescent boys, those who acquire highly masculine interests will possess more strongly developed

personal qualities that are considered to be characteristic of males in our culture. Those whose interest patterns are relatively feminine are also more likely to manifest more feminine personal and social characteristics." (Mussen, 1961, p. 22) (partly confirmed) (hyp.3) "...adolescent boys who attain a high degree of appropriate sex-typing of behavior - thus fulfilling the expectations of parents, peers, and society at large - experience greater degrees of social acceptance and more favorable socio-psychological milieu than do their peers who are less masculine in behavior and attitudes." (Mussen, 1961, p. 2) "...adolescent boys who are strongly identified with the male sex role are more likely to be more stable emotionally and better adjusted socially than boys who are low in masculinity." (Mussen, 1961, p. 22) (weakly confirmed) (hyp.4) "Assuming that good personal adjustment during adolescence paves the way for subsequent psychological well-being ....a high degree of appropriate sex-typing during adolescence will be more closely related to adequate personal and social adjustment in adulthood than will a low degree of masculine sex-typing during this period." (Mussen, 1961, p. 22) (not confirmed, although Mussen does a lot of argumentative twisting in his attempt to save the highly masculine middle-aged male.)

In his discussion he offers some interesting formulations for further study. He states that the study offers no support for the defensive identification hypothesis (however I feel that this phenomenon will be exhibited under extreme conditions where no other alternative is available - nazi prison camps - or in a culturally general way - Whiting's study; in the usual American home the mechanism will not be evidenced). "...regardless of how the identification mechanism is generated, substantial later sex-role identification is dependent upon warm, affectionate relationships between father and son...the boy's early imitation of his father's behavior is likely to elicit more affection from the father, i.e., this behavior is apt to be reinforced relatively frequently and consistently. Father-replicative responses acquire greater habit strength, and the boy imitates his father more, thus adopting more sex-appropriate role behavior." (Mussen, 1961, pp. 16-17)

Certain motivational and behavioral characteristics generally regarded as distinctive elements of masculine behavior (e.g., achievement and aggression) were not found to be more typical of subjects with highly masculine interests. Mussen offers an explanation for this finding as follows: "...certain characteristics are very clearly defined as aspects of the male role and, because of this, all boys are under powerful social pressures from social institutions and agencies - family, peer groups, school and mass media - to behave in ways consonant with these cultural stereotypes of that role. The extent to which boys in late adolescence...will incorporate these obvious characteristics of masculinity may be strongly influenced by many factors other than the strength of identification with the male role. Hence, the possible effects of different degrees of masculine identification on the development of such motives...may be obscured...The development of male role behavior...depends not only on the adoption of certain masculine overt reactions, attitudes, and motivations but also, concomitantly, on the elimination or extinction of responses inappropriate to this sex role or appropriate to the opposite one," (Mussen, 1961, p. 18).

All children identify first with the mother; but, boys must make a shift of identification which involves a relinquishing of feminine and an adoption of masculine traits and attitudes." ...the adoption of male role behavior involves the acquisition and increased habit strength of male sex role characteristics together with the abandonment or extinction...of those reactions which are culturally defined as feminine...the development of sex-typed behavior depends upon the combined activities of imitating the male role components and, to a significant degree, eliminating responses modeled after the mother's. Among adolescent boys, relative femininity may be attributed to failure to extinguish early-developed female reactions or a failure to acquire more masculine responses, or both." (Mussen, 1961, p. 18-19)

Following a Sears' type argument he says: "If the boy finds that his father is affectionate and rewarding, acts performed by the father acquire secondary reward value. When he emulates the father's behavior, the boy rewards himself and a secondary motivation to imitate the father develops and, with further experience of rewards following imitation of that parent, increases in strength. Consequently, the child makes more imitative responses which are not only self-rewarding but are also likely to be reinforced by the father. The response 'acting like father' gains great habit strength, the boy progressively assumes more and more of the father's attitudes, interests, and reactions and, thus more behavior appropriate to his sex role. In general, adults and peers expect the adolescent boy to be manly and to behave in accordance with the cultural specifications for his sex role.

Boys who adopt masculine behavior and characteristics, and thus fulfill the general social expectations, are likely to encounter favorable treatment by peers and adults - which are conducive to the establishment of positive self-concepts, personal security, and feelings of adequacy..." (Mussen, 1961, p. 19)

F. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

Bronfenbrenner (1960) concluded his review of the theories of identification with the thought that the theories of this realm far out-weigh the data they are set up to explain. In judging the adequacy of the alternative (to Freud) theories to explain identification one must keep in mind the questions Freud was attempting to answer. He was not asking why and how a child might learn an isolated piece of behavior from his parent (imitation phenomena); he was interested in the tendency of the child to take on a total pattern. Moreover this acquisition was accomplished with an emotional intensity which reflected the operation of forces of considerable power. If the core of the psychoanalytic conception of identification is the <u>motive</u> to become like another person then the resulting similarity is at best only a byproduct rather than an essential feature. Indeed, Bronfenbrenner has stated that the stronger the unconscious desire to become like another person, the more one is likely to exaggerate or distort the characteristics of the model. (Bronfenbrenner, 1958)

There are three classes of phenomena to which the term identification has been applied (Bronfenbrenner, 1960, p. 40):

(1) <u>Behavior</u>. Here the emphasis is on overt action: <u>S</u> behaves in the manner of <u>M</u> Within this rubric there are three submeanings:

(a) Identification implying that actions of <u>S</u> are learned by taking the actions of <u>M</u> as a model.
(b) Identification referring to the similarity of <u>S</u> to <u>M</u> without regard to whether <u>M's</u> behavior has actually served as a model.
(c) Identification in overt behavior with an ideal standard never actually exhibited.

(2) <u>Motive</u>. Here identification refers to the disposition to act like another. The mode may be overt behavior or an idealized standard, but there is no necessary correspondence between the actual behaviors of <u>S</u> and <u>M</u>, since in his efforts to emulate, <u>S</u> may distort the characteristics of the model.

(3) <u>Process</u>. Here identification is conceived as the mechanism through which behavior and
   motives are learned and concern is with the psychological forces that impel the child
   to emulate a model. There are four such processes:
   (a) Anaclitic identification - based on the withdrawal of love.
   (b) Aggressive - based on fear of harm.
   (c) Conventional reward and punishment which does not rely on frustration implicit
      in the anaclitic and aggressive mechanisms.
   (d) "Instrumental" model - exposure to a model who exhibits effective mastery of the
      environment stimulates the child to adopt the model's behavior and attitudes.
      (This is similar to Whiting's status envy and Brim's formulation.)

In general the study of identification can concentrate on any of the following aspects: (1) The
<u>process</u> - the sequential interplay of factors which cause the child to take on the characteristics of a
model. (2) The <u>outcome</u> - the resultant similarity between child and model on: (a) the model's overt
behavior, (b) the model's motives, (c) the model's aspirations for the child.

Since many of the studies claiming to deal with identification have no indication of a motive to
emulate or do not deal with process, but instead rely on similarity between the identifier (<u>S</u>) and the
model(<u>M</u>), it will be helpful to spell out the conditions under which similarity <u>per se</u> is indicative of
identification.

As is true of all correlational studies, it is necessary to rule out other possible causes of the
correlation to make causal statements. When you say that "S is similar to <u>M</u> on X dimensions,
therefore <u>S</u> used <u>M</u> as an identification model" you must rule out the possibility that <u>S</u> and <u>M</u> got
their similar traits from other common sources (e.g., peers, sub-cultures, heredity, etc.)

On the basis of similarity alone, identification can only be shown to exist if <u>M</u> deviates from these
other possible sources and if <u>S</u> (who is also exposed to these sources) deviates in the same way as
<u>M</u>. If <u>M</u> does not deviate, then no matter how similar <u>S</u> is to <u>M</u> you cannot separate out the causal
factors and identification cannot conclusively be demonstrated unless you have information about
<u>S's</u> desire to emulate <u>M</u>.

On the other hand given <u>S's</u> motivation, identification exists whether or not similarity between <u>S</u>
and <u>M</u> obtains. Now if <u>M</u> follows the other sources and <u>S</u> deviates from <u>M</u> (and consequently the
other sources) then you can probably rule out the operation of identification - <u>S</u> did not use <u>M</u> as a
model (but this is not strictly true, due to the possibility of distortion under high motivation). If we
have evidence that there is no motivation on <u>S's</u> part to emulate <u>M</u> then no matter how similar <u>S</u> is
to <u>M</u> (on any measure or pattern) <u>S</u> does not identify with <u>M</u>.

Very few if any studies have ruled out other possible explanations of the similarity of <u>S</u> and <u>M</u>. The
measure of identification boils down to a measure of the desire to emulate the model. Similarity will
result if the subject has the ability to emulate.

The usual study puts all its eggs in the similarity basket, whereas similarity is not the core of the
identification concept, but a possible byproduct, and even then a lack of real similarity is not proof
that identification does not exist. The best place to study the similarity result of identification is to
study those aspects which are not controlled by ability or biological-structural factors, i.e., where
the child can decide whether or not he will emulate the model. The reason M-F scores are usable is

not that they exhibit identification with the same sexed parent, but that the child probably does not <u>reject</u> the parent.

Bronfenbrenner (1958, pp. 116-117) has put the issue this way: "...modeling leads to some kind of resemblance between oneself and the parent, but it does not therefore follow (as seems to be implied in current researches), that all similarity between parent and child is the product of taking the parent as a model...the child may have been emulating other masculine figures...The similarity between parent and child may have its roots in processes which do not involve modeling at all. Hereditary factors...[and] homogenizing environmental influences...Children are taught values and behavior appropriate to their age and sex by a variety of techniques. These include manipulation and selective control of the environment...the teaching of abstract rules and principles...and the use of direct punishment and praise for specific actions. While emulation of a model plays a part in some of these methods, it is clearly not the only mechanism involved. What all the above processes do have in common is their outcome: i.e., they increase the similarity, both real and assumed, between the child and adult - notably the adult of the same sex...measures of identification based on real or assumed similarity represent a resultant of virtually every process of socialization which fosters the development of patterns of attitude and action appropriate to one's adult sex role."

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