

PERCEPTIONS OF AMERICAN INDIAN ADOLESCENTS
CONCERNING THEIR FATHERS

By

GLEND A LEE RIDDLE
"

Bachelor of Science

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, Oklahoma

1963

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
May, 1975

Thesis
1975
R543p
cop.2

SEP 12 1975

PERCEPTIONS OF AMERICAN INDIAN ADOLESCENTS
CONCERNING THEIR FATHERS

Thesis Approved:

Rich Stinnett

Thesis Adviser

Althea Wright

Bernice Kopel

D. N. Durhan

Dean of the Graduate College

916419

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer is sincerely grateful to Dr. Nick Stinnett, Associate Professor of Family Relations and Child Development, for serving as her adviser. His time, patience and encouragement were given freely throughout the study.

Appreciation is extended to Dr. Bernice Kopel, Assistant Professor, Food, Nutrition and Institution Administration, for her suggestions and criticisms of the manuscript; and Althea J. Wright, Assistant Professor of Family Relations and Child Development for her participation in the study.

My appreciation goes to all the students at Chilocco Indian School and the Guidance and English Departments for their cooperation in the study. It is hoped that the research will be helpful to the administration and faculty of that school.

A very special portion of my appreciation goes to my family, especially to my husband and daughters for their support of this project. Also to my parents I express thanks for support and encouragement throughout my educational endeavors. Thanks is also extended to my husband's parents for their encouragement and help with the children.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Problem	1
Purpose of the Study	2
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	4
Historical Aspects of American Indian Family Relationships	4
Influence of Fathers on Daughters' Development and Adjustment	5
Influence of Fathers on Sons' Development and Adjustment	8
Effects of Father Absence	11
Sons' and Daughters' Perception of Fathers	13
III. PROCEDURE	16
Selection of Subjects	16
Construction of Instruments	16
Analysis of Data	17
IV. RESULTS	19
Description of Subjects	19
The Item Analysis	21
Perceptions of Indian Adolescents Concerning Family Relationships and Father Responses to Itkin's <u>Attitudes Toward Parents Scale (Form F)</u> Items	21
<u>Scale (Form F)</u> Items	24
Examination of Hypothesis	34
V. SUMMARY	47
Conclusions and Discussion	49
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	52
APPENDIX	57

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Characteristics of the Subjects	20
II. Perceptions of Indian Adolescents Concerning Family Relationships and Father	22
III. Responses to Itkin's <u>Attitudes Toward Parents Scale</u> (Form F) Section I	26
IV. Responses to Itkin's <u>Attitudes Toward Parents Scale</u> (Form F) Section II	27
V. Responses to Itkin's <u>Attitudes Toward Parents Scale</u> (Form F) Section III	30
VI. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Sex	35
VII. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Age	36
VIII. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Tribe	36
IX. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to With Whom Subject Resides	37
X. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Education of Subject's Father	38
XI. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Residence for Major Part of Life	39
XII. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Occupation of Respondent's Father	40
XIII. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Childhood Happiness	41
XIV. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Source of Parental Discipline	42

Table	Page
XV. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Type of Discipline Received	43
XVI. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Masculinity of Father	43
XVII. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Person Making Important Decisions in Family	44
XVIII. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to the Amount of Time Spent With Father	45
XIX. F Score Reflecting Differences in Mean Itkin Scale Scores According to Number of Siblings in Family	46

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

The role of the father in the family appears to have extensive influence in the process of both masculine and feminine identification and personality adjustment of the children within the family. The father's function in the American Family has been largely unexamined. According to Nash (1965) in his review of the literature concerning relationships between fathers and their children, investigators have neglected the father's role in childrearing. The lack of research is partly due to the belief that a child's identification with his sex role is primarily the result of interaction with the parent of the same sex. A review of over two-hundred studies of parent-child relationships which were reported in the literature during the decade of the sixties by Walters and Stinnett (1971) confirms the lack of scientific studies concerning the father-child relationship. As men assume increased responsibility for child-rearing, the need for more research on the father-child relationship becomes apparent (Ostrovsky, 1959; Biller, 1972).

A father adds a specifically feminine element to a girl's initial expressiveness by appreciating her not simply for being good, but for being attractive (Tasch, 1952). Kagan and Lemkin (1960) found that

girls could communicate with their fathers better than boys could communicate with their fathers. Nash (1954) suggests that strong attachments between fathers and daughters are less adverse to a girl's normal personality development than weak attachments. Johnson (1963) corroborates the view of Nash and, in addition, suggests that the girl's normal development of sex-role orientation depends upon her identification with the father.

There is little research on the relationship of the American Indian Father with his children. The American Indians are becoming an increasingly problematic minority group whose problems will continue to influence society and each new generation of Indians (Sebald, 1968). Senate Subcommittee hearings in 1968 revealed that the suicide rate among teenagers at Fort Hall, Idaho, may be as much as 100 times the national average (Mills, 1971).

Psychological problems such as aggressiveness, personality disorders, and insecurity have been observed among contemporary American Indian youth. These psychological problems are often due to the fact that neither the white nor the American Indian culture is fully meaningful and acceptable to them (Gentry, 1973). Research needs to be done to see if these problems may have their roots in the parent-child and family relationships experienced by American Indian youth.

Purpose of the Study

The general purpose of this study was to gain greater knowledge of the perceptions of selected Indian youth concerning their fathers and relate these perceptions to various psychological and sociological factors which were found to be relevant in the literature. It is hoped

that such knowledge might provide greater insight into the problems and needs of American Indian youth.

The study was designed to examine the hypotheses that no significant differences exist in perceptions concerning fathers among respondents classified according to: (a) age, (b) sex, (c) tribe, (d) with whom subject resides when at home, (e) education of father, (f) residence for major part of life, (g) father's occupation, (h) happiness of childhood, (i) source of parental discipline, (j) type of discipline, (k) masculinity of father, (l) person making important decisions in family, (m) amount of time spent with father, (n) number of siblings.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Historical Aspects of American Indian Family Relationships

Historically, the Oto Indians began a child's identification process at an early age. A rich father would present the child with horses to give away. The horses were given away at dances or other public ceremonies. Even though the child was too young to realize what he was doing, this was the way he came to identify himself with his father and his father's prestige in the community (Whitman, 1937).

Children of the Oto are never whipped or subjected to harsh discipline. The most drastic discipline is the throwing of water over a child if he needs discipline. The Fox of Iowa also douse their children with cold water when they misbehave (Whitman, 1937; Linton, 1940). Whitman (1937) and Linton (1940) stated that an Indian child's attitude toward the parents is one of affectionate respect.

Benedict (1938) states that the Zuni babies are very often fondled by the adult males. They carry them and hold them in their laps in the evenings, but never discipline the children. All Zuni discipline is done by the females of the family.

Indian tribes of the Northwest Coast feel that as parents they should not deny their children anything and seldom punish them. Lewis

(1970) found as the toddlers enter the period of early childhood, the child's conflicts with his parents are mild and few. The Pueblo people treat their infants in a loving, gentle, permissive manner. They are nursed when hungry, picked up whenever they cry, given very gentle toilet training and never spanked or slapped (Driver, 1970).

Sebald (1968) indicated that the Indian adult and child are essentially equals in terms of relationships which never change through their lifetime. In white society such equality in relationships tends to exist only between age peers.

Havighurst (1970) reported that family loyalty and family solidarity of many Indians often give the children a sense of security.

Zimmer (1970) indicated it is very important for Indian children to learn to accept and understand themselves and become competent in this modern world. La Farge (1966) noted that Indians in general want to progress. They want to remain Indian and at the same time be competent in the modern world.

Influence of Fathers on Daughters'

Development and Adjustment

Studies indicate that females who identify with their fathers were not independent of their parents' standards. Doherty (1969) concluded that girls would identify with the parent whom they perceived as the most accepting of their daughters.

Fish (1969) noted that girls whose fathers were relatively unavailable were less feminine than girls whose fathers were moderately or highly available. Some indications were found that the attitude of the father is related to the adolescent daughter's self perception.

Fish and Biller (1973) found that female children in families in which the father is relatively uninvolved and rejecting will have more difficulties in personality adjustment than female children in families in which the father is warm and accepting. The father's influence on his daughter's personality development may be indirect in terms of his relationship with his wife since she is a model for the daughter's sex role development (Biller and Weiss, 1970). These investigators also noted that "Feminine behavior in the girl seems to be highly related to how the father devines his role as a male to his daughter and how he differentiates his masculine role from her feminine role" (p. 82). A positive relationship appears between the amount of time the father spends constructively interacting with his daughter and the self-identity of the daughter. The various reinforcements of the father in the father-daughter relationship foster the development of sex-role learning in the growing child. A basic part of the girl's sex-role development appears to be a positive concept of her femaleness. The father may aid in the development of a positive feminine identity of his daughter by regarding her as a female and by reinforcing societal acceptable feminine behavior. Wright and Tuska (1966) supported this notion when they stated that a necessary ingredient for development of a girl's feminine feeling was learning to interact in a complimentary manner with her father.

Hall (1963) found that the higher the daughter's identification with her father, the more feminine her vocational interest tends to be. Career orientated women tended to evaluate themselves as they evaluated their fathers rather than their mothers, and they did not perceive themselves more similar to their mothers, but more similar to their

fathers.

An expressive relationship between fathers and daughters does not occur as frequently in the lower-class as in the middle-class. Elder and Bowerman (1963) found that the lower-class father seems less likely to give his daughter the pleasure that is inherent in an affectionate, expressive relationship, especially if his family includes sons as well as daughters. Regarding father-daughter relationships in relation to the size of the family, Elder and Bowerman also found that the lower-class girl from a large family was more likely to perceive her father as authoritarian and both parents as less communicative, more controlling, more given to physical punishment and less likely to express praise than was the case in smaller families.

Bing (1963) found that city fathers tend to have more rapport with their daughters during their early years than rural fathers do. According to Bing, this finding may indicate that urban fathers may now be more important than mothers for their daughter's general cognitive development.

Mead (1965) reports the father's relationship with his daughter is never the same as his relationship with his son. Girls usually have a more affectionate, warm relationship with their fathers.

Wright and Tuska (1966) indicate that "feminine" women view their fathers more favorably than "masculine" women and that through childhood "masculine" women feel less understood by their fathers.

Papenfuhs (1974) concluded from a study of delinquent girls that almost half of the delinquents considered themselves as average or above in masculinity. None of the non-delinquent control group considered themselves masculine.

According to Mead (1965) a daughter treated with a mixture of roughhousing, understanding, and unthreatening silence will discover that she is cherished because she is a girl and will learn to trust herself with men and expect that men will be strong and protective in their care of the female.

Influence of Fathers on Sons¹

Development and Adjustment

It is becoming increasingly clear that mothers and fathers have a very different impact on their sons and daughters and that the intensity of their influence varies throughout the period of childhood and adolescence (Walters and Stinnett, 1971). Becker (1960) concludes that his findings point emphatically to the importance of the need for more systematic study of the role of the father in child development. He found that if the father's conception of his ideal relationship is loving, democratic and emotionally mature, the child is rated by his mother as being better adjusted, outgoing, and less demanding. Further, the hypothesis that a child's personality problems are related to paternal maladjustment and autocracy and are independent of maternal behavior was partially supported.

There is considerable evidence contending that a boy's relationship with his father may influence peer relationships. A son's warm companionship with his father was found by Hoffman (1961) to be conducive to good peer adjustment for the son. Benson (1968) has pointed out that the father may be of great importance in determining his son's acceptance in the peer group because the father promotes masculine habits that may foster or interfere with his acceptance by other boys.

Carlson (1963) found that children identifying with supportive parents tend to be more acceptable by their peers, more self-accepting, and less dependent upon current social relationships. Gray (1957) found that boys who were rated high in acceptance by their peers to be strongly identified with the appropriate sex role which is a function of identification with the father. Similarly, Payne and Mussen (1956) observed that boys who were strongly identified with their fathers were calmer and more friendly in their social relationships than boys who were identified less thoroughly with their fathers.

Helper (1955) observed that boys who conspicuously modeled themselves after their fathers were likely to be rated high in social acceptance and adjustment in high school. Similarly, boys who perceived themselves to be more like their fathers than like their mothers were found to be regarded more favorably by their peers (Gray, 1959). Lynn and Sawrey's (1959) finding indicated how important the father is to the son since they found that father-absent boys showed deficiencies in their peer adjustment.

Examining the parent role as a function of the parent's sex, Emmerich (1962) found that fathers are less nurturant than were mothers and various other studies have suggested that boys are perhaps more susceptible than are girls to parental influence. The stated theories combined may explain the higher frequency of schizophrenia, delinquency, stuttering, and reading and behavior problems in boys (Medinnus, 1967).

In a study relating parental role structure and adolescent behavior, Bronfenbrenner (1961a) found that: (a) both responsibility and leadership are fostered by relatively greater salience of the parent of the same sex, (b) when fathers are the principal disciplinarian, boys

tend to be more responsible. Bronfenbrenner (1961b) in another study found boys were much more likely to reap the ill effects of parental discipline and support.

A recent study of children's behavior involvement with parents by Livson (1966) showed that significantly more sons than daughters showed high involvement with their fathers. While involvement with the fathers of girls was a function of the level of parental involvement, there was no direct relationship for boys between any aspect of the father's behavior and the son's involvement.

In examining the interpersonal correlates of religious behavior, Cooke (1962) found that the amount of religious behavior of the subjects was found to vary in accordance with the subject's perception of the degree of devoutness of their mothers. The degree of devoutness of the fathers did not vary with the sons' religious behavior.

Shaw and White (1965) examined the relationship between child-parent identification and academic under-achievement among rural and urban high school students. Male achievers were found to have identified much more closely with their fathers than they did with their mothers. Male achievers, as well as their fathers, revealed very high self-perception.

The father-son relationship is pointed out in the following research as having a definite effect on homosexuality in males. A large portion of homosexual males report unsatisfactory parent-child relationships and father absence more often than those in the nonhomosexual control group. Edwards (1964) published results supporting the hypothesis that fathers of homosexuals are low in nurturant behavior, but did not support the hypothesis that they are nonpunishing. Fathers were

found to be low in the amount of restraints imposed upon their sons.

Further examinations of homosexuals were made by Nash and Hayes (1965). The investigators concluded that physical absence of the father is not the crucial factor differentiating passive and active homosexuals since more active homosexuals claimed that they did not get along well with their fathers. More passive homosexuals felt that their fathers had been neglectful of them, lacked the affection of their fathers, disliked their father, were afraid of their fathers, and believed their parents would have preferred them to have been a girl.

Effects of Father Absence

The research concerning the impact of paternal deprivation upon children has indicated a correlation of several factors. Bronfenbrenner (1968) has pointed out that not only does father-absence have a direct effect on children, but there is indirect effect of the mother's resultant behavior from the husband's departure.

Several investigators have revealed that boys from father-absent homes are more dependent as well as more willing to accept authority from other boys from homes that are intact (Stolz, 1954; Lynn and Sawrey, 1959; Bronfenbrenner, 1961a; Bach, 1964).

Benson (1968) has stated that the fatherless boy will experience particular difficulties in sexual behaviors. Nash (1965) also indicates that boys reared without a father figure often fail to acquire masculine attitudes. Reuter and Biller (1973) found personality adjustment was strongly associated with the amount of time the father spent at home. Thus, it appears that paternal deprivation affects children's consequent behavior and personality.

If the deprivation is caused by death it will have little adverse effect upon children, whereas his absence due to separation or divorce is more detrimental (Illsley and Thompson, 1961). Santrock (1972) concluded that father absence due to divorce, desertion, or separation had the most negative influence in the initial two years of the child's life for both boys and girls. Father absence due to death was most detrimental when it occurred in the six to nine year old period of the boy's life. Father-absent boys consistently performed more poorly than father-absent girls and father-present boys. Remarriage of the boys' mothers who were divorced from, deserted by, or separated from their previous husband in the initial five years of the son's life had a positive influence.

There are many consequences of father-absence upon children. One serious consequence is delinquency. The statement that the father's behavior is more significantly related to the delinquent than the behavior of the mother is supported by Grygier, Chelsey and Tutters (1969). They add: "An inadequate father image seems more likely to contribute to delinquency than a faulty mother image" (p. 222).

Warren and Palmer (1965) found that ninety-eight percent of the delinquents they studied had no father substitute, while only seventeen percent had no mother or mother substitute. Barker and Adams (1962) point out that this is also true in situations where the father may be present but fails to function as head of the household.

The non-functioning father may in fact produce a higher proportion of delinquents, drug addicts, unwed mothers, prostitutes and more cases of psychosomatic illnesses than father-absent families (Clausen, 1961). Benson (1968) believes that by remaining present in the home,

non-functional fathers may actually cause a great deal of harm.

Miller (1972) found in a study of unwed mothers that fathers were generally passive or absent from the home and their relationship with their daughters is not a favorable one. A further study by Reige (1972) in regard to delinquent girls found that they tend to feel embarrassed to display affection openly toward their fathers. They also have experienced separation from their fathers and felt that their mother gave them more love and praise than did their father.

Another consequence of father-absence was found by Pedersen (1966) in a study of the relationships between father-absence and emotional disturbance in male children. The data indicate a significant relationship between father-absence and emotional disturbance in male children.

Walters and Stinnett (1971) concluded that studies have indicated that father-absence is associated with lower masculine identification of male children. The longer the father-absence and the younger the age of the male child when the father leaves, the greater the impact the absence seems to have on the child's masculine identification.

Sons' and Daughters' Perception of Fathers

Kagan and Lenkin (1960) examined children's perceptions and found that fathers were perceived as more fear-arousing, more confident, and more punitive than the mothers were perceived. Concerning sex differences in children's perceptions of parents, boys and girls chose the same sex parent as the model they most wished to emulate and they chose the same sex parent as the one they "liked the best." The children also chose the opposite sex parent as the parent who "kissed" the most.

Both boys and girls tended to perceive the father as more punitive. Stinnett, Farris and Walters (1974) found twice as many males as females reported the father to be the primary source of parental discipline. The girls in comparison with the boys perceived the father as being both more punitive and more affectionate. The investigators noted that the findings showed that girls indicated a desire to be like mother, but at the same time they perceived the father as wiser and stronger. Perceiving the father as stronger and wiser may suggest that girls may have an anxiety-arousing identification because their identification model, the mother, is perceived as the least competent of the two parents or the mother may be competitive with the girls.

Kagan, Hoshem and Watson (1961) investigated symbolic conceptualizations of parents among children ranging in age from six to eight. Boys and girls agreed that the father, in relation to the mother, was stronger, larger, more dangerous, dirtier, darker, and more angular. The girls were more likely than the boys to view the mother in a nurturant light, while the father was viewed in a hostile light. The girls labeled that father as more punitive and meaner than the mother, while the boys did not make this distinction between the parents. However, a study by Frankel (1965) found that boys expressed more positive feelings toward the mother than toward the father. Stinnett, Farris and Walters (1974) found a greater proportion of male students than female students perceived the mother to be the source of most affection during childhood. More female students reported both mother and father about equally as the source of most affection during childhood.

The feelings expressed by rural youth were studied by Vaughn

(1966). His respondents indicated that the father was basically viewed as an authority figure.

Serot and Teevan (1961) studied the perceptions of the parent-child relationship and its association to child adjustment. The results obtained provide support for the hypothesis that the well-adjusted child perceived his parent-child relationship as relatively happy, while the maladjusted child's perception of his parent-child relationship is far from ideal. In a recent study Stinnett, et al. (1974) found a tentative conclusion that adolescent girls seem to have more positive and supportive parent-child relations than do boys. This finding indicates that parents respond to the sexes differently because of sex role expectations.

The perceptions of delinquent girls were shown by Papenfuhs (1974) to show their fathers as not loving them very much. In regard to Indian adolescents, Bunch (1973) reported that more than 17 percent had no contact with their fathers. However, a majority of the respondents stated they had a very close or average relationship with their fathers during childhood.

Brooks (1972) found that most Mexican-American youth considered themselves very close to their fathers. The majority believed they were treated fairly, that their fathers were admirable and were among their best friends, and that their fathers considered rearing of children the most important job in life.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

Selection of Subjects

The subjects consisted of 173 American Indian adolescent boys and girls enrolled in Chilocco Indian School, Kay County, Oklahoma. The student body (200) at Chilocco represents 24 states located geographically across the country. Approximately 96 different tribes were represented by the students. The student must be one-quarter Indian to be accepted into this federally operated boarding school.

The results obtained from this sample could not be generalized to all Indian adolescents. However, the results could give a representative view of the perceptions of fathers among Indian adolescents attending Chilocco Indian School and other Bureau of Indian Affairs operated schools.

Construction of Instruments

The information used in this study was developed for the purpose of examining the perceptions of adolescent American Indians concerning their fathers. Items included in the questionnaire obtained certain background data from the students such as: age, sex, tribe, with whom subject resides when at home, education of father, residence for major

part of life, father's occupation, happiness of childhood, source of parental discipline, type of discipline, masculinity of father, person making important decisions in family, amount of time spent with father and the number of siblings in the family. Also included in the questionnaire were several questions dealing with the respondent's perceptions of his father.

The Attitudes Toward Parents Scale developed by Itkin (1952) was used. This scale has been designed to measure attitudes toward fathers. It consists of thirty-five items, including 11 items answered "true" or "false". Eight items are multiple choice and 16 personality traits are rated on a five-point scale from "possesses to a very great degree" to "possesses only to a very slight degree or not at all".

Analysis of Data

A frequency and percentage description was used to examine the background characteristics of the subjects as well as the perceptions concerning their family relationships. The chi-square test was used in an item analysis of the Attitudes Toward Parents Scale in order to determine which items significantly differentiated the respondents whose total scores fell in the upper quartile from the respondents who fell in the lower quartile.

Analysis of variance was used on the following classifications to assess any significant differences that might exist in perceptions concerning fathers according to Itkin's Scale:

1. age
2. sex
3. tribe
4. with whom subject resides
5. education of father

6. residence for major part of life
7. father's occupation
8. happiness of childhood
9. source of parental discipline
10. type of discipline
11. masculinity of father
12. person making important decisions in family
13. amount of time spent with father
14. number of siblings

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Description of Subjects

A detailed description of the 173 subjects who participated in this study is presented in Table I. The subjects consisted of 53.22 percent males and 46.78 percent females. Their ages ranged from 13 to 21 with the greatest percent (56.73%) in the group of 16-17 years of age. The respondents were in the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades of Chilocco Indian Schools, Kay County, Oklahoma. Students in the study were classified as to tribe with the Ponca (17.54%) and Papago (7.60%) having the largest percentages.

The majority (54.97%) of the students lived with both of their parents when at home. The larger percentage (50.30%) had not lived a major part of their lives on a reservation while 49.70 percent had lived a major part of their lives on a reservation.

Many of the subjects (43.79%) reported having four to six siblings in the family and 32.54 percent of the subjects reported seven or more siblings in the family. The characteristics of the subjects are summarized in Table I.

TABLE I
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS

Variable	Classification	Number	Percent
Age	14-15	40	23.39
	16-17	97	56.73
	18-19	32	18.71
	20-over	2	1.17
Sex	Male	91	53.22
	Female	80	46.78
Tribe	Ponca	30	17.54
	Papago	13	7.60
	Seminole	10	5.85
	Creek	9	5.26
	Cherokee	8	4.68
	Sioux	7	4.09
	Arapaho	6	3.51
	Chippewa	6	3.51
	Pottawatomie	6	3.51
	Blackfeet	4	2.34
All other	72	42.10	
Residence for Part of Life	On Reservation	85	49.7
	Off Reservation	86	50.3
With Whom Subject Resides When Home	Both parents	94	54.97
	Grandparents	13	7.60
	Mother	42	24.56
	Father	11	6.43
	Other	11	6.43
Father's Education	Graduated from 4-year college	6	3.51
	Had vocational training following high school	16	9.36
	Attended high school, completed grade 9, but did not graduate	28	16.37
	Attended college or university 2 or more years	9	5.26
	Graduated from high school	29	16.96
	Less than grade eight	9	5.26
	Not known	74	43.27

TABLE I (Continued)

Variable	Classification	Number	Percent
Father's Occupation	Tribal related jobs	14	8.19
	Unemployed	13	7.60
	Disabled or retired	15	8.77
	Professionals	6	3.51
	Blue Collar	63	36.84
	Unknown	47	27.49
	White Collar and Service	3	1.75
	Farm people	10	5.85
Number of Siblings	None	5	2.96
	1-3	33	19.53
	4-6	74	43.79
	7 or more	55	32.54

The Item Analysis

A chi-square test was utilized in the present investigation to determine which items on Itkin's Attitudes Toward Parents Scale (Form F) significantly differentiated those subjects scoring in the upper quartile and those subjects scoring in the lower quartile on the basis of total scores. All of the 35 items in the questionnaire were found to be significantly discriminating at the .0001 level, suggesting a strong index of validity and usefulness with Indian youth of the age groups represented in the present study.

Perceptions of Indian Adolescents Concerning Family Relationships and Father

Percentages and frequency counts were used to examine the

perceptions of the respondents concerning various aspects of their family relationships and their relationships with their fathers (Table II).

TABLE II
PERCEPTIONS OF INDIAN ADOLESCENTS CONCERNING
FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND FATHER

Description	Number	Percent
<u>Childhood happiness</u>		
Very happy	46	27.06
A little above average	13	7.65
Average	91	53.53
A little below average	15	8.82
Very unhappy	5	2.94
<u>Type of discipline received</u>		
Allowed to do anything I wanted to with little correction	18	10.59
A moderate amount of being allowed to do as I wished and not being allowed to do as I wished	106	62.35
Usually not allowed to do as I wished and was often corrected	46	27.06
<u>Source of parental discipline</u>		
Father	46	27.71
Mother	52	31.33
Both Mother and Father	68	40.96

TABLE II (Continued)

Description	Number	Percent
<u>Person usually making important decisions</u>		
Mother	41	24.55
Father	48	28.74
Both Mother and Father	64	38.32
Other	14	8.38
<u>Masculinity of Father</u>		
Very masculine	53	32.52
Not very masculine	8	4.91
Average	102	62.58
<u>Amount of time respondent has spent with Father</u>		
Very much	50	30.12
A moderate amount	58	34.94
Very little	49	29.52
None	9	5.42

The majority of the subjects (53.53%) reported an average childhood. Only a small number (2.94%) reported a very unhappy childhood.

The largest percentage (40.96%) reported their discipline to have come equally from their fathers and mothers. Equality between parents in making important decisions was reported by the largest percentage of the subjects (38.32%).

Respondents spent very much (30.12%) or a moderate amount (34.94%) of time with their fathers during their childhood. A few of the subjects (5.42%) reported no time at all with their fathers.

Responses to Itkin's Attitudes Toward

Parents Scale (Form F) Items

Most (56.52%) of the respondents did not consider themselves very close to their fathers, and felt their fathers did not have good reason for requests they might make. Many were uncertain or did not want to be the "same kind of parent" that their father had been. Only 39.51 percent reported they would want to be the "same kind of parent" as their father, while over 60 percent were uncertain or did not want to be the "same kind of parent".

The largest percentage believed that their fathers did not underestimate their abilities, were satisfied with them, had sufficient respect for their opinions and were sufficiently interested in whether or not they had friends.

The majority (65 percent) believed they were treated fairly by their fathers and that their fathers considered the rearing of children the most important job in life. However, subjects did not rate their fathers as admirable or among their best friends.

In terms of getting along with their fathers, 35.03 percent responded "poorly" and an additional 23.57 percent responded "not very well". However, 28.66 percent responded that they feel free to ask intimate questions and 23.57 percent often ask intimate questions. Only 7.69 percent did not respect their fathers while 67.31 percent show respect for their fathers. A large percent indicated that their

father showed pleasure in what his children did, but on the other hand generally were critical (36.60%) and thinking the worst (37.25%) of his children. Subjects generally (48.99%) thought their fathers did not like to spend time with his children, or liked to spend only a little time with them (30.20%).

The respondents generally rated their fathers as unfair, unhelpful and unaffectionate. Subjects did not particularly trust their fathers or feel they were sympathetic to a very great degree. Subjects did not consider their fathers as suspicious, envious, sarcastic, cold or extremely bossy. Responses to each item are presented in detail in Tables III, IV, and V.

TABLE III
 RESPONSES TO ITKIN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD
 PARENTS SCALE (FORM F) SECTION I

Item	True		Uncertain		False	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. I consider myself very close to my father.	48	29.81	22	13.66	91	56.52
2. My father generally has good reasons for any requests he might make.	17	10.62	29	18.12	114	71.25
3. I would like to be the same kind of a parent that my father has been.	64	39.51	36	22.22	62	38.27
4. I believe that my father underestimates my ability.	45	28.13	40	25.00	75	46.88
5. I believe my father finds fault with me more often than I deserve and seems never to be satisfied with anything I do.	37	23.27	20	12.58	102	64.15
6. I believe that my father doesn't have enough respect for my opinions.	31	19.37	30	18.75	99	61.87
7. In my opinion, my father isn't very interested in whether or not I have friends.	31	19.25	18	11.18	112	69.57
8. In my judgment, my father did not treat me fairly when I was young.	31	19.37	25	15.63	104	65.00
9. I believe that my father is one of the most admirable persons I know.	32	19.88	39	24.22	90	55.90
10. My father has been one of the best friends I have ever had.	50	31.25	21	13.12	89	55.62
11. My father considers the rearing of his children the most important job in life.	33	20.75	36	22.64	90	56.60

TABLE IV
 RESPONSES TO ITKIN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD
 PARENTS SCALE (FORM F) SECTION II

Item	Number	Percent
1. My father:		
Takes a very great interest in everything that concerns his children.	4	2.58
Takes a moderate amount of interest in things which concern his children.	18	11.61
Does not take very much interest in things which concern his children.	9	5.81
Takes little interest in things which concern his children.	54	34.84
Takes no interest in things which concern his children.	70	45.16
2. I get along with my father:		
Very well.	10	6.37
Well.	11	7.01
Fairly well.	44	28.03
Not very well.	37	23.57
Poorly.	55	35.03
3. In regard to taking my father into my confidence, I:		
Feel free to ask him intimate questions.	45	28.66
Often ask him intimate questions.	37	23.57
Sometimes ask him intimate questions.	30	19.11
Rarely, if ever, ask him intimate questions.	10	6.37
Wouldn't think of asking him any intimate questions.	35	22.29

TABLE IV (Continued)

Item	Number	Percent
4. Check whichever of the following terms best describes your feelings toward your father:		
I idealize my father.	11	7.05
I admire my father.	16	10.26
I respect my father.	105	67.31
I do not particularly respect my father.	12	7.69
I do not respect my father at all.	12	7.69
5. Check whichever of the following descriptions most nearly fits your father:		
Is always critical of his children, and nothing his children do ever seems to please him.	18	11.61
Is rather critical of his children, and is not often pleased by what his children do.	22	14.19
Is not very critical of his children, but on the other hand, does not show particular pleasure at what his children do.	34	21.94
Often shows pleasure at what his children do, and often praises them for their accomplishments.	56	36.13
Very seldom complains about his children, and is liberal in his praises of them.	25	16.13
6. I consider my father:		
Always willing to think only the best of his children.	11	7.19
Generally inclined to think well of his children.	13	8.50
Neither inclined to think only well or only poorly of his children.	16	10.46

TABLE IV (Continued)

Item	Number	Percent
Sometimes inclined to be critical of his children.	56	36.60
Always ready to think only the worst of his children.	57	37.25
7. My father:		
Never does little things for his children to show affection or consideration.	15	9.68
Seldom does little things for his children to show affection or consideration.	22	14.19
Sometimes does little things for his children to show affection or consideration.	46	29.68
Often does little things for his children to show affection or consideration.	37	23.87
Is always doing little things for his children to show affection or consideration.	35	22.58
8. In my opinion, my father:		
Is so attached to his children that he wants to have them around all of the time.	2	1.34
Enjoys spending some of his time with his children.	12	8.05
Likes to spend a little of his time with his children.	45	30.20
Does not like to spend time with his children.	73	48.99
Dislikes very much spending any of his time with his children.	17	11.41

TABLE V
 RESPONSES TO ITKIN'S ATTITUDES TOWARD
 PARENTS SCALE (FORM F) SECTION III

Trait	Number	Percent
1. <u>Fair</u>		
Very great degree	7	4.86
Greater than average degree	9	6.25
Average degree	40	27.78
Less than average degree	42	29.17
Very slight degree or not at all	46	31.94
2. <u>Selfish</u>		
Very great degree	13	9.03
Greater than average degree	16	11.11
Average degree	19	13.19
Less than average degree	29	20.14
Very slight degree or not at all	67	46.53
3. <u>Helpful</u>		
Very great degree	9	6.25
Greater than average degree	11	7.64
Average degree	25	17.36
Less than average degree	33	22.92
Very slight degree or not at all	66	45.83
4. <u>Sarcastic</u>		
Very great degree	9	6.25
Greater than average degree	14	9.72
Average degree	19	13.19

TABLE V (Continued)

Trait	Number	Percent
Less than average	25	17.36
Very slight degree or not at all	77	53.47
5. <u>Considerate</u>		
Very great degree	8	5.56
Greater than average degree	14	9.72
Average degree	42	29.17
Less than average degree	42	29.17
Very slight degree or not at all	38	26.39
6. <u>Bossy</u>		
Very great degree	22	15.28
Greater than average degree	22	15.28
Average degree	37	25.69
Less than average degree	30	20.83
Very slight degree or not at all	33	22.92
7. <u>Agreeable</u>		
Very great degree	11	7.64
Greater than average degree	17	11.81
Average degree	52	36.11
Less than average degree	43	29.86
Very slight degree or not at all	21	14.58
8. <u>Kind</u>		
Very great degree	10	6.94
Greater than average degree	15	10.42
Average degree	32	22.22

TABLE V (Continued)

Trait	Number	Percent
Less than average degree	42	29.17
Very slight degree or not at all	45	31.25
9. <u>Envious</u>		
Very great degree	8	5.56
Greater than average degree	6	4.17
Average degree	24	16.67
Less than average degree	25	17.36
Very slight degree or not at all	81	56.25
10. <u>Affectionate</u>		
Very great degree	12	8.33
Greater than average degree	21	14.58
Average degree	35	24.31
Less than average degree	43	29.86
Very slight degree or not at all	33	22.92
11. <u>Understanding</u>		
Very great degree	14	9.72
Greater than average degree	16	11.11
Average degree	24	16.67
Less than average degree	47	32.64
Very slight degree or not at all	43	29.86
12. <u>Cold</u>		
Very great degree	10	6.94
Greater than average degree	10	6.94
Average degree	26	18.06

TABLE V (Continued)

Trait	Number	Percent
Less than average degree	23	15.97
Very slight degree or not at all	75	52.08
13. <u>Suspicious</u>		
Very great degree	15	10.42
Greater than average degree	21	14.58
Average degree	32	22.22
Less than average degree	31	21.53
Very slight degree or not at all	45	31.25
14. <u>Sympathetic</u>		
Very great degree	16	11.11
Greater than average degree	24	16.67
Average degree	41	28.47
Less than average degree	33	22.92
Very slight degree or not at all	30	20.83
15. <u>Courteous</u>		
Very great degree	12	8.33
Greater than average degree	17	11.81
Average degree	53	36.81
Less than average degree	33	22.92
Very slight degree or not at all	29	20.14
16. <u>Trustful</u>		
Very great degree	15	10.42
Greater than average degree	8	5.56
Average degree	34	23.61

TABLE V (Continued)

Trait	Number	Percent
Less than average degree	23	15.97
Very slight degree or not at all	75	52.08
13. <u>Suspicious</u>		
Very great degree	15	10.42
Greater than average degree	21	14.58
Average degree	32	22.22
Less than average degree	31	21.53
Very slight degree or not at all	45	31.25
14. <u>Sympathetic</u>		
Very great degree	16	11.11
Greater than average degree	24	16.67
Average degree	41	28.47
Less than average degree	33	22.92
Very slight degree or not at all	30	20.83
15. <u>Courteous</u>		
Very great degree	12	8.33
Greater than average degree	17	11.81
Average degree	53	36.81
Less than average degree	33	22.92
Very slight degree or not at all	29	20.14
16. <u>Trustful</u>		
Very great degree	15	10.42
Greater than average degree	8	5.56
Average degree	34	23.61

TABLE V (Continued)

Trait	Number	Percent
Less than average degree	30	20.83
Very slight degree or not at all	57	39.58

Examination of Hypothesis

Hypothesis I. There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers (as measured by the Itkin Scale) according to:

- a. Sex
- b. Age
- c. Tribe
- d. With whom subject resides
- e. Education of father
- f. Residence for major part of life
- g. Father's occupation
- h. Happiness of childhood
- i. Source of parental discipline
- j. Type of discipline
- k. Masculinity of father
- l. Person making important decisions in family
- m. Amount of time spent with father
- n. Number of siblings

Hypothesis I (a). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to sex. No significant differences were found to exist when the one-way classification analysis of variance was applied to this hypothesis as shown in Table VI. An F score of .05 was obtained, indicating no significant relationship existed between sex of the subject and his perceptions of his father.

TABLE VI
F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO SEX

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Male	90	108.26	.05	N.S.
Female	80	109.36		

Hypothesis I (b). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to the age of the subject. The one-way classification analysis of variance was utilized to determine if there was a significant difference in perceptions concerning fathers according to the respondent's age. Table VII shows an F score of .90 indicating there was no significant difference. These results suggest that age is not a factor contributing to Indian youths' perceptions of their fathers.

Hypothesis I (c). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to tribe. As Table VIII indicates, no significant difference was found when the one-way classification analysis of variance was applied to the hypothesis. An F score of .45 was obtained, which revealed no significant difference existed in the respondents' perceptions according to the tribe in which he was enrolled.

TABLE VII
 F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
 ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO AGE

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
14-15	40	33.71		
16-17	96	41.85		
18-19	32	37.30	.90	N.S.
20-over	2	3.54		

TABLE VIII
 F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
 ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO TRIBE

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Ponca	30	108.50		
Papago	13	111.69		
Seminole	10	89.80		
Creek	9	107.89		
Cherokee	7	130.71	.45	N.S.
Sioux	7	104.71		
Arapaho	6	115.00		
Chippewa	6	108.83		
Pottawatomie	6	118.33		

Hypothesis I (d). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to person with whom the subject resides when at home. When this hypothesis was subjected to the one-way classification analysis of variance, a significant difference was found to exist in Itkin Scale scores according to person respondent resides with when at home. As Table IX illustrates an F score of 3.50 was obtained, indicating that the difference was significant at the .01 level. Those respondents who indicated they resided with both parents expressed significantly more favorable perceptions of their fathers as measured by Itkin Scale scores. The subjects who resided with others (other than grandparents or parents) had the least favorable perceptions of their fathers as measured by mean Itkin Scale scores.

TABLE IX
F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO
WITH WHOM SUBJECT RESIDES

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Both Parents	93	117.85		
Grandparents	13	106.00		
Mother	42	94.05	3.50	.01
Father	11	109.55		
Other	11	90.82		

Hypothesis I (e). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to the education of respondent's father. A significant difference was found to exist in mean Itkin Scale scores according to the education of the subject's father. As Table X indicates, an F score of 2.13 was obtained, indicating that the difference was significant at the .05 level. Those respondents who indicated their fathers had less than an eighth grade education showed the most favorable perceptions of their fathers as measured by Itkin Scale scores. The least favorable perceptions were reported by those subjects who did not know their father's education and those subjects who reported their fathers had vocational training after high school. As Table X indicates there was no consistent relationship between Itkin Scale scores and education of the father.

TABLE X

F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO
EDUCATION OF SUBJECT'S FATHER

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Graduated from 4-year college	6	122.33		
Had vocational training following high school	16	107.13		
Attended high school past grade 9, but did not graduate	28	114.93		
Attended college or university 2 or more years	9	123.33	2.13	.05
Graduated from high school	29	114.76		
Less than grade eight	8	138.63		
Not known	74	98.36		

Hypothesis I (f). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to subject's residence for the major part of life. As illustrated in Table XI an F score of 1.61 was obtained when the one-way classification analysis of variance was applied to hypothesis I (f). The results indicate that there was no significant difference in Itkin Scale scores according to the subjects' residence for the major part of life.

TABLE XI
F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO
RESIDENCE FOR MAJOR PART
OF LIFE

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Major part of life on reservation	85	104.88	1.61	N.S.
Major part of life spent off a reservation	85	112.67		

Hypothesis I (g). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to the occupation of respondent's father. Table XII indicates that there is a significant difference in respondents' perceptions concerning their fathers according to the occupation of the respondent's father. An F score

with a .05 level of significance was found to exist. Respondents' perceptions were highest when fathers held tribal related jobs. Less favorable perceptions existed when respondent did not know his father's occupation.

TABLE XII
F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN ITKIN
SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION
OF RESPONDENT'S FATHER

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Tribal related jobs	14	129.57		
Unemployed	13	106.00		
Disabled or retired	14	109.57		
Professionals	6	101.67	2.54	.05
Blue collar	63	118.19		
Unknown	47	92.43		
White collar and service	3	117.33		
Farm people	10	101.40		

Hypothesis I(h). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to childhood happiness. As Table XIII demonstrates, no significant differences were found when a one-way classification analysis of variance was applied to this hypothesis. An F score of 1.86 was obtained, indicating that no

significant difference existed in perceptions concerning fathers according to childhood happiness.

TABLE XIII

F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO
CHILDHOOD HAPPINESS

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Very happy	46	116.39		
Little above average	13	122.69		
Average	90	107.72	1.86	N.S.
Little below average	15	92.07		
Very unhappy	5	93.40		

Hypothesis I(i). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to source of parental discipline. As Table XIV illustrates when this hypothesis was examined an F score of 7.81 was obtained, indicating a significant difference at the .001 level. Those respondents who reported that discipline came from both parents expressed significantly more favorable perceptions than those who received most of the discipline from their mother or from their father.

TABLE XIV
 F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN ITKIN
 SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO SOURCE
 OF PARENTAL DISCIPLINE

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Father	46	113.54		
Mother	52	92.81	7.81	.001
Both	67	119.43		

Hypothesis I(j). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to type of discipline received. Examination results of this hypothesis are revealed in Table XV. An F score of 6.21 with a level of significance of .003 was found to exist. Mean Itkin Scale scores subjected to the one-way classification analysis of variance show that subjects who were allowed to do most anything with little correction had a less favorable perception concerning their fathers than those who usually were not allowed to do as they wished and were often corrected.

Hypothesis I(k). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to the masculinity of the father. As the F score indicates in Table XVI, there was no significant difference in Itkin Scale scores according to the masculinity of the father.

TABLE XV

F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN ITKIN
SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO TYPE OF
DISCIPLINE RECEIVED

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Allowed to do most anything with little correction	18	81.28		
A moderate amount of doing as I wished and not being allowed to do as I wished	106	114.73	6.21	.003
Usually not allowed to do as I wished and was often corrected	45	105.71		

TABLE XVI

F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO
MASCULINITY OF FATHER

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Very masculine	52	116.27		
Not very masculine	8	95.38	1.25	N.S.
Average	102	109.27		

Hypothesis I(1). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to the person making important decisions in the family. As reported in Table XVII when the one-way classification analysis of variance was used to examine this hypothesis, an F score of 4.94 was obtained, indicating a significant difference at the .003 level. A mean Itkin Scale score of 118.27 was found to exist when respondents' parents made decisions together. Respondents' perceptions concerning their fathers were significantly more positive when important decisions were made jointly by mother and father. The least favorable perceptions of fathers were found to exist when the mother made the important decisions in the family.

TABLE XVII

F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN ITKIN
SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO PERSON MAKING
IMPORTANT DECISIONS IN FAMILY

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Mother	41	92.07		
Father	48	116.15	4.94	.003
Both	63	118.27		
Other	14	100.07		

Hypothesis I(m). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to the amount of time spent with father. Examination of this hypothesis revealed an F score of 10.34 as shown in Table XVIII, which was significant at the .0001 level. Those students who indicated the amount of time spent with their father as very much reported significantly more favorable perceptions of their fathers. Those respondents who indicated none in regard to time spent with father reported the least favorable perceptions of their fathers.

TABLE XVIII

F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN
ITKIN SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO THE
AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT WITH FATHER

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
Very much	50	127.74	10.34	.001
A moderate amount	58	110.60		
Very little	48	97.33		
None	9	68.56		

Hypothesis I(n). There are no significant differences in respondents' perceptions concerning fathers according to the number of siblings in the family. As shown in Table XIX, when the one-way

classification analysis of variance was used to examine this hypothesis, no significant differences were found to exist in respondents' perceptions concerning their fathers according to the number of siblings in the family.

TABLE XIX

F SCORE REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MEAN ITKIN
SCALE SCORES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF
SIBLINGS IN FAMILY

Description	No.	\bar{X}	F	Level of Significance
None	5	100.40		
1-3	33	111.70	.89	N.S.
4-6	73	112.21		
7 or more	55	104.51		

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The general purpose of this study was to investigate the perceptions of selected American Indian adolescents concerning fathers and to relate these perceptions to various psychological and sociological factors which were found to be relevant in the literature.

The respondents were 173 American Indian adolescents enrolled in Chilocco Indian School, Kay County, Oklahoma. The students were all one-quarter or more Indian blood, representing approximately 96 tribes from 24 states located geographically across the country. The data were collected during the month of November, 1974.

The questionnaire included an information sheet for securing various background data on the subjects. Itkin's Attitudes Toward Parents Scale (Form F), designed to measure attitudes toward fathers, was used.

The chi-square test was used in an item analysis of the Itkin's Attitudes Toward Parents Scale (Form F) to determine those items that significantly differentiated the subjects scoring in the upper quartile and the lower quartile groups on the basis of total scale scores. All 35 items in the Itkins Scale were found to be significantly discriminating at the .0001 level, suggesting a strong index of validity and usefulness with Indian youth of the age groups tested. The one-way classification analysis of variance was used to determine if perceptions

concerning fathers were independent of: (a) age, (b) sex, (c) tribe, (d) with whom subject resides when at home, (e) education of father, (f) residence for major part of life, (g) father's occupation, (h) happiness of childhood, (i) source of parental discipline, (j) type of discipline, (k) masculinity of father, (l) person making important decisions in family, (m) amount of time spent with father, and (n) number of siblings in family.

A significant difference at the .01 level was found to exist in the perceptions of Indian adolescents concerning their fathers according to person with whom the subject resides when at home. Those respondents who resided with both parents had the most favorable perceptions of their fathers. The subjects who resided with other than parents or grandparents had the least favorable perceptions of their fathers.

A significant difference at the .05 level was found to exist in the respondents' perceptions concerning their fathers according to the education of the subjects' fathers. Those respondents who indicated their fathers had less than eighth grade education showed the most favorable perceptions of their fathers.

A significant difference at the .05 level was found to exist according to the occupation of the respondents' fathers. Perceptions were most favorable when fathers held tribal related jobs.

A significant difference at the .001 level was found to exist according to the source of parental discipline. Perceptions of fathers were most favorable among those respondents whose parents disciplined them together. Perceptions of fathers were lowest when the discipline came only from the mother.

A significant difference of .003 was found to exist according to the type of discipline received. Those respondents who were allowed to do most anything with little correction had a less favorable perception concerning their fathers than those who were not allowed to do as they wished and were often corrected.

A significant difference was found at the .003 level according to the person making important decisions in the family. Respondents had most favorable perceptions when parents made decisions together. When mothers made the important decisions perceptions of fathers were lowest.

A significant difference at the .0001 level existed according to the amount of time spent with respondents' fathers. Those who indicated the amount of time spent with father as very much had the highest perceptions of fathers and the group indicating no time with fathers had the lowest perceptions of fathers.

There were no significant differences in perceptions found to exist according to: sex, age, tribe, residence for major part of life, childhood happiness, masculinity of father or number of siblings in the family.

Conclusions and Discussion

A major conclusion of the study was that the selected American Indian adolescents in this research did not feel they were very close to their fathers. The present study coincides with the results of Bunch (1973) who found the majority of her sample of Indian adolescents at the same school reported a lack of closeness in regard to the relationship with their father.

Perhaps the lack of closeness with the father may partially be explained by another finding in the study that there was a significant positive relationship existing between the amount of time the respondents spent with their fathers and their perceptions of their fathers. Those spending the greatest amount of time with their fathers had significantly higher perceptions than those spending little time with their fathers. Perhaps the fact that the Indian youth in this study, as well as those in Bunch's study (1973), were attending a boarding school suggests that many are spending little time with their fathers.

An interesting conclusion of this study is that Indian families may be in a transition period from the mother-centered family suggested in the study of Bunch (1973) to one in which parents are on a more equal basis. The largest percentage of respondents stated important decisions were made jointly or by the father much more than by the mother. The largest percentage noted parental discipline came most often from both mother and father.

A major conclusion of the study is that the Indian adolescent who spends a great deal of time with the father and resides with both parents (when at home) who equally share decisions and discipline, tends to have significantly more favorable perceptions of the father.

The finding that perceptions of fathers are more favorable when the father holds a tribal related job may reflect the view of many Indians that if an individual has a tribal related job he is more dedicated to the Indian way of life and is doing something which benefits Indians. This view tends to result in greater esteem and prestige for the person who has a tribal related job and in turn may contribute to the adolescent having more favorable perceptions of the father who

holds such a job. This finding coincides with the research by Bossard (1966) who found that the occupation of a child's father does affect his attitudes toward his father.

Even though the majority of the Indian adolescents in the sample did not consider themselves as having a close relationship with their fathers, the majority did report having great respect for their fathers. This interesting finding is probably due to the fact that traditionally a cultural expectation has existed that Indian children show respect toward their parents (Whitman, 1937; Linton, 1940).

The finding that respondents who indicated their fathers had less than eighth grade education showed the most favorable perceptions of their fathers may be explained by the research of Comer (1970) who found that there is little academic or vocational pressure in the home. Perhaps respondents feel their fathers have remained more traditionally Indian by not seeking higher education.

It is recommended that much more extensive research be conducted concerning the father-child relationships, as well as family relationships in general, among Indian families. Strengths existing in the family relationships need to be identified as well as the problems.

It is further recommended that the present study be replicated comparing the perceptions of Indian adolescents concerning their fathers among Indian youth not attending Indian boarding schools with Indian youth who do attend boarding schools.

The results of this study suggest that there is a need to incorporate family life education in schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The results also suggest a need for community-based parent education programs.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bach, George R. "Father-Fantasies and Father-Typing in Father Separated Children." Readings in Child Behavior and Development. Ed. Celia B. Stendler. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964.
- Barker, Gordon H., and William T. Adams. "Comparison of the Delinquency of Boys and Girls." Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 52 (1962), pp. 470-477.
- Becker, Wesley C. "The Relationship of Factors in Parental Ratings of Self and Each Other to the Behavior of Kindergarten Children as Rated by Mothers, Fathers, and Teachers." Journal of Consulting Psychology, Vol. 24 (1960), pp. 507-527.
- Benedict, Ruth. "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning." Psychiatry, Vol. 1 (Spring, 1938), pp. 161-167.
- Benson, Leonard G. Fatherhood: A Sociological Perspective. New York: Random House, 1968.
- Biller, Henry B., and Denise L. Meredith. "The Invisible American Father." Sexual Behavior, Vol. 2 (1972), pp. 16-22.
- Biller, Henry B., and Stephan D. Weiss. "The Father-Daughter Relationship and the Personality Development of the Female." The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 116 (1970), pp. 79-93.
- Bing, Elizabeth. "Effect of Childrearing Practices on Development of Differential Cognitive Abilities." Child Development, Vol. 34 (1963), pp. 631-648.
- Bossard, H. H. S., and E. S. Boll. The Sociology of Child Development, 4th ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie. "Some Familial Antecedents of Responsibility and Leadership in Adolescents." Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961a, pp. 239-271.
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie. "Toward a Theoretical Model for the Analysis of Parent-Child Relationships in a Social Context." Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior. Ed. John Glidewell. Conference on Community Mental Health Research. St. Louis: Washington University, 1961b, pp. 90-109.

- Brooks, Wilma T. "Perceptions of Spanish American Male Youth Concerning Fathers." (Unpublished Master's thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1972.)
- Bunch, Bonnie D. "Perceptions of Indian Adolescents Concerning Their Family Relationships." (Unpublished Master's thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1973.)
- Carlson, Rae. "Identification and Personality Structure in Pre-adolescents." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 67 (1963), pp. 556-573.
- Clausen, John A. "Drug Addition." Contemporary Social Problems. Eds. Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nesbit. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961, pp. 89-104.
- Comer, Nancy A. "Hokake." Mademoiselle, Vol. 71, No. 6 (Oct., 1970), pp. 158-198.
- Cooke, Terence Francis. "Interpersonal Correlates of Religious Behavior." Dissertation Abstracts, Vol. 23 (1962), p. 1103.
- Doherty, Sister Ann. "The Relationship of Dependency and Perception of Parents to the Development of Feminine Sex Role and Conscience." Dissertation Abstracts, Vol. 30-B (1969), 2415B.
- Driver, Harold E. Indians of North America. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Edwards, Harold Eugene. "The Relationship Between Reported Early Life Experiences With Parents and Adult Male Homosexuality." Dissertation Abstracts, Vol. 24 (1964), p. 4793.
- Elder, Glen H., and Charles E. Bowerman. "Family Structure and Child Rearing Patterns: The Effect of Family Size and Sex Composition." American Sociological Review, Vol. 28 (1963), pp. 891-905.
- Emmerich, Walter. "Variations in the Parental Role as a Function of the Parent's Sex and the Child's Sex and Age." Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, Vol. 8 (1962), pp. 3-11.
- Fish, Kathleen D. "Paternal Availability, Family Role Structure, Maternal Employment, and Personality Development in Late Adolescent Females." (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1969.)
- Fish, Kathleen, and Henry B. Biller. "Perceived Childhood Parental Relationships and College Females' Personality Adjustment." Adolescence, Vol. 8 (1973), pp. 415-420.
- Frankel, Jacob Joshua. "The Relationship of a Specific Family Constellation and Some Personality Characteristics of Children." Dissertation Abstracts, Vol. 28 (1965), p. 2620.

- Gentry, Jerry. "Face to Face With the Forgotten American." The Plain Truth, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Feb., 1973), pp. 36-46.
- Gray, Susan W. "Masculinity-Femininity in Relation to Anxiety and Social Acceptance." Child Development, Vol. 28 (1957), pp. 203-214.
- Gray, Susan W. "Perceived Similarity to Parents and Adjustment." Child Development, Vol. 30 (1959), pp. 91-107.
- Grygier, T., J. Chesley and Wilson E. Tutters. "Parental Deprivation: A Study of Delinquent Children." British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 9 (1969), pp. 209-253.
- Hall, William Joseph. "College Women's Identification With Their Fathers in Relation to Vocational Interest Patterns." (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1963.)
- Havighurst, Robert J. The Education of Indian Children and Youth. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 1970.
- Helper, M. M. "Learning Theory and the Self-Concept." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 51 (1955), pp. 184-194.
- Hoffman, Lois W. "The Father's Role in the Family and the Child's Peer Group Adjustment." Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, Vol. 7 (1961), pp. 97-105.
- Illsley, Raymond, and Barbara Thompson. "Women From Broken Homes." Sociological Review, Vol. 9 (1961), pp. 27-54.
- Johnson, Miriam M. "Sex-Role Learning in the Nuclear Family." Child Development, Vol. 34 (1963), pp. 319-333.
- Kagan, J., and Judith Lemkin. "The Child's Differential Perception of Parental Attributes." Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, Vol. 61 (1960), p. 440.
- Kagan, Jerome, B. Hoshen, and S. Watson. "The Child's Symbolic Conceptualization of the Parent." Child Development, Vol. 32 (1961), pp. 625-636.
- La Farge, Oliver. The American Indian. New York: Golden Press, 1966.
- Lewis, Claudia. Indian Families of the Northwest Coast. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Linton, Ralph. Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940.
- Livson, Norman. "Parental Behavior and Children's Involvement With Their Parents." Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 109 (1966), pp. 173-194.

- Lynn, David B., and William L. Sawrey. "The Effects of Father Absence on Norwegian Boys and Girls." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 59 (1959), pp. 258-262.
- Mead, Margaret, and Ken Heyman. Family. New York: MacMillan, 1965, p. 208.
- Medinnus, Gene R. Readings in the Psychology of Parent-Child Relations. New York: John Wiley, 1967.
- Meissner, W. W. "Parental Interaction of the Adolescent Boy." Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 107 (1965), pp. 225-233.
- Miller, Alan D. "Pressures Toward Deviance: The Case of Unwed Mothers." (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1972.)
- Mills, George E. (Project Director) Pride in Heritage: The Indians' Book. Spokane, Washington: Pride in Heritage Program, 1971.
- Nash, John. "Critical Periods in Human Development." Bulletin Maritime Psychological Association, 1954, pp. 18-22.
- Nash, John. "The Father in Contemporary Culture and Current Psychological Literature." Child Development, Vol. 36 (1965), pp. 261-297.
- Nash, John, and Frank Hayes. "The Parental Relationship of Male Homosexuals: Theoretical Issues and a Pilot Study." Australia Journal of Psychology, Vol. 17 (1965), pp. 35-43.
- Ostrovsky, E. S. Father to the Child. New York: Putnam's, 1959.
- Papenfuhs, Rudolf L. "Attitudes Toward Fathers of Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Females." (Unpublished Master's thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1974.)
- Payne, Donald E., and Paul H. Mussen. "Parent Child Relations and Father Identification Among Adolescent Boys." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 52 (1956), pp. 338-362.
- Pederson, Frank A. "Relationships Between Father-absence and Emotional Disturbance in Male Military Dependents." Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Development and Behavior, Vol. 12 (1966), pp. 321-331.
- Reuter, Mark W., and Henry B. Biller. "Perceived Parental Nurture-Availability and Personality Adjustment Among College Males." Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 40 (1973), pp. 339-342.
- Riege, Mary Gray. "Parental Affection and Juvenile Delinquency in Girls." British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 12 (1972), pp. 55-73.

- Santrock, John W. "Relation of Type and Onset of Father Absence to Cognitive Development." Child Development, Vol. 43 (1972), pp. 455-469.
- Sebald, Hans. Adolescence: A Sociological Analysis. New York: Meredith Corporation, 1968.
- Serot, Naomi M., and Richard C. Teevan. "Perception of the Parent-child Relationship and Its Relation to Child Adjustment." Child Development, Vol. 32 (1961), pp. 373-378.
- Shaw, M. C., and D. L. White. "The Relationship Between Parent-Child Identification and Academic Under-Achievement." Journal of Clinical Psychology, Vol. 21 (1965), pp. 10-13.
- Stinnett, Nick, Joann Farris, and James Walters. "Parent-Child Relationships of Male and Female High School Students." The Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. 125 (1974), pp. 99-106.
- Stolz, Lois M., and Collaborators. Father Relations of War-Born Children. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1954.
- Tasch, Ruth J. "The Role of the Father in the Family." Journal of Experimental Education, Vol. 20 (1952), pp. 319-361.
- Vaughn, Gulo. "Attitudes of Rural School Children Toward Their Parents." Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 59 (1966), pp. 450-455.
- Walters, James, and Nick Stinnett. "Parent-Child Relationships: A Decade of Research." Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 33 (1971), pp. 70-111.
- Warren, Marguerite Q., and T. B. Palmer. "Community Treatment Project: An Evaluation of Community Treatment of Delinquents." Los Angeles: California Youth Authority and the National Institute of Mental Health. CTP Research Report No. 6, 1965.
- Whitman, William. The Oto. New York City: Columbia University Press, 1937.
- Wright, Benjamin, and Shirley Tuska. "The Nature and Origin of Feeling Feminine." British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 5 (1966), pp. 140-149.
- Zimmer, Carl. "Understanding the Child and His Family by Understanding the Environmental Problems Confronting Them." The Indian Heritage: An Aid to Counseling Indian Youth. An Institute for Indian School Personnel. Durant, Okla.: Southwestern State College, 1970.

INFORMATION SHEET

Please answer the following questions as accurately as you can. It is important that you answer all questions. Your name will not appear on the questionnaire. There are no right or wrong answers. PLEASE DO NOT WRITE IN THE SPACE TO THE LEFT OF THE NUMBER. Thanks for your cooperation in this research project.

- ___ 1. Age ___
- ___ 2. I am: ___ male ___ female
- ___ 3. With what tribe are you enrolled? _____
- ___ 4. With whom do you live when you are at home?
 ___ both parents ___ mother ___ other (specify)
 ___ grandparents ___ father
- ___ 5. Your father has completed how much education?
 ___ 1. graduated from a 4-year college
 ___ 2. had vocational training following high school
 ___ 3. attended high school, completed grade 9, but did not graduate
 ___ 4. attended college or a university for 2 or more years
 ___ 5. graduated from high school
 ___ 6. less than grade eight
 ___ 7. not known
- ___ 6. For the major part of your life have you lived on a reservation?
 ___ 1. Yes ___ 2. No
- ___ 7. What is your father's occupation or work? (member tribal council, farmer, retired, welder, unemployed, etc.) _____
- ___ 8. With respect to happiness, I consider my childhood to be:
 ___ 1. very happy ___ 3. average ___ 5. very unhappy
 ___ 2. a little above average ___ 4. a little below average
- ___ 9. The discipline I receive from my parents usually comes from:
 ___ 1. my father
 ___ 2. my mother
 ___ 3. both mother and father about equally

- ___10. Which one of the following most nearly describes the type of discipline you received as a child?
- ___1. I was usually allowed to do anything I wanted to do and was corrected very little
 - ___2. A moderate amount of both being allowed to do as I wished and not being allowed to do as I wished.
 - ___3. I was usually not allowed to do as I wished and was often corrected.
- ___11. In comparison with most men I consider my father to be:
- ___1. very masculine
 - ___2. not very masculine
 - ___3. average
- ___12. Who usually makes the important decisions in your family?
- ___1. mother
 - ___2. father
 - ___3. both mother and father about equally
 - ___4. other _____
specify
- ___13. How much time have you had with your father during your life?
- ___1. very much
 - ___2. a moderate amount
 - ___3. very little
 - ___4. none
- ___14. How many brothers and sisters do you have? (list total number combined)
- _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

If the following statements are true about your father or your feelings toward your father, encircle True. If you believe the statement is false encircle False or if you are not certain about your feelings encircle ?.

- True ? False 1. I consider myself very close to my father.
- True ? False 2. My father generally has good reasons for any requests he might make.
- True ? False 3. I would like to be the same kind of a parent that my father has been.
- True ? False 4. I believe that my father underestimates my ability.
- True ? False 5. I believe my father finds fault with me more often than I deserve and seems never to be satisfied with anything I do.
- True ? False 6. I believe that my father doesn't have enough respect for my opinions.
- True ? False 7. In my opinion, my father isn't very interested in whether or not I have friends.
- True ? False 8. In my judgement, my father did not treat me fairly when I was young.
- True ? False 9. I believe that my father is one of the most admirable persons I know.
- True ? False 10. My father has been one of the best friends I have ever had.
- True ? False 11. My father considered the rearing of his children his most important job in life.

In each of the following you are given a statement or a question which can be completed in any one of five ways. Check whichever one of the possible answers which most closely describes your own opinion or feeling.

12. My father...
- _____ (a) takes a very great interest in everything that concerns his children.
- _____ (b) takes a moderate amount of interest in things which concern his children.
- _____ (c) does not take very much interest in things which concern his children.

(continued)

- _____ (d) takes little interest in things which concern his children.
- _____ (e) takes no interest in things which concern his children.
13. I get along with my father....
- _____ (a) very well
- _____ (b) well
- _____ (c) fairly well
- _____ (d) not very well
- _____ (e) poorly
14. In regard to talking to my father about things that I don't want told to anyone else, I....
- _____ (a) feel free to ask him questions of a private personal nature.
- _____ (b) often ask him questions of a private personal nature.
- _____ (c) sometimes ask him questions of a private personal nature.
- _____ (d) rarely if ever ask him questions of a private personal nature.
- _____ (e) wouldn't think of asking him any questions of a private personal nature.
15. Check whichever of the following terms best describes your feelings toward your father.
- _____ (a) I idealize my father
- _____ (b) I admire my father
- _____ (c) I respect my father
- _____ (d) I do not particularly respect my father
- _____ (e) I do not respect my father at all
16. Check whichever of the following descriptions most nearly fits your father.
- _____ (a) Is always critical of his children, and nothing his children do ever seems to please him.
- _____ (b) Is rather critical of his children, and is not often pleased by what his children do.
- _____ (c) Is not very critical of his children, but on the other hand, does not show particular pleasure of what his children do.
- _____ (d) Often shows pleasure at what his children do, and often praises them for their accomplishments.
- _____ (e) Very seldom complains about his children, and is liberal in his praise of them.
17. I consider my father....
- _____ (a) always willing to think only the best of his children.
- _____ (b) generally inclined to think well of his children.
- _____ (c) neither inclined to think only well or only poorly of his children.
- _____ (d) sometimes inclined to be critical of his children.
- _____ (e) always ready to think only the worst of his children.

18. My father....

- _____ (a) never does little things for his children to show affection or consideration.
 _____ (b) seldom does little things for his children to show affection or consideration.
 _____ (c) sometimes does little things for his children to show affection or consideration.
 _____ (d) often does little things for his children to show affection or consideration.
 _____ (e) is always doing little things for his children to show affection or consideration.

19. In my opinion, my father....

- _____ (a) is so attached to his children that he wants to have them around all of the time.
 _____ (b) enjoys spending some of his time with his children.
 _____ (c) likes to spend a little of his time with his children.
 _____ (d) does not like to spend time with his children.
 _____ (e) dislikes very much spending any of his time with his children.

Following is a list of traits of personality. If in your opinion your father possesses a trait in a very great degree, encircle the "A" in front of the trait. If he possesses the trait to a greater than average degree, encircle the "B"; if he possesses the trait to about an average degree, encircle the "C"; if he possesses the trait to a less than average extent, encircle the "D"; and if he possesses the trait only to a very slight degree or not at all, encircle the "E" in front of the trait.

A B C D E 20. Fair

A B C D E 21. Selfish

A B C D E 22. Helpful

A B C D E 23. Sarcastic (making remarks meant to hurt or make you seem foolish)

A B C D E 24. Considerate

A B C D E 25. Bossy

A B C D E 26. Agreeable

A B C D E 27. Kind

A B C D E 28. Envious (dislike felt because you have things or qualities he would like to have)

- A B C D E 29. Affectionate (gentle and loving)
- A B C D E 30. Understanding
- A B C D E 31. Cold
- A B C D E 32. Suspicious
- A B C D E 33. Sympathetic (sharing of your feelings)
- A B C D E 34. Courteous
- A B C D E 35. Trustful

2
VITA

Glenda Lee Riddle

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: PERCEPTIONS OF AMERICAN INDIAN ADOLESCENTS CONCERNING THEIR FATHERS

Major Field: Family Relations and Child Development

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Ashland, Kansas, August 29, 1941, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Little; married June 2, 1962, to Ted L. Riddle in Englewood, Kansas; two daughters, Debra, born November 9, 1965, Donna, born July 10, 1969.

Education: Graduated from Rosston High School, Rosston, Oklahoma in May, 1959; received the Bachelor of Science degree in Home Economics Education from Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, in January, 1963; completed requirements for Master of Science degree at Oklahoma State University in May, 1975.

Professional Experience: Home Economics teacher, Ft. Scott Jr. High School, Ft. Scott, Kansas, 1963-65, 1966-68; English and Social Studies teacher, Laverne Public Schools, Laverne, Oklahoma, 1968; Kindergarten teacher, Red Rock Public Schools, Red Rock, Oklahoma, 1969-70; Home Economics teacher, Marland Public Schools, Marland, Oklahoma, 1970 to present.

Professional Organizations: Phi Upsilon Omicron, Oklahoma Education Association, National Education Association.