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Date March, 1977

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTAL CHILD-REARING ATTITUDES AND
CHILD ADJUSTMENT: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF RESEARCH, 1960-1976

by
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Abstract

The theory which postulates a relationship to exist between parental child-rearing attitudes and child adjustment has been subjected to empirical examination since the 1930's. It was the problem of this paper to critically review parent-child research since 1960 to determine what relationships were found between parental child-rearing attitudes and child adjustment.

Inherent methodological problems and intervening variables encountered in parent-child research were discussed. It was determined that methods of data collection, conceptualization of parental variables, and the variables of age, sex, and socioeconomic status were necessary considerations in establishing reliability of results and the degree of confidence which could be attributed to conclusions. Each design reviewed was examined for methodological error and controls. The conclusions of this review were based on those results considered most reliable. Care was taken that generalizations did not extend beyond the limitations of age and sex.

It was concluded that the parental dimension of acceptance-rejection was most related to child adjustment, across ages and sexes. Discipline styles, modeling of appropriate behaviors, and consistency of discipline were also related to child adjustment. Few conclusions were possible for female children. It was recommended that future research with more rigorous consideration for methodology and intervening variables be undertaken.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Since the child study movement began in the United States, there has been a wave of interest in the area of personality development. Psychological theories stress the importance of the primary family, particularly the parents, in the development of the child's psycho-social adjustment. Specifically, child-rearing techniques have been theorized to affect a child's adjustment. Understanding the relationships between parental child-rearing practices and child adjustment will contribute to the knowledge of parenting and of the etiology of maladjustment.

A social-psychological theory is developed as observations are examined and commonalities appear; hypotheses are established. By virtue of the scientific method, these hypotheses must be empirically tested. Congruent findings then begin to lend support to the theory.

On first inspection of the parent-child research literature, which is voluminous, studies appear to contribute empirical validation to the theory of parental influence on a child's adjustment. However, a more careful look at research published prior to 1960 suggests to the reviewer that research is far from achieving its goal of supplying support. The problem is two-fold: (a) differing approaches of examining the same phenomena have not produced consistent results, and (b) each approach is immersed in methodological problems.

Questions remain unanswered. Is the influence of parental

child-rearing practices a salient factor in the etiology of a child's adjustment? Is maladjustment linked to atypical forms of parental child-rearing techniques? Until methodological problems are solved, we cannot have confidence in results. Not until several approaches, whose methods are free from criticism, produce consistent findings can we consider that this theory has been supported.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to critically review the research since 1960 in light of methodological problems and to determine what support has been given to the theory that parental child-rearing attitudes are related to child adjustment.

Purpose of the Study

Parental child-rearing attitudes constitute the main socializing influence that the child experiences during his earliest years. These attitudes together with the frustrations they impose, the techniques of control, and the provocations they offer serve as originative forces on the child's behavior (Zunich, 1966:42).

Years of parent-child interaction result in subtle nuances which have been elusive and difficult to capture in a research design. Values, attitudes, and behaviors within those interactions have, however, found operational definition in research.

The research designs which examined parent-child interactive consequences were severely limited, placing interpretation on shaky grounds. Each study was carefully examined for contamination resulting from these limitations. Limitations appeared in three areas: methods

of data collection, definitions of variables, and controls for intervening variables.

Researchers collected data in a variety of ways. Child-rearing values, attitudes, and practices were expressed by parents in questionnaires and interviews; children reported perceptions of their parents' child-rearing techniques; interactions between parents and their children were observed; and case histories included accounts of parent-child interaction. Each of these methods of data collection presented problems to the researchers.

The second source of limitation was the categorization of variables under study. Attitudes, if defined vaguely and abstractly, were too difficult to replicate in a second study; yet, to become very specific limited generalization. Variables measured were diverse, ranging from "authoritarian parent" to "slapped hand for lack of compliance."

Control for intervening variables rendered a third source of frustration to the careful researcher. Socioeconomic status, race, education, sex, age and personality of the parents, and age and sex of the child appeared to affect parent-child correlates. Expense and time often prevented adequate control.

Data collection had to be thorough, variables explicitly defined, intervening variables controlled rigidly, and populations carefully described. These limitations had to be overcome before

conclusions could be accepted as empirical support for theory.

Researchers since 1960 were aware of these inherent problems and sought to overcome the obstacles they presented.

The parent-child research since 1960 was reviewed. Those designs which were most successful methodologically were examined in depth. The reviewer drew tentative conclusions when those studies using differing approaches produced congruent findings. The reviewer believed that until the findings of recent research were critically analyzed rather than loosely interpreted, science could not offer an understanding of human adjustment and its development.

General Questions To Be Answered

Through a critical review of research literature published since 1960, the following questions were answered:

1. What parental child-rearing attitudes toward discipline have been found to correlate with child adjustment?
2. What combinations of parental child-rearing attitudes affect the relationship between discipline and child adjustment?
3. What effect do children's perceptions of parental attitudes have upon the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment?
4. What effect do parental reports of attitudes have upon the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment?
5. What effect does observed parent-child interaction have upon

the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment?

6. What effect does socioeconomic status have upon the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment?

7. What effect does sex in parent-child pairs (i.e., mother-son, father-daughter, etc.) have on the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment?

8. What effect does the age of the child have on the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment?

Definition of Terms

In the context of this review, the following terms were defined as follows:

Child-rearing attitudes. Values, attitudes, and practices or behaviors concerning techniques employed by parents in the socialization of their children. These may be reported by a parent, perceived by a child, or observed during parent-child interaction.

Child adjustment. Social and/or psychological normality-abnormality. This measure is determined by ratings from professionals, parents, teachers, and peers.

Limitations

Thousands of studies have been conducted in the realm of parental influence on child development. Because an exhaustive review was unrealistic, the reviewer chose to examine the smaller area of parental child-rearing attitudes and their influence on child

adjustment. Validity of attitudinal measures can only be established when the attitudes become manifest in behavior and observable; therefore, in addition to research pertaining to attitudes, a large body of the research concerned with child-rearing behavior was included.

Much research concerning the effects of socioeconomic status, race, marital status, and maternal employment on parental attitudes and on the adjustment of children has been conducted. Only those studies which have investigated the influence of these variables on the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment was reviewed.

Time and expense created further need of limitation. Therefore:

1. Only journal reports of research available in the Montana State University Library were reviewed.
2. No research conducted outside the United States was examined.
3. Only research conducted with children over the age of two years was reviewed.

Summary

Research since the 1930's has attempted to support the theory that parental child-rearing attitudes influence child adjustment. It was realized by 1960 that no conclusions were as yet possible, for research was limited by methodological problems, and interpretations were confused by incongruent findings. As a result, researchers have

sought to remedy these problems and have continued to seek empirical evidence to support the theory.

It was the purpose of this review to examine parent-child studies conducted since 1960, in order to determine how successful researchers have been in solving problems in methodology. It was also the purpose of this paper to determine what relationships have been found to exist between parental child-rearing attitudes and child adjustment.

Chapter 2

Problems in Research Methodology

Frustrations of research which attempt to recognize, isolate, and define the widely varied parental attitudes which affect child behavior and personality have tended to differentiate approaches and in some cases increase specificity of concepts and precision of hypotheses (Gildea, 1960, p. 42).

The reviewer believed that before a researcher can draw a conclusion, make a generalization, or offer an interpretation in support of his theoretical orientation, he must be confident that his design is reasonably free from error. Too often interpretations of data have been made with little attention given to the limitations of the study. The reviewer concluded, therefore, that it was necessary for a review of research to include a careful analysis of each study's methodological approach.

Methodological problems inherent in parent-child research have presented difficult barriers to the responsible researcher. Therefore, this chapter included sections in the following problem areas: data collection, conceptualization of variables, and controls for intervening variables.

Data Collection

Attitude and behavior questionnaires for parents and children, structured and unstructured interviews, home and laboratory observations of interactions, and case history reports have all been approaches employed for data collection in parent-child research. The validity of measures used to obtain data and the reliability of the source of

data were two major considerations of methodology. To what degree was the data representative of actual parent-child interaction? Was the mother the most significant source of information? The following text attempted to answer these questions.

Validity

Since the actual child-rearing practices, the intimate day-to-day interaction between parent and offspring are so difficult to assess, a higher level of abstraction would hypothesize a syndrome of basic patterns which are probably the determinants of the child-rearing patterns themselves (Freidman, 1969, p. 579).

Child-rearing attitudes expressed by a parent, either on a written questionnaire or during an interview, are assumed to be expressions of values. These values are believed to be partially manifested in actual interactive behavior with a child.

It has been stated that "the association between expressed attitudes and overt behavior is complex and a function of individual differences (Farina, 1967, p. 337)." The degree of congruence between self and communication may be an indication of those individual differences. The susceptibility of a parent to respond according to socially acceptable mores of child-rearing influences that congruence. The social desirability response set has strong influence, capable of distorting the association between attitudes and behavior. A parent questioned about his belief system in relation to his children is an extremely ego-involved reporter of data. Needs and defenses easily contaminate self-descriptive responses on a questionnaire or to an

interviewer.

Given this situation, it can be argued that only those attitudes which are revealed in behavior are capable of influencing a child. Why not obtain data only from reported behavior? Thus, aspects of attitudes which are not congruent with behavior would be separated from study and would not contaminate validity. The study of reported behaviors, however, also requires validation. The data collected must represent actual interactive behavior. Not only does the social desirability set remain as a contaminant, but new problems are encountered.

One such problem is found with the recall of specific behavioral events: it may be faulty. A parent's response about the previous 24-hour period would certainly be more accurate than an account of an unspecified time a week or two years before. In essence, it is easier to remember recent events as compared to remote events.

A second problem with behavioral reports in research is that questionnaires or interviewers seem to have put unrealistic demands on the respondent. Investigators have expected parents to generalize behavioral modes, discriminate between operational definitions, or to respond in terms of frequency and intensity of certain behavior. Yarrow believed that these investigators "may be creating illusions about the child-rearing environment and losing important variations (1963, p. 218)." Requirements such as these only lead to the collection

of contaminated data.

An additional problem of parental reports concerns the complexity of interaction. This cannot be captured in responses about attitudes and behaviors. All that can be gained is information about particular socialization practices. "Characteristics of the child, the parents, and the circumstances which evoke parental actions and interactions are ignored (Yarrow, 1963, p. 222)." Data of this sort is incomplete and could result in inaccurate conclusions.

The implication here, then, is a need for observation of parent-child interactions. The observation techniques have many advantages over the questionnaire or interview approaches to data collection. Actual behavior rather than elusive attitudes can be observed first hand. More interactive effects can be captured as behaviors are not isolated from the context of stimuli and consequences. The number of variables and dimensions studied is increased, as is complexity.

Yet, the observed interaction does not necessarily insure a valid measure of actual interaction between parent and child. "Only to the extent that the phenomena to be observed have not been destroyed, missed or misinterpreted by the observer (Yarrow, 1963, p. 223) is this approach to data collection valid." In both home and laboratory settings an observer is present, as is the contamination due to the social acceptability factor. Spontaneous behavior of a parent is definitely inhibited by an outsider's presence. Observations in the

home tend to have a little less effect in this regard than do laboratory observations. Unlike the home, however, laboratory techniques can control external stimuli and manipulate behaviors. The child may be playing with toys, for example, while specific behaviors of the parent are rated according to pre-coded response categories. On the other hand, strictly defined laboratory settings may not generalize to the home. Interactive behavior repertoires are limited. It is highly possible that some behaviors typical to a parent and child would not appear in the setting. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the behavior observed represents a regular pattern of parent-child interaction.

Another problem to consider in determining whether or not an observation approach to data collection is valid is the reliability of raters. The process of rating behaviors which may be placed into a larger context or behavior syndrome involves much complexity. The extent to which an observer may be subjectively biased depends in part on the degree of inference he may employ while rating behavior. Well defined, pre-coded categories can aid in controlling for this problem. Otherwise, a misinterpretation by an observer can result in a large amount of error.

In conclusion, a major problem facing the parent-child researcher has been the establishment of validity: Is the data representative of actual parent-child interaction? All approaches to data collection are

affected by the social desirability factor. Questionnaires and interviews cannot definitively collect interactive complexities. Observation techniques can only capture temporally stable and specific behavior. Hence, the frustration is circular.

A definitive method of determining the validity of the reports is the direct and objective measurement of the behavior being reported. Once such a direct measure is available, however, the need for questionnaire reports is eliminated (Azrin, 1961, p. 326).

To discover the validity of data, questionnaires, interviews or observations cannot be relied upon alone. No one approach can be free from disadvantages. In his methodology review, Lytton (1963) suggested a combination of a structured laboratory observation with interview data followed by a replication of observation in the home. In this reviewer's opinion, a researcher who would use this combination would be making an honest attempt to confront methodological error.

Reliability of Sources

The source of data in parent-child research was realized by 1960 to be a condition needing consideration. For the most part, only mothers of children had been studied. The few studies which had used other sources of data indicated that the source was a significant influencing variable on parent-child correlates.

Eron found low correlations to exist between mothers' and fathers' expressed attitudes toward interaction with their children. He concluded, "the observations and reactions of each must be taken

into account to get a complete picture of parental socialization influences on child behavior (1961, p. 465)." It was also suggested that independent measures from each parent and the child are necessary for a valid measure of interaction.

The source of data has also been found to be an important aspect of reliability when rating child behavior and collecting data for the child adjustment variable. Parents and teachers have been used for this purpose, and they vary considerably in ratings. Becker (1960) reported teacher-parent correlates of .34, mother-father correlates of .52, and teacher-teacher correlates of .76. Essentially the same results were found by Speer (1971) when correlations among mothers', fathers', and teachers' ratings were determined. Becker and Speer had both employed commonly used research instruments. The discrepancies, therefore, can be contributed to the different sources of data.

Speer (1971) pointed out that it is unrealistic to demand inter-rater agreement on subjective instruments, particularly when the child is seen in different situations and social system contexts. He suggested that the perceptions and the reactions of several adults in different relationships with the child "be assessed in order to achieve a comprehensive view of his social and personal adjustment (Speer, 1971, p. 228)."

The reviewer was impressed by Speer's phenomenistic view.

He called for an acknowledgement of:

1. The role of situational variables (including adult behavior) in precipitating children's symptomatic behavior.
2. The marked individual differences in adult's tolerances for and sensitivities and reactions to various kinds of child behavior.
3. The marked differences in adults' interpretations and evaluations of children's behavior. An adult can only respond in accordance with his behavioral-affective-cognitive system (Speer, 1971, p. 227).

With this view in mind, it is easily understood that a design which collects data of attitudes and child adjustment from a single parent is subject to error. Independent data sources are necessary if antecedent-consequent relationships are to be valid. The problem of built-in correlations is created when the same data source is used. For example, a mother valuing obedience would tend to be more sensitive to aggressive behavior in her child. This, too, must be avoided to insure uncontaminated data.

Finally, the use of diagnosis, or assessments by clinicians and other professionals in data collection, should be mentioned. Reliability from such a source cannot be established. The orientation of a professional influences his perceptions and may not be the same as another.

The need for independent measures of parental attitudes and child adjustment is clear. Mothers and fathers must each report their own attitudes and perceptions of interaction with their children. Separate ratings of child adjustment should be obtained with special

attention given to differences in raters and social contexts. In a study determining parent-child correlates, the independent and dependent variables should be determined from separate data sources. Research designs using these suggested methods are more likely to yield reliable results.

Conceptualization of Parental Variables

Researchers of parent-child relationships have studied many different variables of parental child-rearing practices. Throughout the development of data collection techniques, there has been an attempt to identify various child-rearing behaviors, conceptualize the behavior variables into patterns or dimensions, and generalize about these patterns. Until the universe of parental behavior is encompassed by such a conceptual scheme, the task of comparing and integrating separate studies is extremely difficult. A discussion of the development of the conceptualization of parental child-rearing practices was therefore necessary.

The work of Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) marked the beginnings of the conceptualization of child-rearing practices. Open-ended questions were used in home interviews with 379 mothers of kindergarten children. The variables measured have been adapted by many researchers since.

Variables were conceived on the basis of clinical observations and general child development theory. Questions concerning early child

rearing and later disciplinary techniques were asked. Conditions in the home, such as marital disagreements about child-rearing issues and expected responsibilities of the child, were also revealed in the interviews. Common elements measured by rating scales were grouped into 16 dimensions. Factor analysis of the dimensions was conducted in hopes of identifying different "qualities of behavior which characterize a mother's reaction to her child (Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957, p. 462)." The five factors (also referred to as patterns or underlying traits) which accounted for the greatest variance were:

1. Permissiveness-Strictness. The permissiveness pole of this dimension was defined by: low permissiveness for aggression, nudity, masturbation, and sex play with other children; high restrictions on play in the house and on noise making; high demands for table manners, neatness, and orderliness, strict obedience; severe toilet training; strong emphasis on doing well in school; rejective response to dependency; and high use of physical punishment.

2. General Family Adjustment. Good adjustment was defined by the following variables: mother has high self-esteem; makes a high evaluation of the father; is very satisfied with her life situation; has little child-rearing anxiety; was delighted at becoming pregnant; does not disagree with the father about childrearing; reports strong affection with her child and between the father and child; follows through on disciplinary actions.

3. Warmth of mother-child relationship. A warm mother was one defined by the following: much affectionate interaction with the baby; found ample time to play with the child; accepting of dependency; use of praise for good table manners; and used reason as a method of training.

4. Responsible child-training orientation. A responsible mother was defined by: high self-esteem; demands for neatness, orderliness, and table manners; restrictions on play in the house; use of praise for good manners and for playing nicely; high standards for strict obedience, predominant use of deprivation of privileges; and high use of tangible rewards.

5. Aggressiveness and punitiveness. This factor was defined by the following variables: high demands for the child to be aggressive toward other children; high permissiveness for such aggression; high use of physical punishment; severe punishment or low permissiveness for aggression toward parents.

Intercorrelations among variables of discipline presented two additional dimensions. Love-oriented techniques included praise as a means of reward, and isolation or withdrawal of love as punishments. Object-oriented techniques included tangible rewards as incentives and rewards, deprivation of privileges as punishment, and physical punishment.

The second major contribution to the conceptualization of the

parent behavior variables was presented by Schaefer and Bell (1968). The Parental Attitude Research Instrument (PAI) was developed. All previous attempts at questionnaire development were criticized by the authors. Problems of matching groups, lack of cross validation, and inadequate test development of previous questionnaires supported the need for a new scale.

Items were selected from previous studies (Shoben, 1949, and Mark, cited in Schaefer and Bell, 1958) and new items were written on the basis of clinical observations. Subscales were established through the ratings of three psychologists. Operational definitions were devised and, after trial studies, improved. Twenty-three subscales of five items each made up the final form of the PAI. The subscales represented concepts such as strictness, martyrdom, breaking the will, marital conflict, rejection of the homemaking role, harsh punishments, and nonpunishment.

Schaefer (1960) proposed a circumplex model of maternal behavior. The purpose was to reduce the numerous, discrete variables into an organized conceptual scheme. Factor analysis which results in common-factors was not used. Rather, order-factors were revealed by the circumplex order method. The ordering of variables was based on the law of neighboring. Two variables sharing more variance with one another than with others were neighbors on a conceptual plane. A variable was defined by its neighbor, its polar opposite, and its lack

of correlation with others. Schaefer reasoned that to move from thought to item to score to factor resulted in too much abstraction. Common variance of variables was lost at each step. His method avoided the last abstraction from score to factor. "Focal, but overlapping traits are ordered systematically. So interwoven is the fabric of personality that it seems almost impossible to think of any patterns that are wholly unrelated to each other (Allport, cited in Schaefer, 1960, p. 125)."

Information from pilot studies of the PARI (subjects including 100 nursing students, 100 multiparae and 100 primiparae mothers), an observation study of 56 mothers interacting with children under three years old, and interviews of mothers with children from nine to fourteen years was gathered. Two bipolar dimensions of love versus hostility and autonomy versus control resulted when the law of neighboring was applied to the data. The centroid method of factor analysis was also performed, and the two dimensional order was confirmed. Therefore, the model was able to be interpreted in terms of order-factors and common-factors.

Each of the concepts illustrated in Figure 1, page 21, was a meaningful dimension for the description of maternal behavior. The autonomy versus control and hostility versus love dimensions simply provided a framework within which the other concepts were ordered. A democratic mother, for example, was seen as one who was cooperative and

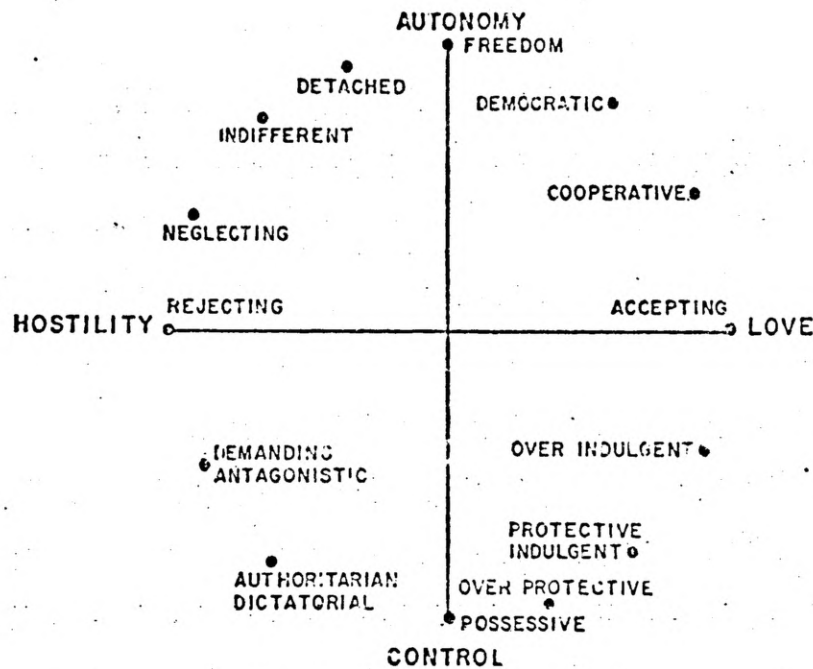


Fig. 1. Schaefer's Hypothetical Circumplex Model for Maternal Behavior.

Note. From "Converging conceptual models for maternal behavior" by E. S. Schaefer. In J. C. Glidwell (Ed.), Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1960, p. 127-146.

autonomy granting, while an overprotective mother was possessive and indulgent.

During the time Schaefer was developing his two-dimensional model, Roe (1963) was doing similar work. With the use of the Parent-child Relations Questionnaire (PCR) which obtained measures of parental behavior as perceived by the child, a hypothetical model was proposed (see Figure 2, page 23). The PCR has been administered to late adolescents and adults. The findings resulted in the proposed model.

The six attitudes scales on these retrospective reports were: loving, casual, neglecting, protective, demanding, and rejecting. Loving parents were warm and "loving"; helpful but not intrusive; more likely to reason with than punish their child; they give praise indiscriminately; the child feels able to confide in them and ask for help. They encourage independence and allow the child to take chances. They invite the child's friends into their home and try to make them comfortable. Casual parents pay attention to the child and are mildly affectionate. They are responsive if they are not busy. They take the child unanxiously, without thinking about or planning for him very much. There is little worry. Little definite effort is made to train him. They are easy going, have few rules, and exert little effort enforcing the rules they do have. Neglecting parents pay little attention to the child, giving minimal physical care and no affection. Promises are forgotten. While they are not hostile, they are cold.

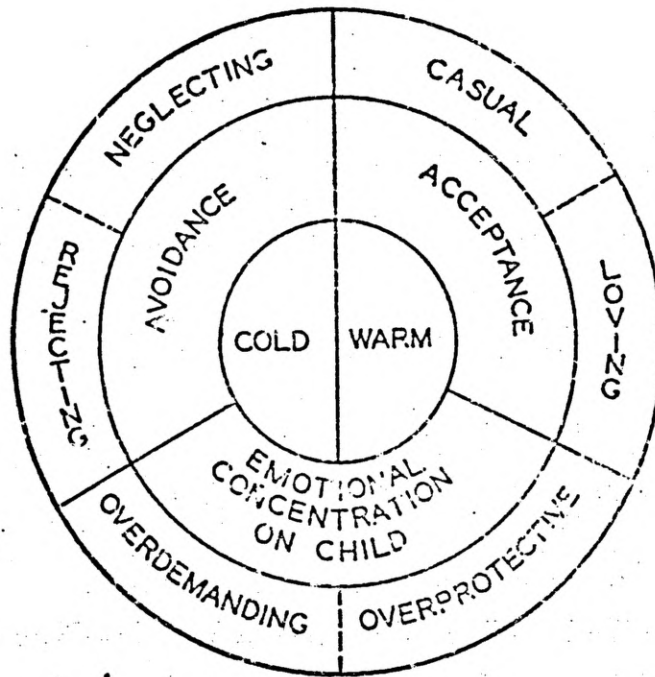


Fig. 2. Roe's Original Model for Parent Behavior

Note. From "A parent-child relations questionnaire" by A. Roe and M. Siegelman. Child Development, 1963, 34, pp. 355-369.

They leave the child alone but do not avoid him. Protective parents give the child first priority. They are very affectionate, sometimes "gushy," and are very indulgent. The child is protected from other children and from potentially disappointing, discomforting, or injurious experiences. These parents will rarely let the child visit other homes without them. Demanding parents expect accomplishment in manners and school. They demand obedience to strict regulations, without exceptions. They expect the child to spend his time productively. These parents are highly punitive. They restrict friends. They tell the child what to think or feel. Rejecting parents are more extreme than demanding parents. They reject childishness in the child, and the child as an individual. They are cold, hostile, derogative, and make fun of his inadequacies and problems. They leave him alone frequently but will not allow other children to visit. Regulations are established to protect the parents from intrusions.

A modified form of the PCR was later adapted for use with young children. . Separate questionnaires were developed for mothers and fathers. Four additional attitudes were taken from Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957): symbolic-love reward, symbolic-love punishment, direct-object reward, and direct-object punishment. The number of items in the previous six subscales were increased. Trial study subjects of the revised PCR included 142 college males, 26 college females, 44 male adults, and 44 female adults. Factor analysis using

varimax rotation yielded three common factors for each group of subjects.

The first factor, loving-rejecting, was bipolar. Positive loadings were on the loving and symbolic-love reward scales. Negative loadings on the neglecting and rejecting scales were found. Casual-demanding, the second bipolar factor, had positive loadings on casual, and negative loadings were on demanding, symbolic-love punishment, and direct-object punishment. Overt concern for the child, the unipolar factor three, was positively loaded on the direct-object reward and symbolic love reward scales, while the neglecting and rejecting scales were negatively loaded. As a result of this analysis, the intermediate categories of avoidance, acceptance, and emotional concentration (Figure 2, page 23) were dropped from the model.

A brief mention of methodology is in order. The PCR asked questions about specific behaviors. This was helpful for older respondents when recalling their parents' characteristics. An example of an item was, "My mother objected when I was late for meals (Roe and Siegelman, 1963, p. 358)." Response was made on a Likert scale from very true to very untrue. A methodological problem existed, however, with the trial test groups that were sampled. The adults were engineers or social workers; the college males from Harvard and Yale. These respondents can hardly be considered representative of the adult or college populations.

Roe's first two dimensions were supported by the factor analysis conducted by Slater (1962) with data collected from 138 college males' responses to the Parental Role Patterns Questionnaire. Slater's factor of emotional support and warmth was similar to Roe's first factor, loving-rejecting. The factor of inhibitory demands and discipline corresponds in kind to Roe's casual-demanding factor. The first factor had positive loadings on helpful, rewarding, nurturant, affectionate, and affiliative scores. Negative loadings were found on cold and emotionally depriving. The second factor had positive loadings on strict, authoritarian, puritanical, demanding, aggressive, and punitive. Permissive and indulgent scores were negatively loaded.

A third contributor to conceptualization was Becker (1964) and colleagues. The Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales and Sears, Maccoby, and Levin's work were compiled in their work. The final result culminated in a three-dimensional model of parent behavior.

The Fels Scales were one of the first interview methods for collecting data, dating even before Sears, Maccoby, and Levin. Thirty variables had previously been summarized by the three "syndromes" of democracy in the home, acceptance of the child, and indulgence (Shoben, 1949, p. 113). Factor analysis was performed on 17 of the 30 scales (Peterson, Becker, Hellmer, Shoemaker, and Quay, 1959) after they were administered to 31 mothers and fathers of children ages six to twelve. Seven factors were: (a) concern for the child: protectiveness,

duration of physical contact, and solicitousness; (b) democratic guidance: justification of policy, democracy, and explanation; (c) permissiveness: non-severity of penalties, and nonenforcement; (d) parent-child harmony: freedom from disciplinary friction, effectiveness of discipline; (e) sociability and adjustment of parents; (f) activeness expected of the child; and (g) readiness of suggestion and unsociability.

Variables from the Sears interviews were administered in interview form to mothers and fathers of five-year-olds (Peterson, Becker, Shoemaker, Luria, and Hellmar, 1961). Data were not factor analyzed, but classified by judges into five clusters. Those clusters were: (a) strictness: negative response to dependency; (b) adjustment: self-esteem, low anxiety; (c) warmth: praise, acceptance, and reasoning; (d) responsibility: respect, praise, and high standards for obedience; and (e) aggression: physical punishment.

As can be seen, little continuity between the Fels' and Sears' factors existed. As a result, variables from these two sources were factor analyzed together. With data from 60 families with kindergarten children (Becker, Peterson, Luria, Shoemaker, and Hellmar, 1962), eleven factors for mothers and ten factors for fathers were realized.

Intercorrelations were tabulated in order to determine whether or not these factors were orthogonal. Independence of factors was refuted, as five of the mothers' factors and four of the fathers'

factors were correlated. Physical punishment, sex anxiety, child-rearing anxiety, physical punishment, and strictness toward sex and aggression were all related in the analysis of mothers' variables. Hostility, strictness (concerning obedience), permissiveness (toward routine conformity), and high physical punishment were related in the fathers' analysis. Thus, the following second order factors seemed to appear: hostility, restrictiveness (toward routine conformity), physical punishment, and strictness.

It is important to note that second order factors are based on correlations between first order factors which, in turn, have been based on correlations between variables. They represent broad descriptive categories which represent general organizing influences. However, because of the high level of abstraction, their predictive power is virtually nil. Yet, knowledge of these factors are "extremely important for understanding personality, developmentally and in action (Cattell, Knapp, and Scheier, 1961, p. 345)."

In a review of parental discipline research, Becker (1964) addressed himself to the fact that "discipline is but a part of the interaction that occurs between parent and child (p. 172)." With that in mind, Becker sought to conceptualize those interactional variables by the use of factor analysis. In referring to Schaefer's model, he spoke of a "construct created in the mind of man (1964, p. 174)." Becker preferred a factor analysis that would reveal uncorrelated,

orthogonal dimensions.

Using data from the studies mentioned above and others which Becker reviewed, factor analysis resulted in a three-dimensional model of parent behavior (refer to Figure 3, page 30). Schaefer's control-autonomy dimension was subdivided into restrictiveness versus permissiveness and anxious-emotional involvement versus calm-detachment. Warmth versus hostility, Becker's third dimension, corresponded to Schaefer's love versus hostility dimension. Becker concluded that the distinctions made by a three-dimensional model were necessary.

Warmth was defined by the correlated variables: accepting, affectionate, approving, understanding, child-centered, positive response to dependency behavior, frequent use of reasoning, explanation, and praise, low use of physical punishment, and (for mothers) low criticism of husband. Restrictiveness was defined by: many restrictions and strict enforcement of demands in the areas of sex play, modesty behavior, table manners, toilet training, neatness, orderliness, care of furniture, noise, obedience, aggression to siblings, aggression to peers, and aggression to parents. Anxious-emotional involvement was defined by: high emotionality in relation to child, babying, protectiveness, and solicitousness for the child's welfare.

Meanwhile, Schaefer continued his work. The PARI, which had been the empirical basis of his earlier configural model, was under attack (Becker and Krug, 1965). Severe problems presented by response

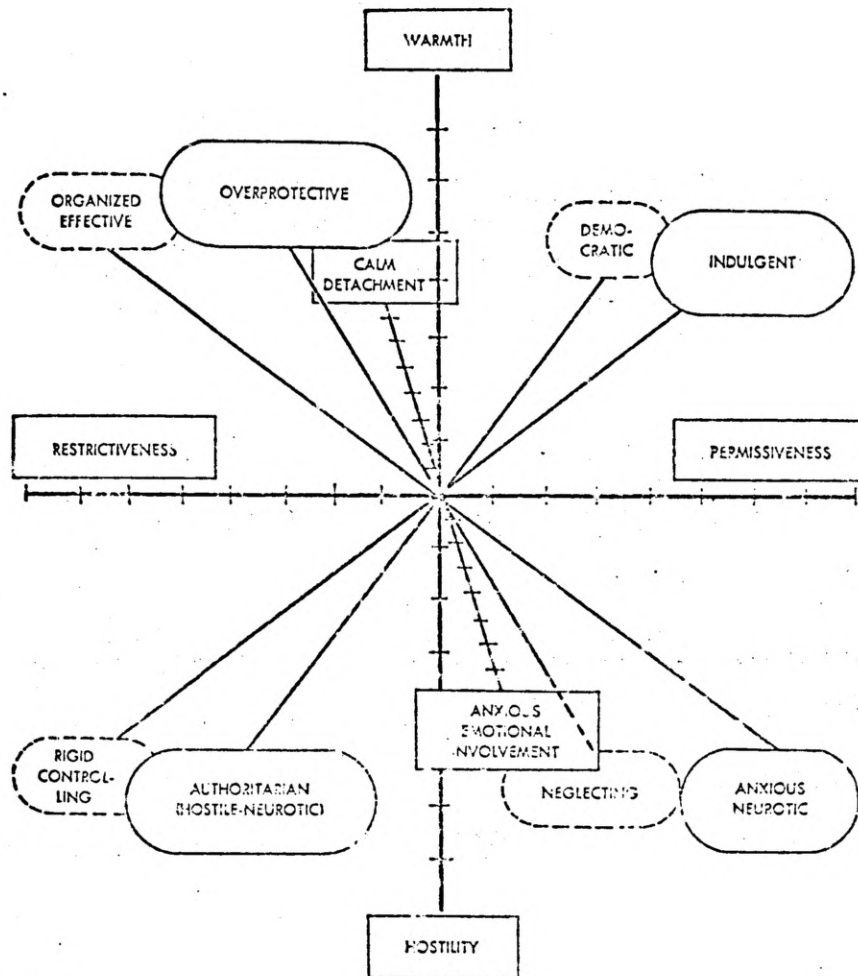


Fig. 3. Becker's Hypothetical Model for Parental Behavior

Note. From "Consequences of parental discipline" by W. C. Becker. In M. L. Hoffman and L. W. Hoffman. (Eds.), Review of Child Development Research, (Vol. 1). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964, p. 175.

set contamination were being realized. In addition, the importance of children's perceptions of parental behaviors was becoming recognized as a more significant influence on child behavior than was parental perceptions.

In 1963, Droppleman and Schaefer reported the use of a new child's perception questionnaire with 165 seventh grade children. Separate, but identical, questionnaires were administered for mothers and fathers. Three clusters organized the 26 scales: nurturance, control, and autonomy. The nurturance cluster was very similar to Schaefer's previous love-hostility dimension. Control was defined by both covert, indirect control and overt, direct control. Autonomy was characterized by lax discipline. Thus, while the dimension of love-hostility remained intact, the control pole of the previous autonomy-control dimension was subdivided. A replication study with 70 eleventh-grade children was conducted. Stability of the factors was supported.

Thus, the Children's Reports of Parental Behavior Inventory (CRPB) was developed. The 26 scales with 10 items each were the first to differentiate between parents and allow the differences across the sexes of children and parents. The items were written with Schaefer's conceptual model in mind. The dimension of autonomy was represented by items such as "allows me to go out when I please (the extreme autonomy concept)" and "let me get away without doing work (lax discipline variable) (Schaefer, 1965b, p. 416)."

In 1965, with information gathered from the use of the PARI and the CRPB, with knowledge of Roe's model (Figure 2, page 23, after revision), and in reply to Becker's three-dimensional model (Figure 3, page 30), Schaefer revised his earlier circumplex model (Figure 1, page 21). The trial test samples used in the development of the CRPB were combined into two groups. The first included 85 boys and 81 girls in seventh grade and 80 delinquent boys from 12 to 18 years old. The second group consisted of 154 army hospital personnel and 108 neuro-psychiatric army patients and personnel together. Data for mothers and fathers of these two groups were factor analyzed separately by the principle-components method. The three principle components which accounted for the greatest amount of variance were then rotated by the varimax method. The three resulting factors accounted for 66% of the total variance. Coefficients of congruence were tabulated to determine the degree of similarity of the factors across the four groups. The factor structures of the four groups were found to be highly similar. "This factor structure would probably be replicated for samples of the American population (Schaefer, 1965, p. 554)."

The three factors of (I) acceptance versus rejection, (II) psychological autonomy versus psychological control, and (III) firm control versus lax control were represented as the three-dimensional axes. Factor I was similar to Schaefer's original love versus hostility dimension. Variables with positive loadings were positive

evaluation, sharing, expression of affection, emotional support, equalitarian treatment, acceptance, possessiveness, and protectiveness. Negative loadings were on ignoring, neglecting, rejection, nagging, and negative evaluation; this pole suggested a more detached, less involved type of hostile reaction to the child. Factor II, which resulted from the subdivision of the previous control concept, had negative loadings on intrusiveness, parental direction, control through guilt, possessiveness, protectiveness, nagging, negative evaluation, strictness, and punishment. This dimension involved covert, psychological methods of controlling activities and behaviors, not permitting the child to develop as an individual apart from his parent. Factor III had positive loadings on extreme autonomy and lax discipline and negative loadings on punishment and strictness. This factor was representative of the degree to which a parent makes rules and regulations, limits the child's activities, and enforces rules and limits.

On two configural planes (Figure 4, page 34, and Figure 5, page 35), the factors were represented as perpendicular, orthogonal dimensions. A framework was thereby provided wherein the factor loadings were plotted. The definitions of these plotted variables were understood by their locations on the planes. These configural structures represented a differential and detailed view of the conceptual structure.

The three dimensional model (Figure 6, page 36) included labels

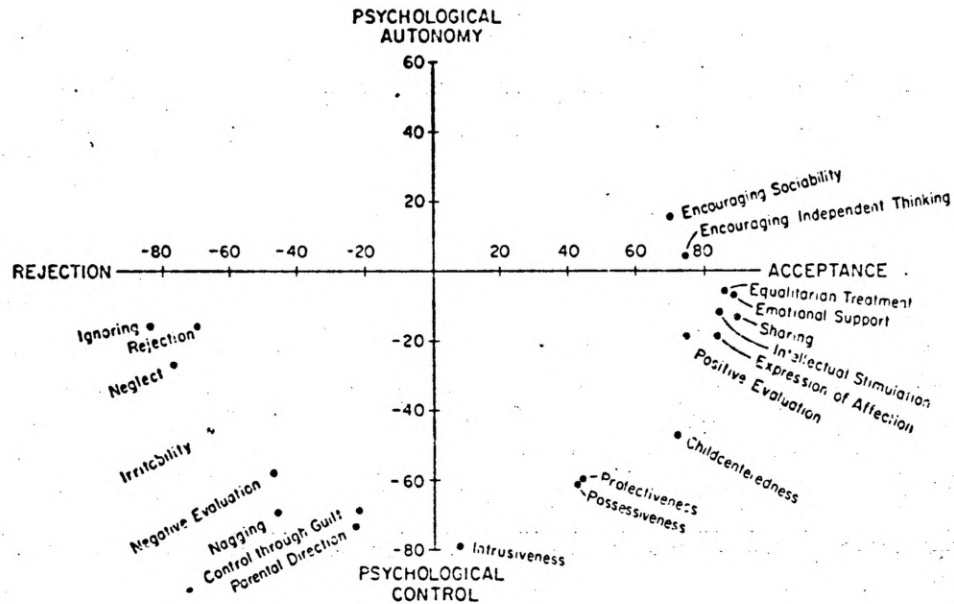


Fig. 4. Configural Plane of Acceptance Versus Rejection and Psychological Autonomy Versus Psychological Control

Note. From "Children's Reports of Parent Behavior" by E. S. Schaefer. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1965, pp. 553-557.

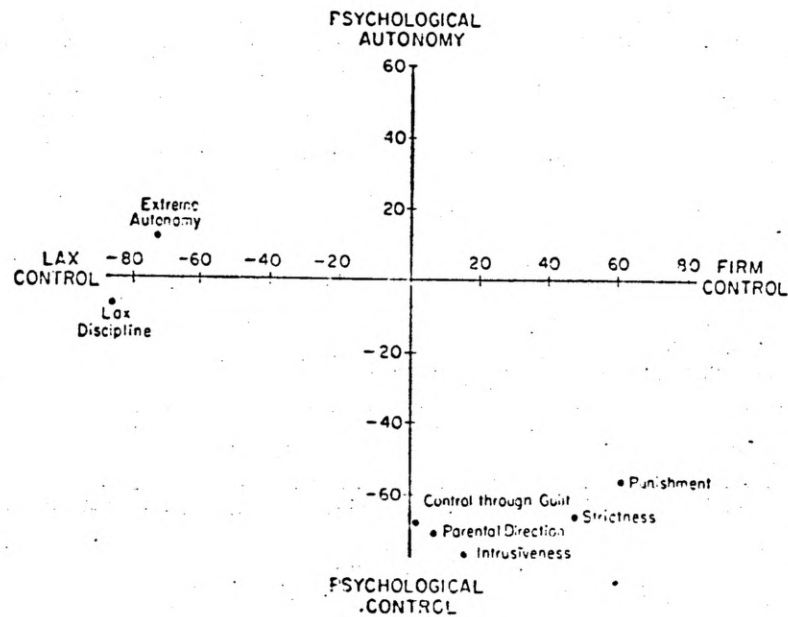


Fig. 5. Configural Plane of Firm Control Versus Lax Control and Psychological Autonomy Versus Psychological Control

Note. From "Children's Reports of Parent Behavior" by E. S. Schaefer. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1965, pp. 553-557.

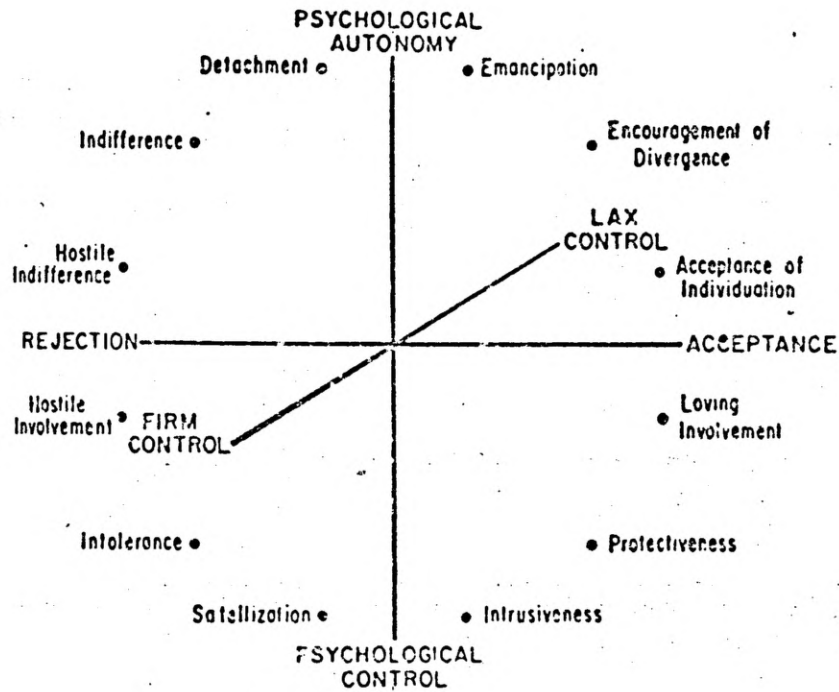


Fig. 6. Schaefer's Three-Dimensional Model for Parent Behavior

Note. From "Children's Reports of Parent Behavior" by E. S. Schaefer. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1965, 29, pp. 552-557.

of superordinate concepts defining their location in a more concise description. Acceptance of individuation, for example, was a label representing the sector which included encouraging sociability and encouraging independent thinking.

Further studies with the CRPB supported the stability of Schaefer's factors. Cross (1969) obtained reports from 218 college men and women. Burger, Armentrout, and Rapfogel (1973) conducted similar studies, one with 126 undergraduates and another with 260 fifth and sixth grade children. The latter authors concluded, "given the stability of its factors, the logic of factor analysis suggests that measures of the factors themselves be used as variables in future research (p. 112)."

In comparing the models of Roe, Becker, and Schaefer, many similarities were discussed. As for differences, Schaefer stated, "Differences among the three models may be merely differences in labeling identical factors or may indicate that neighboring and overlapping sectors of the conceptual space emerge as factors because of different samples of parents' behavior (1965a, p. 556)."

In the ensuing years, no other researchers have completed work to refute Schaefer's model, or to offer a more parsimonious conceptualization with a wider range of parent behavior. Baumind and Black (1967) presented a four-factor alternative. The concepts were labeled parental control, parental maturity demands, parent-child communication,

and parental nurturance. Dielman and colleagues (Dielman, Cattell, & Lepper, 1971) examined the widest range of variables and employed the modern factor analytic techniques of principal axis method and a rotation procedure. Seven second order factors for mothers and seven second order factors for fathers resulted from his work. The factor structures of these researchers have not, however, been tested for stability across ages or populations. Only after this has been done can their theoretical relevance for further research be established.

Summary

Until 1960, conceptualization of the universe of parental child-rearing attitudes was not fully developed. Researchers had studied variables which were defined sometimes specifically and sometimes abstractly. For example, one study defined a variable in one way, another study in a second way, and when results were compared, generalizations between the two were unreliable. An organizational scheme to order results into meaningful categories was needed.

The previous discussion of conceptualization of parental variables included presentation of item samples from questionnaires, operational and conceptual definitions of variables, and descriptions of dimensions or factors. Major research contributions were described in detail. Factorial structures and configural organizations which ordered the complexity of differing variables into a conceptual framework were presented. Results of studies can now be interpreted

and compared, and generalizations reliably based.

Intervening Variables

In order to study the parent-child relationship, researchers have been required to extract it from its environmental universe. In attempting to determine the influence of a parent's attitudes on child adjustment, however, controls for intervening variables must be instituted. Otherwise, contaminating effects of these variables distort findings and lead to incorrect conclusions. The primary variables which have been recognized to demand control in parent-child research are socioeconomic status, sex, and age. A discussion of these variables as they relate to parent-child research, the reviewer concluded, was necessary.

Socioeconomic Status

In a review of disciplinary techniques, Becker (1964) indicated some generalities associated with socioeconomic status. Middle class parents more often used reasoning, isolation, disappointment, and guilt-arousing techniques as disciplinary techniques than did lower class parents. They were more warm, and more permissive in general obedience, sex, and aggression toward the parent. Working class parents were more restrictive, using ridicule, shouting, and physical punishment as disciplinary techniques.

Bronfenbrenner (1947), after reviewing earlier research in parent-child relationships, stated that the working class parent tended

to be impulsive and uninhibited, expecting obedience from their children. Middle class parents were more rational and controlled, using more equalitarian, love-oriented method of discipline. The middle class parent, however, did not use any less discipline. Fathers were found to be warm, yet were more likely to have more authority and status in family affairs than the working class father.

Kohn (1963) hypothesized that differing class values resulted from occupational and life conditions. As the working man was required to follow rules set down by an authority figure, so he expected conformity from his children. Obedience, neatness, cleanliness, and trustworthiness were the values likely to be held by the working class parent. The middle class parents' values were those congruent with occupational necessities of getting ahead through one's actions. Curiosity, happiness, consideration, self-control, self-direction, and truthfulness were examples of middle class values.

These values became realized in parental behavior. The working class parent punished physically for overt behavior and ignored that behavior when the consequences were not so extreme. The middle class parent, on the other hand, was more concerned with the child's intentionality, not with the consequences of his behavior.

Kohn (1963) stated that there were differences in the mother-father roles. In the working class, fathers were not likely to be supportive. The mother was the supportive figure, the father the

disciplinarian. The fathers in the middle class were more likely to accept part of the supportiveness role, most generally toward their sons.

While Bronfenbrenner (1947) attributed class differences to an increased awareness, education, and intelligence, Kohn spoke of occupational values. These two measures, education and occupational status, have been used separately and together in defining socioeconomic status groups for research purposes. It has been found, however, that to use either education or occupational status alone as measures of socioeconomic status may produce conflicting results. Busse and Busse (1972) found education of parents to be more often correlated with parental behaviors than occupational status. The implication of this finding was that comparisons should be made between educational levels and between occupational status, and not on the basis of socioeconomic status, arbitrarily defined.

Socioeconomic status, with education and/or occupational status as criteria, was not all that was reflected in comparison studies. * Environmental factors such as the number of children in the family, physical space, the neighborhood's safeness, adequacy of sanitation, and values were found to influence parental child-rearing attitudes. These factors were influenced by socioeconomic status, "but must be studied independently, and not as socioeconomic status, per se (Roy, cited in Becker, 1964)." There are many differences between

socioeconomic groups in addition to those mentioned by Roy. Maternal employment (e.g., Etaugh, 1974; Wallston, 1973), broken homes (e.g., Hanssen & Paulson, 1972; Paulson & Ogston, 1974), father absence (e.g., Atkinson & Ogston, 1974; Siegman, 1966), other adults living in the home (e.g., Eisenberg, Langner & Gersten, 1975), sex composition and size of families (Elder & Bowerman, 1963), and racial (e.g., Erlanger, 1974; Baumrind & Black, 1967) and cultural (e.g., Koutarelakos, 1971) minorities have been found to effect parental child-rearing attitudes. All are influenced by socioeconomic status.

The lack of control for these demographic variables has severely limited the generalizations that researchers have made in relation to socioeconomic status when it is defined only in terms of education or occupational status. Though a thorough review of parent-child research with consideration for demographic variables is beyond the scope of this paper, their importance should be noted.

Sex

A major portion of research in parent-child relationships has investigated mothers and male children. By 1960, the importance of fathers' influence was becoming realized. Subsequently, fathers have been included in more research samples. In the middle of the 1960's, the lack of research relating to daughters became evident. In research where all four family members were included, the importance of differences among mother-son, mother-daughter, father-son, and

father-daughter relationships was realized. Mothers had been found to be more nurturant than fathers, fathers were more strict than mothers, and sons more aggressive than daughters. Identification with the same sex or the opposite sex parent has been studied, as has sex role typing.

Particular attention was given to these sex-pair differences in this review. The question was asked: What effect do sex pairs have on the relationship between parental child-rearing attitudes and child adjustment?

Age

In an attempt to relate parental attitudes to the adjustment of the child, it was pertinent to consider the changes in the parent-child relationship which occur through time and at different ages of the child. In Becker's review of disciplinary techniques, it was stated, "age differences markedly effect disciplinary practices and their consequences, although, by and large, systematic study of this variable has not been undertaken (1964, p. 172)." Schaefer (1960) hypothesized that the need for love remains constant through time, but the need for independence changes greatly. To the extent that these needs are fulfilled or influenced by parental behavior may be a function of adjustment.

It was necessary, therefore, to control for age in parent-child research. This could be accomplished by limiting generalization of

findings to the age group studied. For example: "it is probably not valid to study the autonomy-control dimension at one age of the child and assume that the data adequately describe the mother's behavior at all other ages of the child (Schaefer, 1960, p. 131-132)."

Summary

The need for controls of socioeconomic status, sex of parent and child, and the age of the child was discussed. Parental child-rearing attitudes, child adjustment, and the relationships between both were influenced by these three variables. Full recognition of their confounding effects on research findings must be given.

Summary

Approaches to data collection, the source of data, operational and conceptual definitions of variables, and control for intervening variables were discussed. Each of these areas have presented frustrations to the researcher. All are of extreme importance in establishing the validity and reliability of parent-child research designs.

Until one approach to data collection is refined so as to be valid, combinations of approaches should be applied. Many sources of information are needed to get a clear picture of parental behaviors and child adjustment. Conceptual definitions must be concise, yet descriptive enough to render replicability. Finally, all intervening variables which seem to exert an influence on the parent-child relationship must be controlled.

Before parent-child interaction variables can be examined empirically, they must be identified, isolated, and defined. A high degree of abstraction is necessary before statistical methods can be applied. However, if the abstraction is vague, ill-defined, or totally subtracted from its environment which helps to define it, no conclusions can be drawn, and no knowledge will be gained.

Chapter 3

Review of Research

Introduction

Research designs since 1960 were sometimes more sophisticated in their methodology than the designs which preceded 1960. However, data continued to be collected through single methods rather than combinations of questionnaires, interviews and observation. While many designs were concerned that the source of data was reliable and would not create false pictures of the parent-child interaction, others continued to collect data from sources which had been recognized as biased. Though conceptualization of parental behavior had been developed, researchers continued to build new variables in hopes of capturing a wider sampling of behaviors. Socioeconomic status, sex and age of the child were sometimes well controlled, but often ignored.

As methodology of research improved, confidence in results grew. This reviewer considered it necessary to examine the recent research to determine what findings were valid as a result of controls for methodological error and to draw conclusions from those results.

The review was organized into three parts, with regard to age: (1) Children ranging from preschool through sixth grade. (2) Junior and senior high school students. (3) Adults.

Within each of these groups, studies were presented according to parent attitude data source: (1) Parents' interview and questionnaire responses. (2) Children's perceptions of parental behavior.

(3) Observation of parent-child interaction. (4) Combinations of data sources, when appropriate. Under introductory comments, related studies were arranged with respect to parental variables and/or populations under investigation. Conclusions based on valid findings and results which were congruent across studies were drawn for each age group and data source. Results from weak research designs or which lacked congruence with other findings were stated as trends.

Pre-school and Elementary Grades

Parental reports, biased by response set contamination and a large degree of abstraction, and lacking in congruence with actual behavior were researched heavily. Most research at this age level was conducted with this method of data collection, rather than with children's reports or observations. The latter two were also reviewed for the purposes of determining support for findings from the former's designs, and of determining further parent-child relationships.

Parental Reports

Reports of child-rearing attitudes from parents of children up to sixth grade contributed to the knowledge of parent-child relations. However, not all findings were congruent. For children in third grade and younger, results were more congruent with one another. Therefore, research was reviewed separately for ages up to third grade, for ages in grades four through six, and for large age ranges.

The uses of punishment and permissiveness and of discipline which

included reasoning were consistently related to adjustment of young children. Acceptance-rejection variables were also found to be related to child adjustment. Maladjustment of parents, consistency of discipline, conflict between parents, and modeling of behaviors were also researched, but with varying operational definitions. Many studies controlled for sex of parents and children, finding similarities and differences across pairings. Socioeconomic status received less attention, yet some influences on parent-child relationships were found.

Child-rearing attitudes and discipline practices reported by parents in interviews were correlated with young children's aggression. The dimension of control was studied in terms of permissiveness and punishment, and to a lesser degree, it was differentiated to be psychological or physical. The dimension of rejection was studied with variables such as hostility, coldness, extreme assertion of power, and empathic discipline. Many consistent findings indicated relationships with aggression and identification.

An early study conducted with 379 mothers of 5 year olds established hypotheses for further research in this area (Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957). The study has been criticized, however (e.g., Baumrind, 1967), as interviewers inferred much from unspoken maternal characteristics. Children's measures of aggression and dependency were observed in doll play. Aggression was most highly correlated with permissiveness for aggressive behavior, the next highest with punishment for aggression, then with physical punishment and coldness.

Dependency behaviors were positively related to the use of symbolic-love punishment, severe punishment for aggressive behavior, and rejection.

Research conducted with third graders rendered similar correlates with punishment and rejection. Mothers and fathers of 60 children were interviewed for variables of punishment for aggressive and dependency behaviors, rejection, and modeling of aggression (Eron, Banta, Walder, and Laulicht, 1961). The style of punishment was not specified to be of a psychological or physical nature. Ratings of child aggression at school were obtained from peer sociometric ratings. Those relationships reported were: (1) If both parents punished aggression, aggression was high. Regardless of maternal punishment, as paternal punishment increased, aggression increased, especially for boys. (2) Regardless of maternal punishment for dependency, aggression was positively related to paternal punishment for dependency. (3) If both parents were rejecting, aggression was high. However, given the stability of paternal rejection, as maternal rejection declined, aggression also declined. (4) Only if both parents rated themselves as low in aggression was the child also low in aggression. (5) Identification, indexed by confessing behavior, was negatively related to aggression.

The relationship between child aggression and styles of punishment, either psychological or physical, were studied for effects of socioeconomic status, indexed by occupation (Eron, Walder, Toigo, and

Lefkowitz, 1963). Mothers and fathers of 206 boys and 245 girls in the third grade were asked to respond to hypothetical situations which required a disciplinary resolution. Peer ratings again supplied the measure for school aggression. Analysis of variance revealed the following: (1) Increased punishment from mothers and/or fathers was related to boys' and girls' aggression at school. (2) No differences in the use of psychological or physical punishment were found between classes, a finding inconsistent with Kohn's theory (1963). (3) Higher occupational status families were found to have more aggressive children, especially boys. The highest male aggression was found to relate to paternal physical punishment in higher occupational levels. (5) Punishment severity varied between lower and upper class girls. Upper class girls were punished more for aggression against parents while lower class girls were punished more for aggression against peers. The researchers concluded that both socioeconomic status and punishment should be considered in the etiology of aggression. It was also concluded that differences in aggression between classes were not due to different parental punishment styles from class to class.

Identification was also studied with punishment, aggression, and socioeconomic status (Lefkowitz, Walder, and Eron, 1963). Interviews with 555 fathers and 699 mothers and peer sociometric ratings were employed to gather data. Identification was represented by internalization of guilt and confessing behavior. Findings consistent with

previous research were reported. Aggression was positively related to physical punishment. With physical punishment held constant, aggression was negatively correlated to identification. No relationship was found between the style of punishment and occupational status.

Conduct problems (including aggression) and personality problems were determined in several research designs by means of the Peterson Problem Behavior Checklist. This instrument had been considered a more useful instrument than the application of sociometric ratings, and more reliable than psychiatric nosologic labels (Quay, Morse, and Cutler, 1966). In the developmental study (Peterson, 1961), 58 of the most common problems identified in a sample of 831 children (K-6) at a guidance clinic were factor analyzed. Two factors consistently appeared in several studies with large samples of children (e.g., Quay and Quay, 1965; Quay, Morse, and Cutler, 1966; and Speer, 1971). The checklist was found valid with stable factors emerging across populations and ages up to the eighth grade. Factor I, conduct problems, also called unsocialized aggression, was defined by tendencies to express impulses against society, aggression, acting-out behavior, deviancy, impertinency, uncooperativeness, irritability and boisterous behavior. Factor II, personality problems, also called neuroticism, was identified by behaviors of low self-esteem, inferiority feelings, self-consciousness, lack of self-confidence, shyness, social withdrawal, depression, dysphoric moods, and fearfulness.

Parents and teachers of 71 kindergarten children from middle class homes completed the Peterson Problem Behavior Checklist in a study with parental interview reports of child-rearing practices (Becker, Peterson, Luria, Shoemaker, and Hellmar, 1962). Excellent controls for age and education of parents, occupational status, size of family, maternal employment, and other adults living in the home, and sex of the children were employed. Parental hostility and physical punishment, maternal child-rearing anxiety, and paternal strictness were found to correlate with parents' ratings of aggression at home. Correlations found with teachers' ratings were more reliable. Teachers' ratings of conduct problems (aggression) were related to hostility and physical punishment of the opposite sexed parent. Personality problems for boys and girls shared a curvilinear relationship with hostility and physical punishment. No problems were related to extremes of these two attitudes. Girls who were rated highest on personality problems had the parental combination of fathers who were physically punishing and strict, and mothers who were submissive.

Discipline styles were studied in the contexts of acceptance and power assertion in a study with nursery school children (Hoffman, 1963). "Unqualified power assertion," defined as commands, threats, deprivations, physical force, no supportive understanding, and not relying on the child's internalized standards, was studied for relationships with social behavior and identification. The bipolar extreme of this concept

implied empathy and reasoning. The interviews which determined specific interactive behaviors occurring during the previous 24 hour period were scored for power assertion, acceptance, consequence-oriented (love-withdrawal) and other-oriented (toward the needs of others) discipline. Children were observed in school for measures of consideration for others, a positive affective orientation, spontaneous interaction, nurturance seeking, and hostility. Identification was determined through doll play observation. Data were collected from 10 working class and 12 middle class families; all intact, white, nonclinic and contained no working mothers. Though results from such a small sample could only hope to indicate trends, Hoffman's interview technique was designed to avoid inference from attitudes, and to receive detailed information about specific interactive components.

Findings included: (1) Acceptance was related to children's positive affective orientation. (2) Mothers who used low power assertion and whose discipline was oriented toward the needs of others had children who were high in consideration of others, spontaneous interaction, and socially acceptable behaviors. As low power assertion was positively related to identification, Hoffman concluded that consideration was based on empathy and emulation of a positive parental model. (3) Low power assertion and love-withdrawal were positively related to nurturance seeking and negatively to hostility. This combination of discipline was not related to consideration for others. (4) Children

whose parents used high power assertion showed no signs of internalization of standards and did not identify with the power assertive parent.

An earlier report of this study included observation of children's hostility, their use of power assertion toward other children, and resistance to influence attempts by peers and teachers (Hoffman, 1960). No relationships existed with mothers' initial power assertion. However, reactive power assertion, applied after the child refused to comply to the first command, was significantly related to hostility, power assertion against peers, and resistance to influence of both peers and teachers. Hoffman concluded that the heightened conflict had more lasting effects on the child.

Class differences existed only with maternal initial power assertion, as more working class mothers used this discipline. No correlations existed with paternal discipline style. However, fathers' authoritarian and power needs were related to their use of power assertion and that of their wives. Hoffman concluded "the authoritarian father manifests his authority toward his wife; the wife resents this and takes it out on the child" (p. 140).

Authoritarian attitudes which included variables of restriction, physical punishment, hostility and rejection were assumed, prior to 1960, to be detrimental to children. Consistent correlates to young children's adjustment were not, however, found in reviewing the research since 1960. There was little continuity among designs which investigated

this aspect of parenting. Also, before 1960, authoritarian attitudes were believed to exist more plentifully at lower socioeconomic levels. Few studies since 1960 have controlled for this variable.

The most comprehensive and specific range of parental behaviors were studied through a questionnaire developed by Dielman, Cattell, Lepper and Rhoades (1971). Parents, 156 mothers and 133 fathers, of children in grades first to third responded to the questionnaire, and data were correlated to teachers' ratings of children on the Early School Personality Inventory (Dielman, Cattell, and Rhoades, 1972). Children of strict fathers were "affected by feelings" and they were "apprehensive." Children of fathers who were dissatisfied with home life were tough-minded. However, children of dissatisfied and strict fathers were outgoing and happy-go-lucky. Fathers who were rejecting and neglecting had children who were expedient, tense, excitable, and doubting. The only correlates with maternal behavior found were between her high annoyability and "affected by feelings" and "apprehensive."

The reports of the mothers were correlated with yet another checklist completed by teachers (Dielman and Cattell, 1972). Multiple regression analysis revealed the following: (1) Hyperactivity and high paranoid tendencies were related to the low use of discipline. (2) Discipline problems were associated with mothers who were more demonstrative and less irritable. (3) Mothers who were less easily annoyed had children who scored high on sluggishness. (4) Mothers who

were annoyed less and paid less attention to the child and his/her demands were associated with socially withdrawn children.

Findings of this report which were consistent with previous findings support correlations between the following: Mothers who expected immediate compliance, used strict discipline, were rigid in relationships, and who used frequent use of withdrawal of privileges in punishment had children likely to exhibit acting-out behaviors, aggression, destructiveness, and temper tantrums. Antisocial behavior was related to parental variables of lax control and the low use of discipline for aggression and irresponsible behaviors.

There were many implications in these findings, requiring much cross-validation. As one checklist shared two relationships with maternal behavior and another shared many, reliability of both reports was considered questionable. Trends were indicated, yet without regard to intervening variables such as socioeconomic status, education or age of parents, and sex of the child.

Findings of Peterson, Becker, Shoemaker, Luria, and Hellmar, (1961) in a study with clinic and non-clinic 5 year olds failed to support the hypothesis that autocratic attitudes, lack of paternal concern, maternal maladjustment, or permissiveness were related to adjustment. The clinic sample of children did have a higher proportion of punitive, strict, aggressive, cold, and maladjusted fathers and cold, irresponsible, and maladjusted mothers than did the control group.

However, significant differences in intervening variables existed between the groups compared. A lower socioeconomic and education level, older parents, and more boys existed in the clinic group. No correlations between parent interview variables and the Peterson Checklist ratings were found within the groups.

Correlations were found between PARI rejection responses and conformity of 38 children 6 years old (Walsh, 1968). Children were observed in a laboratory setting for the measure of resistance to temptation after being censured against certain behaviors. Variables of intrusion, fear of harming the baby, avoidance of communication, and demands for obedience and mature behavior, all of which contributed to the dimension of rejection, were positively related to the highest conformity in children. However, correlations were found only with maternal attitudes. Lack of results with fathers' data was attributed to a biased mortality rate of fathers, and to the fact that a woman research assistant had been the censoring agent in the treatment. Also, findings of this study may have been influenced by the limited reliability of the PARI (e.g., Becker and Krug, 1959; Pumroy, 1966; Tolor, 1967).

Also using the PARI and another questionnaire, the Parental Attitude Scale; no relationships were found between authoritarian attitudes and nursery school children's behaviors of restriction, hostility, rejection (vs. a sense of belongingness), or inappropriate identification (Baragona, 1964). Children had been observed during

story completion and doll play. The two questionnaires were correlated, revealing authoritarian attitudes to be positively related to rejection and negatively to acceptance.

Research with children up to 13 years old have attempted to determine what relationships existed with conflict between parents. Again, findings were not conclusive. Areas of acceptance, parental perceptions of the relationship they share with their child, and role definitions have all been investigated.

Baragona (1964) had noted discrepancies between mothers' and fathers' responses on the questionnaires as a measure of parental conflict. Lack of conflict was found to be positively related to spontaneity, friendliness, belongingness, and appropriate identification. Friedman (1969) found a relationship with parental trust in and respect for the child's individuality. Lack of parental conflict in this area was positively related to leadership behavior of boys and girls, ages 7-13. Similar indications were reported to have been found with a sample of boys, ages 8-13 (Gerber, 1976). Normal and symptomatic children were compared. Parents of psychologically disturbed children were more discrepant in acceptance and rejection responses on a values scale and on an attitude questionnaire than parents of normal children. The comparison groups were controlled for intactness of families, socioeconomic status, education and size of families. These findings were subject to limitation, however. Criteria for placement into the

groups were not reported. "School officials" had determined the placement. Reliability of such evaluators was not discussed.

Discrepancies between mothers' and fathers' attitudes and perceptions of their relationship with their child were used as the indicator of parental conflict in an earlier study (Medinnus, 1963). The PARI and a Q-sort were administered to parents of 35 first grade children. No relationships existed between this measure and child adjustment data which were collected from interviews with teachers and sociometric ratings from peers. Becker (1960), however, did find a relationship to exist between discrepancies in the way mothers and fathers perceived their relationships with their child and conduct problems. The sample studied was 64 kindergarten children. Though socioeconomic status, age and sex of parents were controlled, these correlations were based on parents' responses on the Peterson Checklist, not teachers' ratings. Independent sources of data were necessary for reliability.

Eron, Banta, Walder, and Laulicht (1961) found relationships to exist between parental conflict and behavior of 60 third graders. When role definitions of parents was the source of conflict, aggression of children was found.

The confused findings concerning parental conflict may be attributed to different operational definitions, or to methodological error. Besides the limitations already stated, sample numbers were small,

intervening variables were not controlled, or instruments' validity was questionable. The PARI, used often, was not controlled for response set contamination. In addition, attitudes expressed through responses to the PARI have been found to have little association with actual parent-child interaction (Zunich, 1961; Zurich, 1971; Gerhart and Geismar, 1969).

Researchers were concerned not only with acceptance-rejection, control, and conflict. Additional variables such as parental maladjustment and consistency of discipline were studied, showing correlates with child adjustment.

Kindergarten children (N=64) were rated by teachers and parents on the Peterson Checklist and parents were interviewed for attitudes (Becker, 1960). Personality problems were related to paternal maladjustment, hostility, and socially withdrawn behavior. More relationships were found with paternal than maternal attitudes. These findings, however, may have been biased, as the ratings were made by parents. Those correlations found with teachers' ratings of conduct problems included arbitrary and inconsistent discipline practices.

Inconsistency was studied in terms of certainty of opinion about child-rearing (Gildea, 1960). A questionnaire and interviews were used to obtain maternal attitudes of 126 disturbed and normal third graders. Mothers', teachers', and psychiatric social worker's ratings determined child adjustment. Only uncertainty of opinion about child-rearing

practices was correlated with mothers' ratings of adjustment. Certainty decreased with social class, and the number of behavioral symptoms by mothers increased. Upper class mothers were more lenient, reported the least need for control, and were the least rejecting. They felt responsible for child behavior, potent to influence changes in child behavior, and confident in their parenting role. Lower class mothers were found to need control, yet felt the most impotent to influence change.

With social class and sex of the child controlled, ratings of child adjustment by teachers and social workers and maternal attitudes shared few relationships. No correlations were found with attitudes of strictness, rejection, control, or attitudes toward responsibility for child behavior. However, significant relationships between patterns of attitudes and ratings were found. "Mothers with the best adjusted children could see multiple influences of child behavior, felt themselves to be one of the influences, and felt potent to exercise influence" (p. 89).

Because children's age has been considered an important factor in parent-child relationships (e.g., Schaefer, 1960; Walters and Stinnett, 1971), studies which included elementary school children older than those in third grade were reviewed separately. In this age grouping, research resulted in confused findings with regard to rejection, control, and styles of discipline. Modeling of behaviors and parental maladjustment were also studied at this age.

Maternal satisfaction with her child's behavior and achievements

was found to correlate with fifth and sixth graders' self concept (Mote, 1967). No relationships were found with any of the other maternal variables including contentment, self-esteem, warmth, restrictiveness, punishment, and pressure for independence, achievement, or conformity. This design included a large battery of tests which collected much data in relation to the 157 children. However, the questionnaire devised for the study was not described in terms of validity or reliability.

The parental variables of strictness, punitiveness, aggression, modeling, mastery (achievement standards, democracy in discipline, and rewarding independence), ambivalence, and maladjustment were studied with 118 mothers and 108 fathers of fourth and fifth grade boys (Winder and Rau, 1962). Peer sociometric ratings supplied child adjustment measures on the sample of middle and upper-middle class boys. The Stanford Parent Attitude Questionnaire was then administered. Parental response was biased, as the most liked boys' group had the highest response from parents.

The following conclusions were based on correlations: (1) Parental control variables of punitiveness, restriction and demands for aggression were all found to be related to deviant behavior of sons. (2) Parental adjustment variables were also related to child variables. Ambivalence toward the child and maternal low self-esteem were related to deviant behavior. Maternal sex anxiety and fathers' low self-esteem were related to dependence behavior. Mothers of popular boys

reported high parental adjustment. (3) In the acceptance-rejection dimension, mothers' rejection was related to dependency behavior. Fathers who were the most affectionate, manipulated rewards, and had more stereotyped sex-role expectations had the most aggressive sons.

Hoffman (1975) studied the relationship between parental attitudes of altruism and affection and children's altruistic behavior at the fifth grade level. First born children, 40 males and 40 females, from white, middle class families were rated for altruism by peers. Interviews with parents revealed their altruistic values, frequencies of affectionate behavior, and responses to hypothetical situations with their child harming another. The most altruistic girls were found to have altruistic parents and fathers who used victim-centered discipline which suggested reparation and apology. The boys found to be most altruistic had altruistic fathers and affectionate mothers who used victim-centered discipline.

A longitudinal study from the interviews conducted by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) was conducted when the children were in the sixth grade (Sears, 1961). Only 160 of the original 379 subjects were included, with a high attrition rate in larger families. This was not reflected in a socioeconomic status bias. It was determined that the 160 were a close representation of the original sample. Classmates of the children were used as a control group. The children were scored on measures of masculinity-femininity, role choice, self-concept, and

aggression. Story completion supplied a measure of guilt and resistance to temptation was observed.

High intercorrelations between aggression scores and maternal interview variables seven years earlier were found. Antisocial behavior which had correlated positively with high permissiveness and punishment when the children were five now correlated positively with high permissiveness and negatively with punishment. Though the self-aggression scale was the lowest in reliability in test development, boys with the most self-aggressive behavior had been the most severely controlled in aggression when young. The outward expression of aggression was concluded to have been successfully restricted. Prosocial behaviors were positively correlated now with high permissiveness and high punishment.

Sex differences in correlations with anxiety (defined by fear, discomfort, and dislike of aggression with references to guilt, somatic symptoms, and avoidance behaviors) were found. Boys' anxiety related to love-oriented discipline, and high punishment for aggression, was concluded to be the result of rapid socialization and high conformity demands. Girls' anxiety was positively related to high father involvement with no relationship to permissiveness or control. Sears interpreted this to indicate that control internalized with expectations of the feminine sex role. Femininity scores were positively related to prosocial and anxiety behaviors and negatively related to antisocial behavior.

Many studies which investigated children of large age ranges have found many parent-child correlates. However, the lack of control for age severely limited knowledge gained from their findings. Some of these studies were concerned with parental conflict. The majority of the studies compared parental attitudes among different children's problem syndromes.

Friedman (1969) developed a questionnaire to measure variables of confidence in the parental role, causation of child behavior, acceptance, understanding, and trust. Middle and upper-middle class children (N=79) were rated by peers and two participant observers while at a summer camp. Unlike Gildea's study (1960) with third graders, no relationships were found with those variables suggesting parental responsibility and/or potency in influencing child behavior. These children were 7-13 years old. Only trust in and respect for the child's individuality and the degree to which mothers and fathers agree on this issue were found to be related to leadership behavior.

Gerber (1976), previously cited, studied psychologically disturbed and normal boys, 8-13 years old. Parents of symptomatic boys were in more conflict over attitudes of acceptance and rejection than parents of normal boys. Despite possible control bias of Gerber's comparison group, an alternative interpretation could have involved the influence of parental maladjustment. Such an hypothesis, that parents of symptomatic children are themselves maladjusted, was studied by many parent-child researchers.

Ricci (1970) gave the PARI in original form, and in reversed form (a control for response set bias) to mothers of normal, retarded, and emotionally disturbed children. Children's ages were not specified. Mothers of normal children responded similarly to both scales, with controlling and warm attitudes. Mothers of mentally retarded children indicated autonomy and cold attitudes in the original PARI, but controlling and cold on the reversed. Mothers of emotionally disturbed children indicated autonomy and warmth on the first form, and autonomy and cold attitudes on the reversed scales. These differences in responses were attributed to inconsistency, ambivalence, and defensiveness of retarded and disturbed children's mothers.

The reversed scales of the PARI (Zuckerman, 1959) had been found to render stable factors (Schuldermann and Schuldermann, 1970), yet resulted in an over-correction of the response set problem and actually increased bias (Schuldermann and Schuldermann, 1974). Influences of this bias were found to contaminate the authoritarian, psychological control, and anti-democratic attitude factors.

A replication study in determining MMPI differences between parents of disturbed and normal children "strongly supported the general clinical impression that both fathers and mothers of disturbed children are more maladjusted than parents of nondisturbed children" (Goodstein and Rowley, 1961). Fifty pairs of parents of disturbed children and a matched group of normal children's parents were tested.

Approximately half of the fathers and mothers of disturbed children were found to indicate pathology, while only one fourth of the mothers and fathers of normal children indicated pathology.

Children using the services of a psychopathic hospital were classified according to behavioral problems and parents supplied family history information on an intake questionnaire (Jenkins, NurEddin, and Shapiro, 1966). Comparisons were made between 172 children classified as overanxious, 48 undomesticated (unsocialized) delinquents, and 25 socialized delinquents. Children were 11-13 years old. Overanxious children who were sensitive and showed much inhibition had come primarily from the middle class. They had experienced relative harmony in their homes, no physical punishment, and high expectations for achievement and conformity. Unsocialized delinquents were from low socioeconomic classes, with a prevalence of divorce. Nonacceptance, low expectations from parents, and much conflict with fathers were found. Socialized delinquents were from a middle class background. No closeness existed among any family members and the fathers were dead in a large percentage of cases.

Jenkins conducted similar comparison studies with 500 children from a child guidance institute (1966) and 1,500 children from an institute for juvenile research (1968). In both studies, children were classified according to clusters of syndromes by means of a computer. Ages of children ranged from 9-14. Consistent findings for each group of children were: Anxious children had strong affectional ties with

mothers. These mothers, however, were neurotic, nervous, over-anxious, ambivalent, and nonaccepting. Fathers had problems in mental health, character disorders or psychoneurosis. Unsocialized delinquents experienced conflict with rejecting, inconsistent, maladjusted mothers. Extremes of punishment and permissiveness were also found in this group. A large proportion of these children had step-parents. The socialized delinquent was often from large families with little money. Mothers were neglectful, cold, and distant, and children were largely unsupervised. Paternal pathology was indicated, with 40% of them alcoholics and 25% dead.

An important consideration in evaluating the previous three studies involves sex. In most cases boys outnumbered girls three to one. Therefore, findings must be considered only as trends.

Emotionally disturbed boys' parents were administered the reversed scales of the PARI (Stone and Rowley, 1965). The Peterson Checklist was then completed for each of the 31 boys whose mean age was 11 years. No differences were found in attitudes between children classified to have personality problems and those with conduct problems. No differences were found with regard to socioeconomic status. However, a significant difference in parents' ages was suggested to have influenced the child behavior and placement into groups. It was stated that the older parents were stricter and less flexible. A second explanation could have involved the manner in which the checklist was

completed. On the basis of information from parents, the referring physician, school, court or social-welfare agent, a social worker rated each child on the checklist. The social worker had no personal contact with the children, rendering reliability questionable.

Children's Perceptions

Inconclusive findings from parental reports indicated a need for a different approach to the study of relationships between parental attitudes and child adjustment. Serot (1961) found support for the hypothesis that there was little agreement between parental and child perceptions and that child perceptions of child-rearing behaviors were correlated with adjustment. Therefore, parental perception would not be expected to correlate with adjustment. The study of child perceptions was thus recognized as imperative for knowledge of parent-child relationships.

In using questionnaires to collect data of children's perceptions, it was important to consider the sex of the parent. Often, instruments asked questions about "my parents" and did not differentiate between mothers and fathers. Heaps (1970) found that characteristics used to describe "my parents" were not correlated to characteristics of "my mother" or "my father," especially if boys were the respondents. Children in the fifth grade had completed a semantic differential, supplying data for the study. Reliability was, therefore, lessened if separate responses for each parent were not required.

Questionnaires which have been devised to determine children's perceptions have not been developed for use at ages less than third grade. Research, therefore, was restricted to preadolescents. Those studies reviewed investigated parental dimensions of acceptance-rejection, firm control-lax control, and psychological control-psychological autonomy. Though research was less plentiful with children's perceptions than parents' reports, findings were more consistent.

The most commonly used instrument of perceived parental behavior was Schaefer's Children's Report of Parental Behavior Inventory, CRPB, (Schaefer, 1965b). Dimensions of autonomy-control and love-hostility were derived from factor analysis of 165 middle class families with parochial school seventh graders and 80 institutionalized boys 14-18 years old. Forty of fifty-two items on the inventory were found to differentiate between mothers and fathers. When 260 fifth and sixth graders were tested, high intercorrelations between mothers and fathers contradicted the previous findings. It was suggested that the use of the CRPB may not be applicable for children under the seventh grade, as younger children's perceptions are less differentiated. However, modified response categories may have limited variance. The dimensions of acceptance-rejection and firm control-lax control had emerged (Armentrout, 1970a).

Differential perceptions of mothers and fathers by siblings in the previously reported sample were reported (Armentrout, 1970b).

Among 21 sibling pairs, mothers were perceived by siblings more consistently as firm in control and fathers were perceived more consistently as lax in control. No differences between perceptions by siblings were found on the acceptance-rejection dimension of mothers and fathers.

Comparison of the 260 fifth and sixth graders with 126 undergraduates supported the stability of three factors. Factor I was termed acceptance-rejection and defined by acceptance, positive involvement, and acceptance of individuality, child-centeredness, rejection and hostile detachment. Factor II was psychological control-psychological autonomy and was defined by variables of possessiveness, intrusiveness, control through guilt, hostile control, instilling persistent anxiety, and withdrawal of relations. Factor III was labeled firm control-lax control and defined by such variables as inconsistent discipline, nonenforcement, lax discipline, and extreme autonomy (Burger, Armentrout, and Rapfogel, 1973).

Extreme peer sociometric ratings of popularity were correlated with the CRPB responses of 32 boys and girls in the third grade. All children were from white, Catholic, working class families (Armentrout, 1972). Parental acceptance was positively related to popularity. All respondents reported more acceptance from mothers than from fathers. It was concluded that accepted children were friendly, sociable, and accepted by peers, and that children who felt rejected by parents were of low peer status. The researchers stated that peer acceptance of

preadolescents influenced self-concept, values and attitudes, and facilitated the learning of mature patterns of social behavior. No correlations were found with the dimensions of control, psychological or overt.

Affection perceived from mothers and fathers was found to relate to interpersonal closeness with third and fourth grade children from a lower socioeconomic and urban background (Hollender, Duke, and Nowicki, 1973). Children were administered the Comfortable Interpersonal Distance Scale and the Parental Contact Scale. The second instrument was used to determine physical affection. Correlates were especially large between mothers and sons, while father and daughter correlates only indicated a slight relationship.

Internalization and externalization measures were obtained on the 260 children studied above by the same researcher (Armentrout, 1971). Internalization was defined by fearful, shy, socially withdrawal, self-depreciating, overcontrolled, and inhibited behaviors. Externalization was identified by behaviors of aggression, destructiveness, hyperactivity, antisocial behavior, and was indicative of an external locus of control and lack of control of impulses. Internal and external problems were negatively related to acceptance perceived on the CRPB. Externalization problems were negatively related to mothers' psychological control.

At this age, there were more internalization problems than

externalization problems. Parents suppressed much socially unacceptable behavior, especially with girls. Girls perceived much more control from their mothers while boys saw both parents as controlling. Boys and girls saw fathers as more accepting than mothers. Age, IQ, occupation and education were controlled.

Similar correlates were found with introversion tendencies of 106 males in grades four through six. Data were collected from responses to the Bronfenbrenner Parent Behavior Questionnaire which had been established as a valid research tool (Siegelman, 1966). Withdrawn behavior was found to be negatively correlated to loving parental behaviors and positively related to punishing behaviors. Socioeconomic status, indexed by fathers' education, had no influence on perceived parent behavior or children's ratings of behavior.

Maternal psychological control was related to physical, emotional and social anxiety of 42 males, ages 9-12. The CRPB and an anxiety scale were administered to the girls from lower-middle and middle class homes. Sex-role preference, determined by responses to a play and game list, was also studied. Anxiety was related to masculine role preference, and maternal intrusiveness was positively related to masculinity. It was concluded that masculine girls were more "vulnerable to anxiety, and perhaps maladjustment in the general sense, as a concomitant of excessive maternal control" (Biller and Zung, 1972).

Observation Studies

Observation designs allowed observation of actual behavior, resulting in a less abstract conception of child-rearing practices. Interplay between the dimensions of control and affect were observed for dynamics. Dominance of one or the other parent was researched by this method, with many findings across sexes of parents and children reported. Consistency across research designs which suffered from too small samples was high. Experimental studies by behaviorists contributed to the knowledge of the effectiveness of disciplinary techniques. The final study reported was a statement of cause and effect in parent-child research.

Those observation studies which examined parental dimensions similar to those of questionnaires and interviews have also found relationships to exist with child-rearing behaviors of control and acceptance-rejection. Research which used other methods of data collection in conjunction with observation were also included here.

Schulman, Shoemaker, and Moelis (1962) tested the hypothesis that frustration induced by parental control and restriction and modeling of aggression were related to the expression of aggression by children. Parents and their 41 sons, ages 2-12, were observed while in a laboratory setting, working on a task. Two groups of boys, one referred for conduct problems and the other a control group of "normals," were compared. Supplementary differentiation of these groups was made through the use

of the Peterson Checklist. The groups were matched for age, IQ, and occupational status.

Controlling behavior, but no modeling of aggression was observed. Problem children were observed as having more hostile and rejecting parents than the control group. Though observation techniques included specifically defined behavioral categories, the sampling of behavior was limited.

Miller (1972) collected data while observing doll play behaviors of 42 white, lower middle class boys and girls, 3-5 years old. Parental control and acceptance were correlated to positive socializing and independent behaviors observed at nursery school. Punitive and over-indulgent attitudes were related to negative socializing and dependent behaviors. An imbalance of three to one boy-girl ratio limited generalization to both sexes. Though categories were carefully defined, parental attitudes were inferred from the children's observed behaviors.

Baumrind and Black (1967) designed a research method which included home interviews, home observation of "controlled sequences," and observation of children's behavior at school and in a laboratory setting. The control sequence was

an interaction unit consisting of two or more related acts containing a single message and involving the same two family members as participants in an interchange initiated by one of them to alter the behavior of the other and ending with the other's compliance or non-compliance" (p. 304).

Categories of parental and child behavior were operationally and conceptually defined. Dimensions of control, maturity demands, parent-child communication, and nurturance were scored during the interviews and observations. Ninety-five children's pre-school behavior were rated by means of a Q-sort and factor analyzed.

In a summary of her research (e.g., Baumrind and Black, 1967; and Baumrind, 1967), Baumrind (1970) reported cumulative results. Eight descriptive categories of parental child-rearing patterns were noted: (1) The authoritarian-rejecting parent scored high on "firm enforcement" and "rejecting," and low on "encouraging independence and individuality," "passive-acceptance," and "promotes nonconformity." (2) The authoritarian-not rejecting parent scored similarly but was low on rejection items. (3) The rejecting-not authoritarian parent was rejecting but was not demanding. (4) The authoritative-conforming parent scored high on "firm enforcement" and "encouraging independence and individuality" and low on "passive-acceptance." (5) Authoritative-nonconforming parents were high on "promotes nonconformity." (6) A permissive-conforming parent was lax in discipline, made few demands and placed no stress on conformity. (7) The permissive-nonconforming parent was lax and made no demands. (8) The nonconforming parent was not authoritative, not extremely lax but placed high demands on performance.

Child behavior was divided into three categories: (1) Instrumental competence was defined by friendly, cooperative, purposive,

achievement-oriented, socially responsible, and not "submissive-dominant" behaviors. (2) Responsible-irresponsible was defined on the positive pole by friendly, achievement, and cooperative behaviors. (3) Independent-suggestible was positively loaded by domineering, dominant, and purposive behaviors and negatively loaded by tractable and submissive behaviors.

Conclusions were reported as follows: (1) Authoritative parents had more responsible children than authoritarian parents. (2) Firm enforcement of desired responsible behavior facilitated the development of socially responsible behavior. (3) Permissive parents had sons who were lacking in prosocial and achievement-oriented behavior. (4) Approval which was not rejecting, overprotective, or passive-acceptant lead to socially responsible behavior. (5) Demands for conformity and achievement with receptivity and respect for independent judgment led to high instrumental competence. (6) Parents who were able to "balance tradition and innovation, divergence and convergence, accommodation and autonomy, expression, tolerance, and principled intractability, had the most competent children" (p. 111).

In a comparison study, particular attention was paid to differences between black and white girls of authoritarian-rejecting parents (Baumrind, 1972). "By white standards, these black girls demonstrate unusual social maturity and a wide range of adaptive behaviors" (p. 265). Results of comparisons indicated that the authoritarian attitudes of

black parents were not necessarily indicative of the rejecting authoritarian personality, but had "as their explicit objective to develop toughness and self-sufficiency in black girls and thus be perceived by them as not rejecting, but as nurturant care-taking" (p. 266). The black parents were found to be less "up-tight," and more spontaneous in behavior toward their daughters than the white parents. Black fathers were more likely to act expressively as well as instrumentally, and mothers were more likely to take part in decision-making, creating a more equalitarian environment than is often found in the white home. While overprotection would inhibit independence, Baumrind reported, mild punishment produced mild tension which required self-sufficient, self-assertive responses, and instrumental competence.

In order to determine relationships with child adjustment, additional observation studies examined which parent in a family was more dominant. Particular attention was paid to sex-pairs and identification of the child. The third study reviewed also examined dominant parental behavior, but in the sense of power and dominance over the child.

Maternal and paternal dominant behavior was studied in relation to sex-role preference, identification and imitation with 103 boys and 108 girls (Hetherington, 1965). Behavior of mothers and fathers was scored for dominance while they responded together to a hypothetical situation involving their child's deviant behavior. One half of the

children had dominant mothers and one half had dominant fathers. The age groups of 4-5, 6-8 and 9-11 were analyzed separately.

At all ages, sons of dominant mothers expressed more feminine sex-role preference and non-sex-typed traits. Identification with the dominant parent increased with age. Girls showed no difference in identification or sex-role preference with dominant mothers or fathers. Neither sons nor daughters in mother-dominant homes identified with a passive father. Hetherington concluded that boys tended to identify with the "aggressor," but girls did not. Girls' primary identification with mothers was affected little by the dominance of fathers.

Hetherington and Frankie (1967) observed mother, father, child triads while participating in the Structured Family Interaction Task. Dominance, warmth, and conflict were scored during observation. Subjects included lower middle class families of 80 male and 80 female nursery school and kindergarten children. One half of the families were high in conflict, one half low. Within each of those groups, one half were mother dominant, the other half father dominant. Four warmth combinations within each accounted for high and low warmth for mothers and fathers. Parental measures were analyzed in relation to imitation behavior, a measure of identification.

Because paternal dominance was correlated to appropriate sex typing for boys, the importance of an appropriate role model was suggested. Maternal warmth was more highly correlated to imitation

by boys and girls than was paternal warmth. Imitation of the aggressor was again indicated particularly if the mother was dominant. In homes of high conflict and low warmth, the aggressor was imitated no matter the sex. It was concluded that appropriate identification of girls was related to warmth and to a lesser degree, power. Boys' identification was related to paternal dominance.

Many of the experimental studies with parents and children have investigated effects of differential discipline on deviant behavior. Behavioral techniques of time-out, negative attention, ignoring, and positive reinforcement were taught to parents, and applied in interaction either in laboratory or home settings. All techniques implied psychological control with variance in the dimension of acceptance-rejection. The last experiment reviewed examined the hypothesis that child behavior influences adult responses.

Parents of two young oppositional boys were instructed in the use of time-out and differential attention in a study to determine the effects of such treatment (Wahler, 1969). Baseline data had previously been collected. Observers in the home used behavioral checklists to score children's oppositional, cooperative behaviors and approaching parents. Parents were scored for attention and the use of techniques taught. Positive change in both boys' behavior led researchers to conclude that time-out increased the parents' reinforcement value.

With six young deviant children, two separate but similar studies were reported (Herbert, Pinkston, Hayden, Sajwaj, Pinkston, Cordua, and Jackson, 1973). One study observed mothers and children in task-oriented interaction. The second study observed task-oriented and structured play interactions. Mothers in both studies were cued by researchers to "freeze" with a blank face, walk away, or positively reinforce the child in response to behaviors. Of the six mother-child pairs, four children's deviant behavior increased as a result of the treatment, one child's behavior was unaffected, and one child's behavior extinguished but improvement was not sustained.

Forehand, Roberts, Doleys, Hobbs, and Resich (1976) studied the effects of negative attention, isolation, and ignoring in two experimental treatments. Thirty-two mothers and their children, ages 4-6½, were controlled for sex and mean frequency of noncompliance, established during pre-tests. Four treatments, nonrepeated commands with negative attention, repeated commands without negative attention, repeated commands with negative attention, and nonrepeated commands without negative attention were applied. Negative attention, which was defined as (1) verbal reprimand and (2) stand rigid and glare ("freezing"), was effective in reducing coercive behaviors. Repeated commands were less effective, especially if there was no escalation. Treatment with nonrepeated commands and negative attention was the most effective.

In the second experiment, mothers and their 28 children, ages $4\frac{1}{2}$ - $6\frac{1}{2}$, were also controlled for sex and baseline data collected. The effects on noncompliance of negative attention, ignoring, and time-out techniques were compared. Isolation, ignoring, negative attention, and a combination of all three were all found to be effective in reducing noncompliance. The negative behavior later increased except when a continuation of the combined techniques was applied. Negative attention was more effective than ignoring as frequencies of behavior were lower and change was more immediate. The researchers concluded that the aversive quality of ignoring elicited attention demand and isolation resulted in intense avoidance and escape responses.

The study which was designed to determine what characteristics of a child would influence a parent's use of disciplinary practices included 60 elementary school children and their parents. Only three were boys, and all were of middle and upper socioeconomic status (Stevens-Long, 1973). Interaction in parent-child dyads was video taped and viewed by parents who then indicated by pushing buttons, how he or she might respond to the child's behavior and how he or she felt about the child. Each parent viewed tapes of six parent-child interactions. The viewer was told that three of the children, determined at random, were emotionally disturbed and three were not. Each of the labeled and not labeled children exhibited behaviors which represented activity levels of overactive, average-active, or underactive. Results

of analysis across labeling, activity level and aggressive behavior supported the researcher's hypothesis, showing significant relationships with disciplinary and affective responses of adults. Overactive children were punished more severely for aggression than other children, and the label of "emotionally disturbed" resulted in less severe responses. It was concluded that the child characteristics of activity level, emotional health, and aggression influenced adults' use of disciplinary practices.

Conclusions and Trends

Children from pre-school through sixth grade were the subjects of study with parental reports and observed interaction as the data collection source. However, with children's perceptions, only pre-adolescents were studied. For that reason, conclusions were stated first for children up to third grade and then for children from fourth grade to sixth grade.

Parental Reports

The following conclusions and trends were made from the review of research conducted with children up to third grade:

1. Punishment for aggression and rejection were related to aggression of children. This was true for boys and girls.
2. Punishment for aggression and for dependency were related to dependency behaviors of young children.

3. High power assertion without empathy or reasoning in discipline was positively related to low moral development (internalization of standards), but also to conformity.

4. Acceptance and empathy in discipline was related to positive social adjustment of boys and girls.

5. Maternal rejection, low warmth, and nonempathic discipline was more related to aggression of both sexes than the same paternal attitudes. Paternal punishment was more related to aggression of both sexes, especially boys', than maternal punishment.

6. Physical punishment was negatively related to identification while empathic discipline was positively related to identification.

7. The parental combination of a strict and physically punishing father and a submissive mother was related to young girls' psychological problems.

8. No socioeconomic differences in discipline styles, physical or psychological punishment, or in the uses of empathetic or power assertive disciplines were found.

9. The maladjustment of parents was related to that in their children.

10. Little continuity among operational definitions of parental conflict was found across research, many designs of which were weak. Conflicts over attitudes in general were unrelated to child adjustment. However, conflicts between parents' attitudes of acceptance were related

to social and psychological adjustment and identification. Parental conflict over role definitions, implying a dominance struggle, related to aggression.

11. Trends were also indicated by findings of single studies.

a. Authoritarian attitudes were not related to conduct problems, psychological adjustment, or identification.

b. Lax maternal discipline was related to antisocial behavior.

c. Strictness and dissatisfaction of fathers were associated with positive and negative adjustment.

d. Maternal annoyability was related to psychological problems.

e. Inconsistent discipline was related to conduct problems.

f. High socioeconomic children were more aggressive.

g. High socioeconomic class girls were punished more for aggression against parents, while lower class girls were punished more for aggression against peers.

From the review of research with children ages fourth through sixth grade, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. Strong maternal affectional ties were related to anxiety.

Rejection was related to psychopathic delinquency and neglect was related to socialized delinquency of boys and girls.

2. Paternal love was related to girls' anxiety and proper identification.

3. Both parents modeled altruism for girls, while only fathers did so for boys. Modeling combined with cross-sexed victim-centered discipline was indicated to also be related to altruistic behavior.

4. Confused findings with the dimension of control were reported. Punitiveness and strict discipline were related to deviance. Extremes of control were related to psychologically disturbed delinquents. However, punishment and permissiveness were negatively related to antisocial behavior and positively to prosocial behavior. Also, punishment, either physical or psychological, was related to boys' proper identification and to their anxiety toward aggression. However, control was not found to be related to self-concept.

Children's Perceptions

All of the following were applicable to the preadolescent age.

1. Acceptance was positively related to positive socializing behaviors and interpersonal closeness.

2. Rejection was related to psychological and social problems.

3. Maternal psychological control was related to girls' anxiety and inappropriate identification and negatively related to acting out behaviors.

4. Maternal firm control was related to girls' positive social behavior.

5. Punishment was related to introversion of males.

Observation Studies

1. Firm control and restriction in a context of acceptance was related to positive social adjustment at all ages up to sixth grade.
2. Rejecting and hostile control was similarly related to conduct problems of all ages.
3. Lax control was related to negative social behavior and dependency.
4. Maternal warmth was related to proper identification of young boys and girls. Maternal dominance was negatively related to appropriate identification of sons at all ages up to sixth grade.
5. Passivity of fathers was not conducive to imitation of sons or daughters. Dominance of fathers was related to positive identification of sons, but unrelated to daughters' identification.
6. Dominance of a parent, no matter the sex, was related to identification in a context of conflict and disharmony implying the modeling of aggression.
7. Combinations of time-out, nonrepeated commands, negative attention, and positive reinforcement were optimal for sustained behavior improvement.
8. Children's behavior and adjustment influenced parental use of discipline.

Junior and Senior High School

Parental reports of attitudes were almost nonexistent as a data collection technique in research at this age level. Rather, adolescents' perceptions, observation of parent-adolescent interaction, and combinations of techniques were employed. From such studies, much was learned of parental control, affect, and dominance patterns within families. Regretfully, studies including girls were sparse.

Parental Reports

Few studies were conducted at the junior and senior high school level which used parental reports as a means of data collection. The principle study reviewed was a comparison study between delinquent and non-delinquent boys (Glueck and Glueck, 1950). The study did not offer conclusive evidence of a relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment, yet was one of the first and most comprehensive studies of its kind.

Parents of 500 delinquents and 500 nondelinquents, matched for age, were interviewed. The findings were reported not as correlations, but as percentages. This type of statistical reporting was criticized for validity, as base rates were not considered (Briggs, Wirt, and Johnson, 1961). The acceptance-rejection dimension was found to account for differences between delinquents and nondelinquents. Twice as many fathers of nondelinquents as delinquents were warm and affectionate. Delinquents' fathers and mothers were more likely hostile, rejecting,

and indifferent. The factor of parental control studied was not specified to be of a psychological or physical nature. A higher proportion of nondelinquents were found to have parents who used discipline based on fairness and sound reasoning while delinquents' parents were more likely to use overstrict, extremely lax, or erratic discipline. Mothers of delinquents compared to those of nondelinquents showed clear evidence of overprotectiveness.

The second study which included parents' and sons' perceptions of parental sanctioning was also a comparison between delinquents and nondelinquents (Gallenkamp, 1968). Parents of delinquents were found to sanction antisocial behavior of juveniles more than parents of nondelinquents. Mothers of delinquent sons were in a dominance conflict with and hostile toward fathers. Family members had completed the Family Sanctions Test developed for the study with 25 delinquents and 25 matched nondelinquents.

Adolescents' Perceptions

Apparently considering the perceptions of adolescents to be a more appropriate factor for study in parent-child relationships, researchers have done much work in this area. Studies which were reviewed included those conducted with normal populations, comparisons between delinquents and nondelinquents, comparisons of subpopulations of delinquents, and research concerned with psychological adjustment. Few designs reviewed included female samples.

The same parental variables were investigated with adolescents as with younger children. However, those which were consistently related to adjustment were few. Acceptance-rejection was still found to be correlated with adjustment as was firm control-lax control. By studying specific populations such as delinquents or disturbed adolescents and comparing problem syndromes within populations, researchers were able to investigate the significance of differing patterns of parental affection and control.

Droppleman and Schaefer (1963) administered the CRPS to 165 seventh graders from a parochial suburban population and 70 eleventh graders from a protestant urban population. Sex, age, and socioeconomic differences in perceptions were reported. (1) Mothers were higher in psychological control than fathers. (2) Mothers were seen as more loving and affectionate, while fathers were seen as more ignoring and neglecting. (3) Boys reported mothers to grant more autonomy than fathers. (4) Same sex parents used more overt, direct control than opposite sex parents. (5) Girls perceived more nurturance from mothers and fathers than boys. (6) Boys perceived more hostility and control than girls, especially from fathers. (7) Younger middle class girls reported fathers to grant more autonomy than lower class girls. Older lower class girls reported mothers to grant more autonomy than fathers.

Studies of normal populations which examined the parental dimensions of acceptance-rejection and control have shown perceived acceptance to be more highly related to positive social adjustment of males than perceived parental control. The one study that included girls, however, found control to be more highly related to their adjustment than affection.

An early study of junior high school boys and girls (N=750) loaded responses to the Myers Intra-family Relationship Questionnaire into the two categories of dominance and affection (Anderson, 1940). The dominance concept included control through strict supervision of activities and companions, protectiveness, overconcern, fighting the child's battles, and planning for his future. Affection was defined by the lack of criticism, praise for accomplishment, no severe discipline or punishments and solicitousness of child welfare. These two variables were correlated with peer and guidance counselor ratings.

The following results were reported: (1) Low affection and high dominance correlated with uncooperative, disobedient, tense, bold, nervous, and tantrum behaviors. (2) High affection and low dominance was related to cooperative, obedient and emotionally stable behaviors. (3) Affection in father-son, mother-son, and to a lesser degree in father-daughter pairs was correlated with positive social behaviors. (4) For boys, affection had consistently higher relationships with behavior than did dominance. (5) For girls, almost no correlations

were found between behavior and affection. Supervisory activities of parents were closely associated with girls' behavior, with negative correlations reported. Though socioeconomic status, education, and race were not controlled, this early study suggested hypotheses for future study.

A cross national study tested perceived parental support and control in relation to conformity to parents, friends, priests, and the church with a sample of catholic high school boys (Thomas, 1969). Students responded to the Cornell Parent Behavior Description in frequencies of various parental behaviors. Conformity was measured by resolution of hypothetical dilemmas and reported frequency of participation in sacraments.

Reports were consistent with Anderson's findings. Parental support accounted for more variance in conformity than did control. No relationships were found between control and conformity or between support and control. A significant relationship was found between support of both parents and conformity to parents and priests, but not to friends. It was concluded that support was an important consideration in socialization practices and conformity of adolescent boys. It was suggested, however, that the influence of the control variable not be ignored in further research.

No support was found for the relationship between parental child-rearing and observed resistance to temptation (conformity) of 76 boys,

13 years of age (Fodor, 1972). In the dimension of control, mothers who were high in achievement demanding and fathers who were most strict had sons with low moral development. No relationships with acceptance-rejection were found. The Cornell Parent Behavior Inventory had supplied data of perceived variable. The reliability of the research method of observing resistance to temptation in terms of lying behavior was criticized by LaVoie and Looft (1973). Moral development had been determined in interviews.

Comparison studies with delinquents rendered stable results. A comparison study with 179 delinquent and 193 nondelinquent males revealed differences in affectional ties with parents, feelings of alienation, and visions of life's track (Allen and Sandhu, 1967). The two groups were matched for age (mean, 17.9), income, and race. The nondelinquency of the control group was reaffirmed by Nye's Delinquency Scale (Nye, 1958). Components of alienation, including feelings of powerlessness and isolation, were revealed through questionnaire responses. Each boy also responded to items about love for his parents, their love for him, and reciprocity of love.

Delinquents were alienated and mother-centered. Their alienation was correlated with weak affectional ties with their fathers. Nondelinquents were father-centered. Their affectional ties with their fathers were related to better life's visions. It was concluded that identification with a male model was important for a boy's feelings

about his future. The reliability of equating identification with affection was considered by the reviewer to be questionable. No separate measure of identification had been employed.

Findings from an earlier comparison study which used the PCR to learn about perceived parental attitudes supported the relationship between fathers' rejection and delinquency of males (Medinnus, 1965). The delinquent and nondelinquent groups of boys were matched only for occupation and age (mean, 15), and the sample was small (N=60). While seven of the ten subscales of the PCR differentiated fathers of the two groups, only three differed significantly for mothers. Delinquents consistently reported unfavorable paternal attitudes of rejection and neglect. Medinnus attributed this finding to distrust and antagonism toward male authority figures.

Nurturance and punitiveness, a specific component of control, were examined for their relationship with powerlessness and identification of delinquent and nondelinquent males (Graff, 1968). The boys' groups were matched for age, IQ, socioeconomic status, and intactness of families (N=120). The Parental Attitude Measure, a story completion instrument, provided data for perceived parent variables. Powerlessness was measured by responses to an internal-external control scale, and descriptions of self, mother, and father provided data to determine identification.

Delinquents' responses indicated more powerlessness and fathers

who were higher in punitiveness and lower in nurturance and love than did responses from nondelinquents. No differences in maternal variables were found. No relationships existed between punitiveness and identification, or identification and powerlessness. Only a trend was indicated between identification and nurturance.

Specific subpopulations of delinquents have also been studied, pointing out further relationships with parental patterns of child rearing. Socialized and individual delinquents were defined by differential responses to the MMPI and WAIS (Randolph, Richardson and Johnson, 1961). The socialized delinquent was defined as one whose crime was supported and prescribed by his subculture of peers. Through acting with his peers, he gained status and recognition from them. He was found to be psychologically normal, yet he sanctioned subculturally deviant norms. The individual delinquent was defined by acting alone, motivated by personal reasons. He was found to be more disturbed and more psychopathic with neurotic trends than the socialized delinquent. The individual delinquent was found to be of a higher social status and had a higher IQ than the socialized delinquent.

Two studies employed the PCR in comparing individual and socialized delinquent males, producing conflicting results. The first study (Brigham, Ricketts, and Johnson, 1967) investigated 50 institutionalized delinquents, half individual and half socialized. The groups were matched for age only. The second study (Larson, Fitzgerald, and

Martin, 1971) controlled for socioeconomic status and age with 46 delinquents, half socialized and half individual. Neither study controlled for IQ.

Individual delinquents were found to report more rejecting, neglecting, and less loving mothers who used more symbolic-love punishment than social delinquents (Brigham, et al, 1967). However, individual delinquents reported that their mothers were more protective and used more direct-object rewards and symbolic-love rewards than social delinquents' mothers (Larson, et al, 1971). Fathers were perceived as more neglecting by individual delinquents in the first study, but no differences were found in the second. Mothers of lower class delinquents were more rejecting than mothers of middle class delinquents (Larson, et al, 1971).

Quay's Personal Opinion Survey was used to classify subcultural (socialized) and psychopathic (individual) delinquents in a study with 60 black, disadvantaged delinquent males (Hezel, 1968). The CRPB for mothers was administered and father absence, substitutes, and presence were controlled. A sentence completion test measured ego development. The following was reported: (1) Subcultural delinquents perceived maternal affection and lax control. (2) Psychopathic delinquents perceived maternal rejection, extreme autonomy, non-enforcement, and hostile detachment. (3) Father status influence was found only in the relationship between psychopathic delinquents and mothers'

attitudes. If the mother was rejecting and lax, and the father was present or a substitute, the highest psychopathology existed.

(4) Psychopathological delinquents had a low ego development and sub-cultural delinquents were high in ego development.

Parental relationships were similarly found in studies with populations of disturbed adolescents. Boys from 24 intact families who had been referred to a neuropsychiatric service and a control group were given the CRPB (Vogel and Lauterbach, 1963). In controlling for age, younger boys were found to perceive more psychological and physical controlling behaviors and older boys perceived more autonomy and decreased affection. Parents and sons were administered the MMPI and relationships with the CRPB were determined.

Fathers of the psychiatric boys were internalizing on their MMPI responses and were perceived by their sons as harsh and rejecting. Mothers were accepting of their sons' symptomatic behavior and often allied with their sons against the fathers. Severity of psychopathology was related to perceived maternal psychological and physical controlling behavior. Two possible interpretations were offered. Either mothers needed to restrict their sons' behavior as fathers withdrew, or problem boys perceive restrictions more readily than do normals. Psychiatric boys also perceived division and lack of family harmony. The psychiatric group of boys were older than the control group, further emphasizing the relationships found. Age had been reported to be the most important

factor influencing a child's perceptions of parental attitudes.

A comparison study of 13 clinic patients, their normal siblings, and 13 non-clinic control students were administered a family Q-sort to determine differences in perceived positive regard, empathic understanding, unconditional regard and genuineness (VanderVeen and Novak, 1971). Age of siblings and socioeconomic status were not controlled, and the clinic group was comprised of a larger proportion of boys and larger families than was the control group. The following was reported: (1) Disturbed adolescents perceived lower genuineness, empathy, and positive regard from fathers and less positive regard from mothers than did normal siblings. (2) Disturbed adolescents perceived lower maternal empathy than did normal controls, but no differences were found on this variable between normal siblings and normal controls. (3) Disturbed adolescents perceived fathers as lower than mothers on all measures except unconditional regard.

Consistent with the above findings, low nurturance, less instrumental companionship, excessive protectiveness, greater achievement pressure, and excessive affective punishment were related to parataxic distortion of adolescents (MacDonald, 1973). Studied were 220 children, 11-17 years old. Age and sex of children and of parents was controlled. Children responded to the CRPB and to an instrument which measured self-acceptance and the self-acceptance the respondent believed the average person to have. Distortion was conceptually defined as

"attributing one's low self-acceptance to the average person" (p. 337).

It was concluded that extremes of affective punishment and guilt-induced disciplines resulted in low personal worth. No relationships were found between older males' distortion and low nurturance. It was concluded that excessive nurturance would be detrimental to an older male's self-system development.

Fifty crisis patients at a medical center, half male and half female, ages 12-18, were asked questions relating to the nature of their crisis, parental interactions, parents' responses to the crisis, etc. (Yusin, Sinay and Nikiro, 1972). The sample size was small for each problem area and no controls for intervening variables were employed. Differences in reports were noted between suicidal, aggressive, drug-related psychotic and non-drug-related psychotic patients.

Disciplinary techniques of silence and withdrawal and no physical punishment were reported by suicide patients. These parents were the least expectant of obedience and were the least concerned about the child's social behavior or crisis situation. Aggressive patients reported high demands for obedience and strict and physical punishment. These parents openly expressed anger and love and reacted angrily to the crisis. Drug-related psychotic patients reported the most demanding parents in terms of obedience and achievement. Difficulty in communication was also reported. Psychotic patients' parents were reported to be the most withdrawn and the least likely to express affect.

Observation Studies

Studies which have used only observation techniques as the method of data collection for the parental variables were few at the adolescent level. Those which were found in the research literature drew small samples from varying populations of disturbed adolescents and delinquents.

Eight mother-son pairs were observed during resolution of moral dilemmas and interactions were scored for warmth, dominance, hostility, and conflict. All boys were white, 15 years old, and matched for number of siblings and IQ. Half were delinquent and half were not. Nondelinquents' mothers were found to exhibit more warmth than delinquents' mothers who were more dominant, hostile and disagreeing (Jurkovic and Prentice, 1974). The size of the sample and lack of socioeconomic control limited generalization.

Dominance-passivity patterns between mothers and fathers of 36 male and 30 female outpatient adolescents were observed by the family therapist (Klein, Plutchik, and Conte, 1973). In homes with dominant mothers and passive fathers, boys were found to have the most problems, girls the least. Boys with the least problems had two dominant parents or a dominant father and a passive mother. Girls had more problems with passive mothers and dominant or passive fathers. Each child was best adjusted if their same sex parent was dominant. It was concluded that the identification of boys with dominant mothers was an indication of emotional problems. It was also concluded that the process of

identification was different for boys and girls. Conclusions, however, must be considered in light of small samples, lack of symptomology descriptions, lack of an identification measure and low single observer reliability.

The type of social influence techniques used by parents and resulting interaction were observed during role plays in a study conducted by Alkire, Goldstein, Rodnick, and Judd (1971). Observations of each family member in roleplay were scored into precisely defined, pre-coded categories. Structured interviews had been conducted to determine specific problem areas within each family. Subsequently, 32 intact, middle class, white families were placed into one of four groups, and comparisons were made. IQ was controlled. In a later report, 23 of the original families were tested further. Parents responded at the fantasy level to TAT stories and actual interaction of dyads and triads was observed. From these data, sketches of the parents were inferred (McPherson, 1974).

Results from both studies were: (1) Aggressive-antisocial adolescents had behavioral disturbances which extended beyond the home and involved high activity levels. Observed behavior revealed a discipline method which relied on a parent's legitimate right as an older authority to demand altered behavior and was power assertive and overt. Fathers played at an authoritarian role which was controlling, yet uninvolved. Mothers were dominant and angry. The adolescent was

in conflict with her power. (2) Passive-negative adolescents had behavioral disorders which also extended beyond the home, but were of low activity levels. Parents also used power assertive methods of socialization. Parents were most demanding, yet the least responsive to the child. Fathers were dominant to the point of being overbearing. Mothers were inconsistently supportive. (3) Active family turmoil youths had problems within the home which involved high activity. Informational techniques for behavior change, a more covert form of control, was exercised here. Restrictive informational questions asked often in reactive anger forced the adolescent to justify his behavior. Children reacted with conflict. (4) Withdrawn adolescents' problems were within the home and of low activity. These children also received informational techniques and restrictive questions. Parents were confused, unsure, and competitive with one another. Mothers were dominant, yet nervously and covertly, while fathers were passive, indirect and tentative. Rejection of each family member toward others was discernable.

Researchers suggested that power assertive discipline was indicative of external moral orientations. Informational techniques which questioned the child were indicative of internalization of guilt and control. Interpersonal distance was closer with informational techniques than power assertive techniques.

Combinations of Data Sources

Because of problems witnessed in any single data collection method, the reviewer considered research more likely to be free of error if combinations of methods were used. Those studies which investigated combinations of parental reports, children's perceptions, and observations were few. Two such studies examined normal populations of adolescents for relationships of disciplinary techniques with regard to the affection dimension. The others reviewed were involved with delinquency and were of excellent design.

Children's reports of parental discipline methods and affection and parental responses to hypothetical situations requiring a disciplinary solution were methods used in a study with 444 families with seventh grade children (Hoffman and Saltzstein, 1967). Measures of affection, the use of power assertion, love-withdrawal, and appeals to guilt (induction) were scored from the taped interview responses of parents. Definitions were precise and scoring was based on frequencies of behaviors. Peer sociometric ratings supplied data for guilt, internalization of standards, identification and parental variables.

In the middle class, maternal power assertion was correlated with a weak moral development. Maternal use of induction was related to a high moral development, guilt, and internalization of standards. Few relationships were found between fathers' and children's variables.

These findings were interpreted as support for the hypothesis that empathy provides a powerful emotional and cognitive support for the development of moral controls. The child learns to examine actions and accept responsible for them. Nonassertive discipline with love-withdrawal did not correlate with children's measures. Therefore, the psychoanalytic theory that moral development is facilitated by anxiety over loss of love was not supported. With the use of power assertion, anxiety and guilt were relieved quickly. Non-power assertive discipline, however, led to independence of external sanctions and a high capacity for guilt.

Lack of correlations in the lower class did not support the researchers' hypotheses. However, these parents were not interviewed. Data on discipline and affection were collected only from the children. Interpretation included the speculation that socialization of lower class children may be learned from sources other than parents (e.g., older siblings, other adults in the home, experiences outside the home). Lack of correlations with fathers in both classes was interpreted by the researchers as being indicative of a less direct influence of the father. It was stated that fathers may supply cognitive content of moral values, but not through discipline or affect.

Somewhat congruent findings were found in a study using parental responses to a questionnaire, sons' responses to the PCR and observed interaction in homes (LaVoie and Looft, 1973). Yielding to temptation

was negatively related to communicativeness between middle class adolescent sons and mothers. Mothers who communicated with and asked sons for information concerning their misdemeanors were more resistant to temptation. Eighty middle class, intact, white, protestant families were observed while participating in the Structured Family Interaction Task. A hypothetical situation involving a behavioral misdemeanor by the son was presented to the mother, father, and son separately for responses. The situation was then presented to the triad and was to be discussed until agreement of a solution was reached. Parents' authoritarian, dominant and punitive attitudes were scored. Sons' responses to the PCR supplied measures of parental warmth. The boys were left alone in a laboratory room with objects whose positive reinforcing value had been established and whose approach had been prohibited and punished by a parent. They were observed for thirty minutes for yielding to temptation. Hypotheses concerning the relationships between resistance to temptation and parental attitudes of restriction, authoritarianism, punitiveness, dominance, and warmth were not supported.

The Structured Family Interaction Task was also used in a comparison study with 120 adolescent males and 80 females who were classified into four groups by the Personality Questionnaire designed by Peterson and Quay (Metherington, Stowie, and Ridberg, 1971). Parental variables of warmth, hostility, permissiveness-restriction and anxious-

emotional involvement were studied by means of the Stanford Parent Questionnaire. Data on variables of dominance and conflict were gathered from the observation and questionnaire. All groups were matched with respect to age, education, size of families, birth order, and age. Lack of correlation between observed behaviors and questionnaire attitudes was noted, as was lack of correlation between attitudes inferred from observation and observed behaviors. Both attitude inferential techniques suffered from common judgmental biases.

Results for males and females were reported separately. For males: (1) Delinquents' parents were more hostile and more rigid, yet ineffective in discipline. Parents of nondelinquents were less power assertive, warm, used reasonable discipline and had positive expectations of sons. Dominance of parents was equal. (2) Socialized delinquents' parents were rejecting, yet warm and permissive. Fathers were dominant, mothers submissive, and reported good marriages. There were high demands for conformity, achievement and sex-role fulfillment from fathers. (3) Neurotic delinquents' parents had few expectations and little respect for the boy. Deprivation of privileges and physical punishment were used. Mothers were highly neurotically involved with the boys, permissive and restrictive, indicating ambivalence. Marriages were unstable. (4) Fathers of unsocialized psychopathic delinquents were the least involved and mothers were restrictive. Aggression outside the home was encouraged. Marriages were unstable.

For females: (1) Delinquents' parents were concerned about sexual activities and rejecting. Mothers encouraged aggression. Nondelinquents' parents were warm, well-adjusted, relatively equal in dominance and had positive expectations of their daughters. (2) Socialized delinquents' fathers were dominant, accepting and permissive. No physical punishment was used, but deprivation of privileges was. Girls were inappropriately assertive and disruptive with their fathers. (3) Neurotic delinquents' mothers were dominant, yet passive-acceptant. Both parents were mal-adjusted, cold, restrictive, had low expectations and showed no respect for the daughter. These girls were the most passive. (4) Unsocialized psychopathic delinquents fathers were dominant, unhappy, and rejected their daughters. Expectations were low and conflict between fathers and daughters was high. Mothers were passive, submissive, not powerful and did not trust their daughters. These girls experienced the least restriction.

Duncan (1971) studied sixty socialized and individual delinquent and nondelinquent females. Parents were asked to respond to hypothetical situations requiring discipline. Each parent responded separately, then both were to respond until agreement was reached. Measures of discipline style, acceptance of behavior, dominance, and conflict were scored from the interviews with the use of precise pre-coded categories. The Stanford Parent Questionnaire was also administered. Age of parents, race, income levels, religions, size of family and the size of the city

where the families resided were matched across the three groups.

Parental attitudes which were found to differentiate delinquents from nondelinquents were rejection, inconsistency, passive-acceptance of behavior, deprivation of privileges, physical punishment and instability. Socialized delinquents had parents who expressed conflict openly. Fathers who were dominant, restrictive and demanding were related to girls within the subculture which sanctioned aggression. Individual delinquents had dominant mothers and passive fathers. Their parents held back the expression of conflict. Findings were interpreted to indicate that inadequate models for girls resulted in their seeking out others or in their turning anxiety inward.

Conclusions and Trends

Parental Reports

Findings here were considered only as trends, as results from research were scarce :

1. Parents of delinquent males were more likely to be rejecting, hostile or indifferent than nondelinquents' parents.
2. Parents of delinquent males were overstrict, lax or erratic in discipline.
3. Parents of delinquent males sanctioned antisocial behavior to a greater degree than parents of nondelinquents.
4. Mothers of delinquent males were overprotective and in conflict with their husbands.

Adolescents' Perceptions

1. Many studies indicated that the parental dimension of acceptance-rejection was more highly correlated with male adjustment than the dimension of control. Correlates were found with low affection, understanding and communication, and rejection, hostility and excessive affective punishment.

2. Fathers' acceptance was consistently related to sons' adjustment. Fathers of delinquents were more rejecting than nondelinquents' fathers. Harsh and rejecting fathers were associated with psychopathic delinquents, but only neglecting fathers were associated with social delinquents.

3. Paternal high control and low nurturance was related to sons' adjustment. Correlates were found with junior high school social behavior and delinquency. Trends were also indicated with powerlessness and inappropriate identification.

4. Findings with maternal affection were inconsistent.

5. Maternal acceptance-rejection, but not control, differentiated social from individual delinquent males in several studies. Maternal rejection, hostility and lax control were related to psychopathic delinquency while acceptance and lax control were related to social delinquency.

6. Extreme maternal psychological and physical control was related to psychological problems of males. Correlates were found with protectiveness and symbolic-love discipline.

7. Both mother-centeredness and mothers in conflict with their husbands were related to psychological problems of males.

8. The following trends were also indicated:

a. For girls: Affection from parents was unrelated to junior high school social adjustment. Rather, parental supervision was negatively related to social adjustment.

b. For boys and girls, low empathy, understanding and positive regard were related to psychological disturbance.

c. For boys and girls, excessive affective punishment, low acceptance, protectiveness and high achievement pressure were related to parataxic distortion and low self-acceptance.

d. The degree of psychopathology of delinquent males was more related to rejecting and lax maternal attitudes when fathers or step-fathers were present than when fathers were absent from the home.

e. Neglect, lax discipline, symbolic-love punishment and modeling of withdrawn behavior were related to suicide.

f. Low affect and modeling of withdrawn behavior were related to psychosis.

g. Strictness, high achievement demands, physical punishment and modeling of aggression were related to aggression.

h. Strong demands and authoritarian attitudes without communication were related to drug-related psychosis.

i. No relationship was found between parental control and catholic males' conformity.

j. Parental acceptance was not related to moral development or resistance to temptation. However, maternal achievement demands and paternal strictness were related to moral development of males.

Observation Studies and Combinations of Approaches

1. Many consistent findings indicated the parental discipline style which included strong power assertion with implied rejection and no two-way communication were related to maladjustment. Discipline styles which facilitated communication in an atmosphere of acceptance and reasoning were related to positive adjustment.

a. Maternal power assertion was related to a weak moral development in the middle class. Maternal use of reasoning and guilt induction with acceptance was related to moral development, the capacity for guilt and internalization of standards with middle class children. Warmth and mother-son communication were related to nondelinquency and resistance to temptation.

b. Power assertion with rejection and strong control related to aggressive delinquency.

c. Power assertion with rejection, demands and ambivalence were related to passive-negative delinquency.

2. Consistent findings also indicated that the dominance of the same sex parent was related to psychological adjustment and identification.

3. Delinquency was consistently related to rejection, hostility, extremes of control, ambivalence and parental maladjustment. Non-delinquency of females was related to warmth, positive expectations, parental adjustment and relatively equal dominance between parents.

4. Further findings with subpopulations of delinquents indicated trends:

a. Female delinquency was related to restrictions mostly on sexual activities, passive-acceptance, rejection and unstable homes.

b. Social delinquency of females was related to maternal encouragement of aggression and conflicts with a dominant father. Fathers were inconsistently found to be permissive and accepting in one study, and restrictive and demanding in another.

c. Social delinquency of males was related to strong paternal demands for conformity, achievement and sex-role fulfillment.

d. Neurotic delinquency of females was related to cold, restrictive, maladjusted parents who had low expectations and no respect for their daughters. Mothers were dominant, yet passive-acceptant.

e. Neurotic delinquency of males was related to low parental expectations, deprivation of privileges and physical punishment. Mothers were neurotically involved with their sons and ambivalent.

f. Psychopathic delinquency of females was related to lax discipline and lack of parental expression of emotion. This type of delinquency was also related to maternal lack of trust and paternal rejection, maladjustment and low expectations. Inconsistently, mothers were found to be submissive and dominant.

g. Psychopathic delinquency of males was related to maternal restriction and paternal noninvolvement. These fathers encouraged aggression outside the home. Parents were in conflict.

Adults

Retrospective reports from parents and later adult perceptions of parental child-rearing attitudes have often been used as data in research. Observation studies with parents and adult children were not found in the literature. Data were collected from psychiatric, outpatient and college populations. Two longitudinal studies were also reviewed.

Few conclusions were drawn from these studies. Inconsistency was common; designs with parental reports were limited by social desirability, disturbed adults' perceptions lacked reliability, or relevant variables were not controlled.

Parental Reports

Parents of adults were not readily available to researchers. For this reason, studies which used data from parents were few. Many early studies attempted to determine maternal relationships with schizophrenic

adults. However, findings were limited as instruments used were unreliable, and variables were not controlled. A longitudinal study which began in 1951 with biased data was reviewed. The final study cited was limited in generalizability by a small sample and lack of sex controls.

Mark (1958) found adult schizophrenic males to have mothers who were restrictive and either excessively devoted to or coolly detached from their sons. No controls for education or age of parents who responded to Shoben's scale (1949) were employed. Freeman and Grayson (1955) found male schizophrenics' mothers to be possessive and ignoring, more anxious about masturbation, overprotective and demanding of conformity through subtle domination. Shoben's scale was also used. Zuckerman, Oltean, and Monashkin (1958) studied mothers of male and female schizophrenics with the PARI. Education and age of mothers and sex of the adult offspring were controlled. Schizophrenics' mothers were less strict. Education was interpreted to account for the difference, however, as authoritarian attitudes were expressed less by schizophrenics' mothers who had a higher education.

Toms (1958) compared attitudes of mothers of male schizophrenics and mothers of a control group, and found no differences between them. An MMPI difference showed schizophrenics' mothers to be significantly higher in defensiveness. Education was not controlled. A need for social desirability control was indicated. Normal mothers may have been

more concerned with the social acceptability of their responses, and may not have reported true extremes of "negative" attitudes.

A longitudinal study from Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1959) was conducted when the children were 21 and 22 years old (Rousell and Edwards, 1971). Of the original sample, 27 men and 36 women were included. No differences in the male sample between the early study and this report were significant. However, women from better educated homes with a higher socioeconomic status were more attrited in this sample. All adults were administered the IMPI, and responses were correlated with mothers' interviews 16 years before.

It was concluded from findings that permissiveness, punitiveness and affection were correlated with later psychological adjustment.

- (1) Permissiveness was related to female paranoia, mania, hysteria, and neurosis. One half of these females indicated psychotic symptoms. Warm and punitive mothers also had daughters who indicated paranoia. Researchers concluded that these maternal behaviors resulted in conflict in the female role model, guilt, and overidentification with fathers.
- (2) Fifty percent of the men who had experienced cold mother relationships indicated psychopathology. Interpretation involved interruption of the self-system.
- (3) Men who experienced warm and nonpunitive mothers reported psychotic and anxiety tendencies. Indulgent maternal overprotection was interpreted to lead to such mother-son symbiosis.
- (4) Men from cold and punitive backgrounds showed phobic and psychotic

tendencies. Interpretation of such a castrating experience led to destruction of self-confidence. (5) Both men and women who had neglectful mothers showed inclinations to complain about their health for attention.

Diener (1972) administered the PARI to mothers of 52 adult offspring. These offspring were given the Personal Orientation Inventory as a measure of self-actualization. Maternal comradeship, sharing, and encouraging verbalization all correlated with time-competence, inner-direction and self-actualizing values. Ignoring was negatively related to self-actualization. Avoidance or communication was negatively related to time-competence. There were no controls for intervening variables.

Adults' Perceptions

Research with normal and disturbed populations' perceptions of parental behaviors and related adjustment was plentiful in the literature. General adjustment, ego strength, introversion, internal-external locus of control, schizophrenia, depression, suicide and paranoia were all examined in light of parental correlates. Frequently, differences in parent-child sex pairs were not analyzed or reported separately. While women were included in designs more frequently than at younger ages, more results were reported for male samples.

Differences in memories of parental child-rearing attitudes between 50 males and 45 females of the upper-middle class were reported

(Roberts and Cooper, 1967). A questionnaire was devised to measure types of discipline, consistency, parental agreement and modeling. Factor analysis revealed the following: (1) Same sex parents seemed less kind and more frustrating than opposite sex parents. This was particularly true for older children in the family. (2) Fathers were seen as more positive and nonpunitive than mothers. (3) Mothers were perceived as inconsistent, and not nurturant. They were seen as more psychologically controlling than fathers.

Using the CRPB, Cross (1969) also noted sex differences of 119 female and 99 male college students. Psychological control in the mother-son relationship indicated the most intensity. For all other sex pairs, Factor I was love-hostility and Factor II was firm control-lax control.

Armentrout and Burger (1972) factor analyzed data from CRPB responses of 83 male and 43 female college students. Factor I for all sex pairs was that of acceptance-rejection. Same sex parents' Factor II was psychological control-psychological autonomy. Factor III for the same sex parents was firm control-lax control. The particular mother-son relationship indicated in Cross's study was not duplicated.

A longitudinal study which originated in 1938 when the children were two to three years old was concerned with the general adjustment of men and women, now in their thirties (Siegelman, Block, Block and vonderLippe, 1970). These 171 adults' mothers had been interviewed and

observed in interaction with their children in their homes. Some of the mothers were rated four times by psychologists when their children were approaching five years of age. Others were rated three times, when children were 11, 13, and 15. The men and women were interviewed for perceptions of parental characteristics, family life history and their own general childhood adjustment. The adults were also rated by a psychologist on a Q-sort. Of high optimal adjustment were 24 men and 24 women and of low adjustment were 25 men and 25 women. IQ of adults and socioeconomic status and education were controlled.

High optimal adjusted adults had experienced more democratic discipline and parents who openly and directly expressed emotion. Mothers were of greater intellectual acuity and expressed greater affection for the maternal role. For females, the mothers' intellectual and feminine role competence was highly correlated to adjustment. Maternal satisfaction and values of tenderness and love were most highly correlated with males' adjustment. Low adjustment was related to conflict, discord and dissatisfaction of mothers. Males had neurotic, anxious mothers, and females had neurotic mothers and fathers.

Male and female college students (N=106) were examined for the relationship between adjustment and perceptions of parents. All students were of lower-middle and middle socioeconomic backgrounds. The CRPB was administered, as was the Self-Perception Adjective Checklist. Sex was not controlled. High nurturance and positive involvement were

were related to high positive adjustment. High rejection was related to negative adjustment (Fish and Biller, 1973).

Reuter and Biller (1973) also used the CRPB in a similar study with 172 college males. All were from intact, lower-middle and middle class homes. The Personal Adjustment Checklist and the socialization scale from the California Psychological Inventory were analyzed with parental attitudes. Further correlations with the Family Life Inventory, a measure of perceived paternal availability and absence, were determined.

Nurturance was correlated with the socialization scale and the checklist. Availability was correlated with the checklist. Those males who reported high availability and low nurturance were the most maladjusted. High-medium nurturance with high-low availability all related to high adjustment scores. Low nurturance and high availability was related to low adjustment. Researchers concluded that father absence was a more desirable condition for sons' adjustment than the presence of a passive, ineffectual father.

Siegman (1966) found that 51 college males whose fathers were away from home for a year while the boys were between one and four years old reported more participation in antisocial behavior than 89 males whose fathers had never been away. It was concluded that the failure of early identification with a father resulted in continued acting out as a symbolic assertion of masculinity.

Slater (1962) studied 138 college males. Adjustment variables of ego strength and introversion-extroversion tendencies determined by MMPI scores were analyzed with responses on the Parental Role Patterns Questionnaire. Scale I of the questionnaire, emotional supportiveness and warmth, included variables of acceptance, affiliativeness, rewarding behaviors, coldness and emotional deprivation. Scale II, inhibitory demands and discipline, included strict, demanding, aggressive, authoritarian, permissive and indulgent attitudes. As hypothesized, emotional warmth and supportiveness was negatively related to ego weakness and introversion. Inhibitory demands and discipline was positively related to ego weakness and negatively to introversion. Correlates, however, were small. No cause-effect was implied. Slater contended that perception was not necessarily a true report of behavior. The impulsive child may naturally see a parent as inhibitory, or a punitive parent could produce an impulsive child.

Hollander, Duke, and Nowicki (1973) studied adjustment of college males in terms of interpersonal closeness. The Comfortable Interpersonal Distance Scale and the Thermometer Scale were administered. Maternal physical affection was significantly related to college males' closeness to girls and young persons. No relationships with paternal affection were found.

When college women were studied for adjustment, similar correlates with perceived parental attitudes were found (Hjelle and Smith, 1975).

Self-actualization, measured by the Personal Orientation Inventory, was defined by the following concepts: spontaneity, autonomy, acceptance of self and others, resistance to enculturation, internalized standards, and nonacceptance of imposed traditional customs. Those 40 students who represented extreme scores were administered the CRPB. Self-actualizers had parents who were accepting, notrejecting, granted psychological autonomy, and were firm in control, differentiating them from students who were not self-actualized.

MacDonald (1971) administered Rotter's I-E Scale, a personal history form, and perception of attitude questionnaire, and the Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability Scale to 192 male and 235 female college students from intact families. Correlations between parental attitudes and locus of control were reported: (1) For males, external control was related to maternal protectiveness, deprivation of privileges, excessive affective punishment, and paternal hostility, negative emotion, disapproval and coldness. (2) Male internal control was related to maternal nurturance, predictability of standards and parental physical punishment. (3) Female external control was not correlated significantly to parental variables of control or support. (4) Female internal control was related to maternal achievement standards and predictability of standards.

Roe's PCR, Rotter's I-E Scale and a Contingency of Rewards and Punishment Questionnaire were employed with 53 female and 47 male

college students (Yates, Kennelly and Cox, 1975). No relationships were found with female locus of control in this study. Internal control males saw both parents as demanding, but only fathers punished contingently with loving, verbally approving, and direct-object rewards. Mothers used noncontingent punishment which was related to PCR attitudes of rejection, criticism, casualness and protection. Researchers concluded that the noncontingent mother who showers rewards on the male may do so out of guilt from rejection of the child.

Male and female college students, each 40 in number and half of whom had scored on each extreme on Rotter's I-E Scale, responded to the Family Relations Inventory (Johnson and Kilmann, 1975). Results for each sex again were reported separately. (1) External control male and females perceived restricting, overprotecting and demanding mothers. A trend toward paternal control was also indicated. (2) External males saw fathers as more rejecting than external females, though this was reported only as a trend. Results were interpreted to indicate rejection by fathers to be detrimental to sons, but rejection by mothers and fathers had little effect on daughters.

Populations of disturbed adults have also responded to questionnaires about perceived parental attitudes. Disturbed patients' reports, however, may not be accurate accounts of actual behavior. Rather, distorted perceptions may only be reported. Therefore, this method of data collection alone was not reliable. A combination of collection

methods was used in a study comparing parental attitude reports, perceived behaviors and observed behaviors (Farina and Holzberg, 1967).

Mothers and fathers and psychologically disturbed sons responded to the Child-Rearing Attitude Scale which measured dominance, overprotection and ignoring. Mothers, fathers and sons separately, then together, responded to hypothetical problems of the Structured Family Interaction Task. Dominance behaviors and discipline were observed and scored. The patients, aged 18-40, were all white and from intact families. Three groups were compared: 23 with personality disorders, 24 schizophrenics with poor premorbid adjustment and 26 with good premorbid adjustment. Age and IQ of the patients, size of families and education of parents were controlled.

Results of the study indicated the unreliability of single data collection methods: (1) Few differences were found between attitudes expressed by different respondents. Patients perceived mothers as more overprotective than the mothers reported themselves to be, and fathers were perceived as more ignoring than the fathers reported themselves to be. (2) Observed dominance ratings were positively related to reports by parents of schizophrenic-poor adjustment patients. However, the correlation was negative with reports of mothers of the other two groups. Social desirability contamination with less disturbed mothers was thereby indicated. (3) Patients' perceptions and observed ratings only agreed on the non-schizophrenic group.

Nevertheless, much research has used perceptions of disturbed persons, out-patients and in-patients, for data analysis in parent-child relations. Most findings indicated that rejection, psychological control and high demands of parents were related to maladjustment. However, one study with males indicated a stronger relationship with fathers, while another study with males and females indicated stronger relationships with mothers. Separate findings for males and females were seldom reported.

Heilbrun (1960) studied 26 female schizophrenics, 25 matched females, and their mothers. All responded to the PARI. Controls for age (mean, 36) and maternal education were employed. Mothers' responses to the PARI did not differ between groups. However, schizophrenic daughters saw their mothers as more deviant on authoritarian control variables than did normals. Those variables included breaking the will, martyrdom, seclusion of mother, suppression of aggression and sex, fostering dependency, ascendancy of mothers and acceleration of development. No differences were found in factors of love-hostility or democratic attitudes. Contamination of social desirability of parents and of non-schizophrenic daughters may have accounted for what differences were found. The importance of more than one data collection technique was pointed out. Heilbrun also assumed that different data may have been analyzed had the study been conducted prior to the onset of schizophrenia.

Vogel, Lauterbach, Livingston and Halloway (1964) found results with 80 male neuropsychiatric patients and 117 controls, indicating correlates between paternal rejection and hostility and maladjustment. Normal males perceived fathers as supportive, giving, and encouraging of emotional and intellectual growth. No differences in perceptions of mothers were found between the groups. Findings were interpreted to indicate that these perceptions disrupted the male identification process, making adaptation to a masculine, aggressive life difficult. All males were soldiers, with the groups matched for size of family, race, socioeconomic status, and education.

College applicants for psychotherapy (51 women and 40 men) were asked to report demographic information, to respond to MMPI items and to report perceptions of parental attitudes of controlling, ignoring and independence encouraging (Koutrelakos, 1971). All correlations for males and females were analyzed together. It was found that parental attitudes were significantly better predictors of maladjustment than demographic variables. Encouraging independence was positively related to adjustment. Fathers' trust in the students' judgment was more highly correlated with adjustment than mothers' or fathers' encouragement of independence. As income and the students' age increased, fathers' attitudes became increasingly more related to adjustment than did mothers. Low socioeconomic status and special ethnic groups exerted strong negative influences on adjustment.

Nikelly (1967) also studied college males and females who had applied for psychotherapy. A control group of students, 161 in number, were compared to the 111 psychotherapy students. All students responded to a questionnaire concerning how their mothers had treated them. Psychotherapy patients reported that their mothers did not allow autonomy, nor were they favoring of one child over the other. These students felt rejected and ignored and that their mothers expected repayment. These mothers were demanding and showed little tolerance for the students' shortcomings. The researcher suggested that such intolerance could result in a feeling of alienation which in turn could result in seeking professional help. No differences between sexes or age placement among siblings were found.

Raskin, Boothe, Reating and Schulterbrandt (1971) studied 371 depressed out-patients, ages 16-60, and a control group of 254 persons matched for age, sex and education. All were given a shortened form of the CRPB. On the factor of acceptance-rejection, depressed patients rated both parents as more rejecting than did controls. On the dimension of psychological control, both groups responded that mothers used more control through guilt while fathers would withdraw relations. Mothers' correlations were higher, indicating that mothers used more covert controls, especially positive involvement and control. No differences between groups were found on the firm control-lax control factor.

Suicidal preoccupation was related to retrospective perceptions of 43 students in their first year of college (Lester, 1968). Early absence of fathers, the source of nurturance and punishment, frequency of punishment styles, consistency, fairness, comparison of punishment with peers and disobedient child behavior were variables tapped by a questionnaire. Unfair punishment was reported by 40% of the most suicide preoccupied students. These students, however, were also the most disobedient. As no other relationships were found, it was concluded that punishment style was unrelated to suicidal tendencies.

Heilbrun (1973) developed a model of paranoid behavior related to maternal high control and low nurturance. A male would learn to cope with aversive maternal control in one of two ways. A closed adaptive style of coping included self-protection by avoidance or withdrawal from direct censure. If, however, maternal communication was subtle, high sensitization to evaluative cues was learned. Influencing the source of evaluation was attempted, or meanings were imposed by the receiver. Paranoid tendencies were thereby enhanced.

The PARI was administered to 78 college males and mother-son interaction was observed to determine control and nurturance. The sons were then tested to determine adaptive styles. If, in the presence of maternal aversive control, males made many errors on a task, the open style was indicated. Fewer errors represented avoidance or withdrawal and a closed adaptive style. Selective attention to negative

evaluation, one characteristic of paranoid behavior, was tested by the subjects' recall of adjectives supposedly chosen by their mothers to describe them. Males whose mothers were high in control and low in nurturance who had indicated open adaptive styles showed significantly more selective attention to negative meanings.

A similar study was conducted with 55 college males (Heilbrun and Norbert, 1972). The PARI and observation revealed parental variables of control and nurturance. Subjects were similarly tested for adaptive styles. After completing a checklist as he believed others felt about him, each subject was told that a psychiatrist only agreed with 30% of his responses, and was given the opportunity to change responses. Changes were used as a measure of paranoid tendencies. This characteristic was found more with open style males whose mothers were controlling and not nurturing than with closed style males, or males whose mothers were not high in controlling and low in nurturance. Further support for such open style males to show paranoid tendencies was found in another study with projection of negative traits (Heilbrun, 1972).

Adults Conclusions and Trends

Parental Reports

Only trends were indicated, for these studies were of poor design:

1. Early research indicated a trend that maladjustment of adult male and female schizophrenics was related to maternal maladjustment.

2. Warmth and punitiveness of mothers were related to paranoid daughters.

3. Coldness in the mother-son relationship was related to psychopathology.

4. Indulgence in the mother-son relationship was related to psychotic and anxiety tendencies.

5. Coldness and punitiveness in the mother-son relationship was related to phobias and psychosis, indicating low self-confidence.

6. Neglect of mothers was related to hypochondria of males and females.

7. Acceptance, sharing and communicativeness of mothers was related to self-actualization of both sexes.

Adults' Perceptions

1. Acceptance-rejection was the factor which accounted for the most variance in male and female perceptions. The other two factors of psychological control-psychological autonomy and firm control-lax control were inconsistently the second and third factors.

2. Positive general adjustment was consistently related to acceptance, affection and democratic attitudes of parents. Negative adjustment was related to rejection.

3. Within the mother-daughter relationship, satisfaction and intellectual and feminine role competence, and indications of positive adjustment were related to positive general adjustment.

4. Positive general adjustment of males, including ego strength, was positively related to warmth and support.

5. In the father-son relationship, positive general adjustment and internal control were related to acceptance and presence. External control was related to rejecting attitudes of hostility, disapproval, negative emotion and coldness.

6. Within the mother-son relationship, acceptance, love and tenderness were related to positive general adjustment. Maladjustment of mothers including dissatisfaction with the maternal role, neurosis and anxiety, were related to low adjustment of sons.

7. Paranoid behavior of males was related to mothers' subtle communications, high control and low nurturance.

8. The following trends were indicated in reports of single studies:

- a. Adjustment was related to open expression of feelings.
- b. Parental attitudes of acceptance, psychological autonomy and firm control related to self-actualization of girls.
- c. Internal control of females was related to maternal achievement demands and predictability of standards. A negative correlation with neurosis of fathers was also indicated. External control of women was related to maternal restriction, overprotection and demands.

d. Parents of males who were controlling with inhibitory demands and discipline (power assertion) were associated with sons who had weak ego strength and were extroverted.

e. Internal control of sons was related to paternal acceptance, punishment which was issued contingently, high demands and physical punishment.

9. Conflicting findings in the mother-son relationship were found in relation to external-internal locus of control. Protection, deprivation of privileges and excessive affective discipline was related to external control in one study. In another, restriction, protectiveness and demanding correlates were found. Internal control, however, was related to rejection, criticism, protectiveness, non-contingent rewards, nurturance and predictability of standards.

10. Trends were also indicated in studies of disturbed adults' perceptions:

a. Fathers' variable of trust was more related to adjustment in one study than was psychological autonomy which was found in two studies. As age increased, the correlations with these paternal attitudes became higher than any correlations with maternal attitudes.

b. Parental rejection was related to psychological problems.

c. Paternal variables of acceptance were related to normality while rejection, hostility and maladjustment were related to psychiatric problems of adult sons.

d. Maternal psychological and firm control, ignoring, and lack of tolerance were related to psychological problems of sons and daughters. However, extreme autonomy was related to schizophrenia of daughters.

Summary

The reviewer considered it necessary to examine the recent parent-child research to determine what findings were valid as a result of controls for methodological problems and to draw conclusions from those results. The review of research was organized with respect to age and data source. Under introductory comments, related studies were grouped with regard to parental variables and/or populations which were under investigation. Conclusions based on valid findings and results which were congruent across studies were drawn from each age group and data source. Results from weak designs or which lacked continuity with other research findings were stated as trends.

Chapter 4

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Summary

Research has attempted to support the theory that parental child-rearing attitudes influence child adjustment. It was realized by 1960 that no conclusions were as yet possible, for research was severely limited by methodological problems. It was the purpose of this paper to examine parent-child studies conducted since 1960 with special attention given to methodology to determine what relationships were found to exist between child-rearing attitudes and child adjustment.

Approaches to data collection, the source of data, operational and conceptual definitions of variables, and control for intervening variables were discussed. Each of these areas presented limitations to research. All were of importance in establishing the validity and reliability of parent-child research designs.

It was suggested that combinations of approaches be used until one single approach to data collection was defined so as to be valid. Many sources of information were needed to get a clear view of parental behaviors and child adjustment. It was suggested that conceptual definitions needed to be concise, yet descriptive enough to render replication. Finally, controls for all intervening variables were deemed necessary. Unless variables were conceptually identified, precisely defined, and considered in the context of relevant environmental variables, findings were considered only as trends and conclusions were not drawn.

The review of research was organized with respect to age and data source. Special attention was given to the methodology of each design. Reliability and validity of results were determined, contingent upon previously suggested criteria. Associated studies were grouped with regard to parental variables and/or populations. Conclusions based on valid findings and results which were congruent across studies were drawn for each age group and data source. Results from weak research designs or which lacked congruence with other findings were stated as trends.

Conclusions

Research findings were limited by the validity of designs and the degree of conceptual abstraction of variables. Findings about parent-child relationships were considered, but conclusions and generalizations were limited by the specificity of the ages, sexes and socioeconomic levels, and the particular population samples chosen for investigations.

This review attempted to answer the following questions pertaining to methodology: (1) What effect do children's perceptions of parental attitudes have upon the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment? (2) What effect do parental reports of attitudes have upon the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment? (3) What effect does observed parent-child interaction have upon the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment?

It was concluded that no generalizations could be made from research which employed only one of the above data collection approaches. Because of the inherent problems of all three approaches, it was concluded that a combination of the three would result in correlations which were most reliable. When correlates were found to be common across approaches, generalizations were considered valid.

Relationships found with these three data collection approaches were presented separately in chapter three. Little agreement among data derived from these approaches was found. Operational and conceptual definitions of parental variables often differed among the approaches. Variables derived from parents and children's perceptions were often more abstract than observed variables and therefore were subject to inferential bias. Parental reports and observed interaction data were contaminated by social desirability. Correlates resulting from analysis between parental reports and parents' ratings of child adjustment were concluded to be less reliable than correlates derived from data from independent sources.

This review also attempted to answer the following questions pertaining to the relationships among parental child-rearing attitudes, age and sex of the child, sex of the parent, socioeconomic status and child adjustment:

- (1) What parental child-rearing attitudes toward discipline have been found to correlate with child adjustment?
- (2) What combinations of parental child-rearing attitudes affect the

relationship between discipline and child adjustment? (3) What effect does sex in parent-child pairs have on the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment? (4) What effect does age of the child have on the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment? (5) What effect does socioeconomic status have of the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment?

It was concluded that unless all of these questions were considered together, generalizations would be fallacious. Attitudes toward discipline or combinations of attitudes must be considered in context of age and sex. Where applicable, socioeconomic findings were included.

The acceptance-rejection dimension of parental child-rearing was related to the adjustment of offspring from pre-school through adulthood. Aggression of children up to and including third grade was associated with parental rejection, as were conduct problems of males up through sixth grade. Male juvenile delinquents experienced more parental rejection than nondelinquents. Acceptance, empathy, understanding and positive regard were related to adolescents' psychological adjustment. Rejection was associated with adult maladjustment, while acceptance was related to the positive adjustment of adults.

Maternal acceptance-rejection was found to be related to child adjustment more often than paternal acceptance-rejection. At ages through third grade, maternal rejection was more highly correlated with child aggression than paternal rejection. Variables of social and

psychological adjustment such as appropriate identification and closer interpersonal distance were associated with maternal acceptance. As mothers moved from neglecting to rejecting, delinquency became more pathological in nature.

Paternal acceptance and affection were related to the appropriate identification of daughters through sixth grade. Neglecting and harsh fathers were more likely to have delinquent rather than nondelinquent sons.

The firm control-lax control dimension of parental behavior was also found to be related to child adjustment. However, the relationships were not consistent with age. More congruent findings were found with young children.

The control dimension was studied at the youngest age level in terms of high punishment-low punishment. Young children through third grade who were punished more severely for aggression were more apt to be aggressive. This relationship was especially strong for fathers. Also at this age, physical punishment was related to aggression. However, at ages beginning at fourth grade, punishment was related to prosocial behaviors. Maternal punishment was related to older boys' dislike of aggression and punishment by either parent was related to boys' introversion.

Permissiveness, or lax control, was related to aggressive and dependency behaviors through the sixth grade. Preadolescents were also

apt to exhibit negative social adjustment. Firm control, on the other hand, was related to positive social adjustment and conformity. This was particularly true with maternal control. Extremes of lax or firm control, however, were related to psychological maladjustment of children through sixth grade.

Male juvenile delinquency was also related to extremes of lax or firm control. Other findings with adolescents and adults were conflicting. For adolescent girls, firm control was related to nondelinquency. However, restriction of activities and control through supervision were negatively related to social adjustment. Firm control was related to the positive adjustment of adults.

As acceptance-rejection was the parental dimension identified as the one which accounted for the most variance, its influence along with other dimensions was evident. Firm control in the context of acceptance and firm control with rejection have also been found to correlate with child adjustment.

At younger ages, through sixth grade, firm control which was rejecting related to weak moral development. If discipline was accepting and empathic, positive social and psychological adjustment and appropriate identification of both sexes were found as correlates.

Similarly, at the adolescent level, power assertive discipline, which implied firm control, rejection and inhibition of two-way communication was associated with an external locus of control, weak

moral development, nonconformity, and delinquency. These findings were especially true for mothers and children in the middle class. Paternal demands with harshness and neglect, or high control and low nurturance, were associated with sons' feelings of powerlessness, inappropriate identification and the likelihood of delinquency. When empathic discipline included open communication, appeals to guilt, reasoning and understanding, correlates of the capacity for guilt, internalization of standards, a high moral development and nondelinquency were found.

Psychological control which included intrusiveness, protectiveness, possessiveness, parental direction, negative evaluation and nonencouragement and no trust, was related to maladjustment. Girls through sixth grade who experienced maternal psychological control were likely to be psychologically disturbed and anxious, and to show signs of inappropriate identification. Maternal psychological control and parental lack of trust and encouragement of independence were related to the degree of psychopathology of delinquents.

Psychological autonomy, which included the encouragement of individuality and trust, was related to positive adjustment of adolescents and adults. However, both extremes of psychological control and autonomy were related to male juvenile delinquency and adult maladjustment. Extreme maternal affective punishment, in particular, was related to maladjustment of adolescents, male and female.

The consistent and congruent correlates found in research with dominance of either parent, parental conflict; strong affectional ties with mothers, inconsistent and arbitrary discipline and maladjustment of both parents, implied to the reviewer a model of male maladjustment.

Consistent findings with boys through the sixth grade indicated associations with paternal dominance and the appropriate identification of sons. Dominance of mothers and/or passivity of fathers was related to inappropriate identification. Conflicts between parents studied at the elementary and high school levels were related to aggression and juvenile delinquency. Also with delinquents, mothers were often neurotically involved with their sons and allied with them against their fathers.

Strong affectional ties and rejection, firm control, psychological control and extreme affective punishment of mothers were also related to male delinquency and the degree of psychopathology in delinquents. Fathers were rejecting, neglecting and demanding with delinquent sons.

Ambivalence, inconsistent discipline and parental maladjustment, particularly mothers', were also associated with conduct and personality problems through adulthood, though this research was not conclusive. One study indicated that if a mother were rejecting and lax, the sons' adjustment was more positive if the father were not present.

Interpretation of these findings included the importance of inappropriate identification with a father figure, and the relationship

of a maladjusted mother who exerted strong, yet arbitrary and noncontingent control over her son through rejection and affection in the etiology of male psychopathology and/or delinquency.

Additional conclusions which were drawn from the review of research were not as strongly supported by the findings:

Evidence that the modeling of altruistic behaviors and maladjustment occurred with children through the sixth grade was found. Effects of modeling of positive expectations of self, coping styles of withdrawal and maladjustment were also found with adolescents.

The combination of paternal dominance and maternal submission was related to psychological problems of young females.

Adult studies concerned with the maladjustment of parents, primarily mothers, indicated that unclear communications, excessive affective punishment, dissatisfaction with maternal and feminine roles, anxiety and consistency of discipline may be related to the maladjustment of men and women. However, these findings were yielded by research which was weak in methodology.

The combination of behavior therapy techniques of time-out, negative attention and non-repeated commands was necessary for sustained behavior change with young oppositional children.

Little evidence was found to indicate socioeconomic differences in child-rearing values or styles of discipline. Relationships between parental child-rearing attitudes and child adjustment were not influenced by socioeconomic status.

No cause-effect can be implied from the research reviewed. The influence of the child on parental child-rearing attitudes and multiple influences from siblings, peers and other adults were not controlled.

Recommendations

The task of critically reviewing the parent-child research from 1960-1976 has suggested to the reviewer several ways in which future research might be improved.

Parent-child research needs improvement in methodology. More carefully defined populations and subpopulations need to be studied. Data collection instruments need to be improved to avoid inferential bias and response set contamination. Research needs to control for a broader range of relevant parental variables. Data should be collected from several sources, utilizing several collection approaches, analyzed separately and compared. More research should be longitudinal and cross-national.

Intervening variables must be controlled. Age must be controlled, preferably in one to two year intervals. Research with female children was sparse. If designs are to include male and female children, sex must be matched and/or controlled in analysis. Parent-child sex pairs must be separated in analysis. Socioeconomic status needs to be controlled in terms of education and occupation. Demographic variables such as size and sex composition of families needs to be controlled.

Until these recommendations are acted upon, it is heuristically advantageous to consider all conclusions as hypotheses for further research.

Finally, J. E. Anderson wrote:

I feel we are essentially a biological science, studying an open-ended living system of extraordinary complexity. We cannot hope for the extreme condensation of modern physics, the equation of a living organism; if such could be written, would fill many blackboards. We have done much cataloging and describing and must continue to do so. But this is not enough; we must move on to the first order generalizations that are close to our data and then to those of the second, third, and Nth orders. Whenever we can substitute experimentation for description we will move ahead. But let us not assume that a theoretical model erected for a limited portion of the relational system is the equivalent of the model for the whole. We need better methodology; we need better theory; we need more adequate symbolic systems if we are to picture and conceptualize.....the complex manifold that we know as the human being (1956, pp. 195-196).

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