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CONSTRUCTIONS OF PARENTAL AUTHORITY: COMPARISON AND CONTRAST OF AUTHORITATIVE PARENTING, 1968 AND 1995

A Dissertation Presented

by

JOAN FRIEBELY

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1996

School of Education

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COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

OF AUTHORITATIVE PARENTING, 1968 AND 1995

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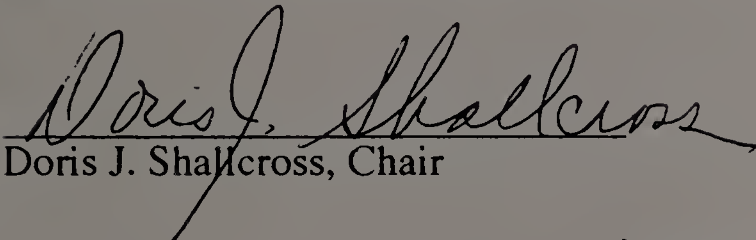

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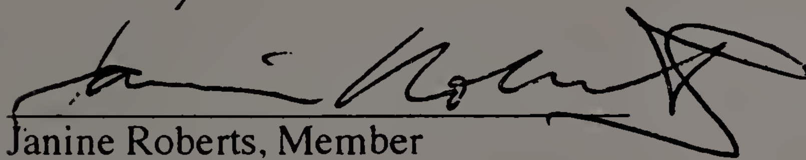

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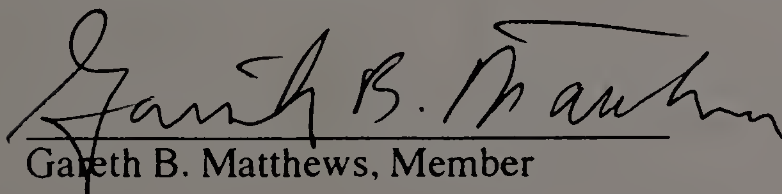

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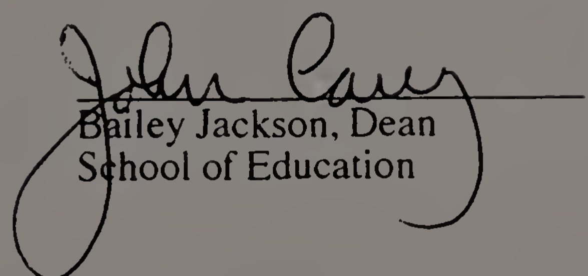

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks go out to family, friends, and colleagues for their support and kindness throughout this project. Acting as the chair of my committee, Dr. Doris J. Shallcross has provided guidance and assistance in the wide range of tasks that stretched from the inception of this work to its completion. I feel very fortunate to have had her behind me both intellectually and personally. In her roles as professor and committee member, Dr. Janine Roberts modeled academic rigor that has proved invaluable for extending my ideas and generating new ones. And Dr. Gareth B. Matthews, who served as my other committee member, has been a great inspiration throughout the years of my wondering how knowledge emerges among the generations.

The preschool directors and teachers who spoke with me about my work helped not only by providing me access to families willing to participate, but also by showing interest in the ideas. I am especially grateful to my niece, Barbara Brezel, for leading me to some of these people. The cooperation of The Henry A. Murray Center at Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was also indispensable, and I appreciate very much their giving me access to their archives of materials from the research of Dr. Diana Baumrind.

I also thank the families who shared their time and their stories. Thinking about our conversations continues to inspire respect and curiosity about how being a particular child's parent or a particular parent's child changes life. For long and frequent talks that have helped me deepen and enjoy thoughts such as these, I am especially grateful to Carey Dimmitt. The insistence of Catalina Laserna that psychological accounts are only part of any story ushered in many welcome musings on anthropological perspectives. I owe particular gratitude to Amy Lew for introducing me to the idea that parenting and its study could be disciplines.

For their patience and fortitude throughout the emotional, intellectual, and physical absences entailed by this project, I thank my family. I thank especially my daughters, Merrill and Lindsay, for arousing the love and puzzlement that have gripped me since they were born. Keeper, our dog, has been a model of resilience and hard work. And I thank my husband, Elliott Bursack, for his loyalty, love, and conversation throughout all the ups, downs, and beginnings.

ABSTRACT

CONSTRUCTIONS OF PARENTAL AUTHORITY:

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST OF AUTHORITATIVE PARENTING,

1968 AND 1995

MAY 1996

JOAN FRIEBELY, B.A., STANFORD UNIVERSITY

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Diana Baumrind's identification in the 1960s of authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles, as well as her demonstration of correlations between optimal developmental outcomes and the authoritative style, continue to have profound influences on how child socialization is thought about and researched. But, times have changed. Cultural psychology's assumption of intentional individuals and intentional cultures co-constructing each other allows for the possibility that historically mediated sociocultural differences between the 1960s and 1990s may have influenced child-rearing practices and outcomes. For this study, instruments used by Baumrind were adapted to investigate cultural ideals and families today. Middle-class, urban, Northeastern families in which parents (n=10) of preschool children appeared to meet criteria for the authoritative style were studied in depth. Although the ratios of nurturance and demandingness appear to be comparable in the two time periods among authoritative parents, 1990s parents show substantially more conformist and authoritarian attitudes than did their predecessors. Whereas attitudes of 1960s authoritative parents support children in speaking their minds, 1990s authoritative parents support children in minding their speech. This change is interpreted as a function of historical changes in parents' creative intuitions that optimal developmental

outcomes are now less related to the 1960s discourse of agency, and more related to the 1990s agency of discourse. As a consequence, what may appear to be a matter of authoritarianism on the parts of parents is interpreted here as greater vigilance regarding the significance of speech acts for succeeding in the 21st century.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the Study

How people come to be the way they are, to want what they want, and to pursue what they pursue is a compelling topic of inquiry. Diana Baumrind's (1971) work on parenting styles offers one route into this question. In her work, she articulated parent-child behavioral correlates among what she called parenting styles and children's interpersonal competences. She also evaluated the styles and outcomes in a way that made her research seem to me especially useful. In the beginning of the monograph that acted as a model for the study that I undertook and report on here, she summarized some of her earlier findings as follows:

> 1. Parents of the children who were the most self-reliant, self-controlled, explorative, and content were themselves controlling and demanding; but they were also warm, rational, and receptive to the child's communication. This unique combination of high control and positive encouragement of the child's autonomous and independent striving was called authoritative parental behavior. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 1)

It is uncommon to find research material that correlates parenting activity, child outcomes, and inferences about the value of the outcomes. She identified two other parenting styles associated with child outcomes that appeared to her to be less optimal; one was associated with children who, "relative to the others, were discontent, withdrawn, and distrustful," (Baumrind, 1971, p. 2), and she labeled the style exhibited by their parents as "authoritarian." The third parenting style, which she labeled "permissive," was associated with "the least self-reliant, explorative, and self-controlled children" (p. 2). Wanting information on how people become what they become, stimulated by the prospect of learning about that by learning about what Baumrind observed, and further motivated by a concern with how parent education in the 1990s

might benefit from knowledge that she gained, I needed to know if what seemed to work for parents and children in the 1960s would work for them in the 1990s.

Why what worked then might not work now is suggested by the insights and presuppositions of cultural psychology. Shweder (1991) wrote about how the human psyche and culture make each other up:

> The basic idea of cultural psychology is that, on the one hand, no sociocultural environment exists or has identity independently of the way human beings seize meanings and resources from it,while, on the other hand, every human being's subjectivity and mental life are altered through the process of seizing meanings and resources from some sociocultural environment and using them. (p. 74)

Cultural psychology makes it clear that asking my question about shifts between the 1960s and 1990s is important. It also affords a framework for learning from the findings of the research. Before spreading the knowledge Baumrind developed in her 1960s research to parents in the 1990s, I needed to learn how and if changes in the cultural context of the 1990s versus the 1960s might have altered the relationship between parenting style and child outcomes.

Baumrind focused on disciplinary practices, and her typology of parenting styles in terms of the kind of authority that characterized them reflects this focus. Although parent-child relations and human development could be studied from numerous points of view, this was hers. It is not the purpose of this dissertation to challenge her focus, but rather to approximate it as closely as possible in order to see if the authoritative parenting style characterized by Baumrind has similar features and outcomes in the 1990s as it had in the 1960s. The same rationale underlies my decision to work with a sample that is, as hers was, middle class, Caucasian, urban, well educated, and living in the United States.

Thus, the purpose of this study was to learn about changes in constructions of parental authority as constituted in the practices of parents who, like those in Baumrind's (1971) study, had preschoolers who attended nursery school. My resources required that I limit my attention to one group of parents, and my desire to learn about parenting that

was relatively successful led me to choose the authoritative style. My hope was that if there were changes in authoritative parents' constructions of authority, these changes might be revealed by adapting for my study the instruments and methods Baumrind used for her 1960s study (and reported in her 1971 monograph). My other task was to account for the changes in a way that I found meaningful, and that might have implications for groups other than the particular demographic sector on which my work focused.

1.2 Significance of the Study

There are three areas in which I expect my study to have significance. First, the study is an opportunity to reflect on Baumrind's work from the historical perspective of a generation later. Much has happened both within the paradigms by which scientific research is conducted and in popular attitudes toward its practices and products. The work of Kuhn (cited in Friman, Allen, Kerwin, and Larzalere, 1993) suggested there may be a revolution underway in the conceptual frameworks that have shaped research questions, methods, and findings since the 1960s. The Kuhnian displacement hypothesis is that "paradigms don't merge over time; they displace each other after a period of chaotic upheaval or scientific revolution" (Friman et al., 1993, p. 658). In coming to his hypothesis, Kuhn had observed that the rules by which any particular paradigm related observations and theory, which were intended to be unambiguous, were necessarily influenced by the core beliefs of people who developed them, and these beliefs are both virtually unquestioned and unquestionable. What people see is more a product of conceptual or theoretical invention Gergen, 1986, p. 141), than it is a product of innate features to be seen.

There have also been changes since the 1960s in prevalent attitudes toward the products of scientific research. For example, it is hard to imagine a social science project receiving funds to pay researchers for observing each of 146 families for 50 hours, as Baumrind's group was in the late 1960s. That was also the decade when huge quantities

of federal money were devoted to competing with the Soviet Union in the race to the moon.

The second area in which my findings may be significant is the experience of parenting. Doing it in a skilled way, which is what Baumrind hoped her research would facilitate (for those wanting the information), might influence outcomes in positive ways for parents, children, and the culture. Myself a member of the group from which Baumrind (1971) drew her sample, I felt relatively qualified by ideology and experience to approach her research sympathetically. This might not be true for parents from Accra, Odessa, or Tokyo; nor might it be true for, among others, parents who are not middle-class, Caucasian, urban, and educated.

Although the identity of parenting styles and their relationships with child outcomes are undoubtedly different among different groups of people in different times, places, and sociocultural milieus, the descriptors that Baumrind (1971) used for characteristics of children who had authoritative parents seemed very close to those I would use about children I would like to have raised. I imagine that such children would help make parenting seem a rewarding experience that might mitigate some of the negative effects associated with having children. Describing these effects, McLanahan and Adams' (1989) wrote that "Recent studies carried out in the United states suggest that parenthood has negative consequences for the psychological well-being of adults" (p. 124). Anticipating the readers' incredulity, they go on to write:

> While these findings run counter to popular perceptions of the value of children and the importance of the parental role, they have been replicated in a number of studies using different indicators of well-being and comparing different subgroups of parents and nonparents. (p. 124)

In writing about the effects of children on parents, Ambert (1992) observed that the development of teen and preteen subcultures as major forces in the consumer economy since the Second World War has affected parenting in major ways. As peer groups became more autonomous and salient, their influences on children led to a reduction in the

impact of parental influences. Ambert's consideration of the effects of children on parents addresses some of these issues. She observed:

> it is quite possible that it is only during our current decades that the effects of children on parents could be studied for the simple reason that, in the past, children were probably less negatively influential on their parents' lives than they currently are, with the exception of birthing for mothers. I use the term less "negatively influential' here to mean that children were then more *useful* [Italics in original] to their parents, were less costly, and contributed to reinforce the parents' lifestyle rather than alter it as has since become the case. Children were essential *resources* [Italics in original] to their parents. . . . (p. 21)

Ambert described some of the forces behind these changing influences on parents. Her focus was on how they operate at the cultural level.

The third area in which my study may have significance is for my work as a parent and a parent educator. If the criterion for evaluating social science research is its social relevance and usefulness (Mussen, 1977, cited in Baumrind, 1980), it seems that identifying a parenting style that is likely to produce competent children is a good candidate for significant social science research.

Unlike myself, Baumrind framed parenting as a form of leadership. A resonant frame among researchers when she began her studies, it had historical roots in the work of Lewin (Lewin, Lippitt & White, 1939) on group atmospheres, which reflected the time's major social and political concerns about totalitarianism spreading in Europe. As a graduate student doing research on discussion groups with a faculty member who had worked with Lewin, Baumrind came to feel that groups functioned better with strong leaders who, while they are not authoritarian in their direction, are nonetheless more forceful than were the so-called democratic parents of her predecessors' typologies (see Maccoby, 1992). These observations influenced her to focus on the differential effects of kinds of parental directiveness, or authority.

But in my early parenting, I had been like one of those Americans described by Baumrind (1966):

> The practices favored by American parents to influence the actions and character of their offspring have varied from time to time, with the predominant

> view of the child as a refractory savage, a small adult, or an angelic bundle from heaven. These convictions have, for the most part, been based on humanistic or religious values rather than upon scientific findings. (p. 888)

I wondered what might be the "scientific findings," how could I apply them in my parenting, and how might I teach them in my work? Might their implications recommend different counsel and practices than those that seemed to be advised in some of the most popular parenting books on the shelves in Cambridge, Massachusetts, bookstores in the 1980s? If so, I asked with Maccoby (1992), "What does a parent's ability to use an authoritative parenting style depend on?" (p. 1014). How can one find it, learn it, use it, and enjoy it?

1.3 Research Questions

Given that there have been substantial changes in the culture of middle-class United States citizens between the 1960s and the 1990s, and that culture and psyche co-create each other, I postulate that there will be changes since the 1960s in the parenting practices and child outcomes constituting an optimal style among a group of parents who are demographically similar to the middle-class, well-educated, urban, mostly Caucasian parents studied by Baumrind (1971). These changes are expected to emerge by (1) eliciting 1990s descriptions that people demographically similar to Baumrind's research population give of an "ideal child;" (2) comparing the characteristic and uncharacteristic behaviors of children apparently being reared by authoritative parents with the behaviors of children raised by the parents whom Baumrind classified as authoritative; (3) comparing attitudes of 1990s authoritative parents with those reported by 1960s authoritative parents on the Parent Attitude Inventory (see Appendix 1) used at both times; and (4) comparing the material from interviews conducted in 1995 with material from 1960s interviews, in which the same interview schedule (see Appendix 2) was followed. I hope to be able to suggest a coherent account of whatever changes are uncovered by relating them to changes in the communications environment that, at least for the narrow

demographic band of families represented by my sample, relate to raising children in the 1990s (see Chapter 5).

1.4 Definitions of Terms

The word "constructions" in the title of this dissertation invokes four ideas. One is that parental authority is an idea of researchers who study it. Another is that parental authority is an idea of the grownups who raise children. A third is that parental authority is a pattern of practices by which grownups and children familiarize each other with the sorts of things, beliefs, and institutions that they learn to want and for which they work. The fourth idea is that parental authority is available in a variety of styles, including authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive, and these patterns have been studied in some depth since the 1960s. Baumrind's work with this typology of styles, and my access to her instruments and data, provided an opportunity to explore what she meant by parental authority.

Calling this dissertation "Constructions of Parental Authority" was a way of framing Baumrind's work according to a constructivist rather than a realist argument about how people come to understand their world. The realist argument takes the position that people categorize the world as they do because that is the way the world is. Constructivists, on the other hand, argue that "people categorize the world the way they do because they have participated in social practices, institutions, and other forms of symbolic action (for example, language) that presuppose or in some way make salient those categorizations" (Shweder, 1991, p. 156). A construction is the product of a creative interaction between a person and someone or something in a culture, be that a parent-child relationship, an idea about a parent-child relationship, or a conceptualization about systematic influences among people with divergent rationalities (e.g., parents and children).

In her work, Baumrind attended to "parental" attitudes and behaviors, including those of mothers and fathers, and her 1971 study focused on mothers and fathers of preschool boys and girls. The range of attitudes and behaviors in which Baumrind was particularly interested included those primarily thought of as supporting children, and also those that made demands on them.

"Authority" was defined by Baumrind thus: "An authority is a person whose expertness befits him to designate a behavioral alternative for another where the alternatives are perceived by both" (Baumrind, 1966, p. 887). For her, the ideas of expertise, social legitimacy, and leadership are all connected to authority. Partly as a function of how extensively she used the behaviorist paradigm, her references to authority tended not to allude to the other family of meanings that connect authority with author, voice, and creativity. For Baumrind, parents are models and conduits of authority in both their nurturing and discipline behaviors.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The very small number of families that I worked with made it impossible to create a large enough pool of parents and children to provide data I could compare with each other to get an idea of how parenting styles might differentiate from each other today. Consequently, all the descriptors that Baumrind used in a relative context, I had to use in a criterial context. I could not determine whether scores of my participants were commensurate with those of hers, except in this descriptive way. Another limitation arises from my application of the Buri (1989) questionnaire to select authoritative parents, rather than basing my selection on observed behaviors, as Baumrind's group did. A major effect of these limitations is to make my findings suggestive of how to characterize the group of parents that meet the demographic and parenting-style profile that my instruments pulled, and not necessarily of how parental authority affects children's behavior.

This diverges sharply from Baumrind's limitations. Observing the "unusual homogeneity of the sample by contrast with most such studies" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 10), she dismisses it as irrelevant to her objective of relating "various patterns of parental *authority* to the behavior of the children, when real rejection or neglect is not a factor" (pp. 10-11). This remark reflects the realist assumptions of the framework in which she worked.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

General theoretical and experimental concerns pertinent to cultural psychology are discussed in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 focuses on the behaviorist paradigm in general, and then, more specifically on Baumrind's use of it, the procedures that she followed, the constructs that she employed, and the interpretations that she made. Sections 2.4 and 2.5 describe the two complementarities of cultural psychology that are most relevant to this research. These include the cultural representation of authoritative parents as individuals with particular impacts on children, which is discussed in one section, and the cultural construction of childhood in which parenting is practiced, which is discussed in the last section.

2.2 Cultural Psychology

Cultural psychology is an emerging discipline that differs from such relatives as general psychology and cross-cultural psychology by virtue of its emphasis on intentionality. One of its principal advocates and developers, Richard Shweder (1990) begins answering the "What is it?" question by writing that, "It is a principle of cultural psychology—the principle of intentional worlds—that nothing real 'just is,' and that realities are the product of the way things get represented, embedded, implemented, and reacted to" (p. 3). Whereas the subject matter of general psychology tends to presuppose a central mechanism inherent in people that enables them to think, experience, act, and learn, the subject matter of cultural psychology is the intentional worlds that are co-created by the individuals and cultures that make each other up. Without denying that general psychology has produced interesting ideas, Shweder identifies as one of its limitations the "Platonic impulse," by which general psychology becomes removed from

"all that may be rich material for humanistic inquiry, journalistic reporting, and literary representation" (p. 5).

Shweder (1991) juxtaposes the kinds of considerations that would be entertained by studies in the frame of cultural psychology with those present in Platonism. He says that when Platonic terms are adopted, the problem of cross-cultural psychology is how to interpret observed differences across populations on such performances as psychological tests and other tasks. This leads to hypotheses directed at explaining illusory differences in, for example, particular groups' uses of abstract or concrete thought. The universalist assumptions of Platonism hold that "'deep down' or 'inside' where the central processing mechanism lives, people are the same (or, alternatively, what gives people 'psychic unity' is what makes them all the same 'deep down' or 'inside')" (Shweder, 1991, p. 78). Hence, the apparent differences among people are really illusory.

This contrasts with the cultural psychology frame:

> According to the principal of intentional worlds there is no logical requirement that the identity of things remain, fixed and universal, across intentional worlds; while within any particular intentional world (for example, the twentieth-century intentional world of American baseball, or the sixteenth-century intentional world of English witchcraft) the identity of a thing (for example, a 'foul ball' or a 'witch') can be real and the question of its real identity (for example, 'was that a foul ball'? or is she a 'witch'?) can be a subject of rational and objective dispute. (Shweder, 1991, pp. 76-77)

The implications of this for my study of authoritative parenting with preschoolers is that it suggests 1960s authoritative parents were matched with a world in which authoritative parenting was intentionable. And it suggests that 1990s authoritative parents would also have to occupy a culture in which their style and entailments were intentionable. My research question asks how their practices or the child outcomes may have changed as a function of shifts in the intentionality of individual parents and the intentionability of parenting within the culture. If an optimal outcome is defined as congruence between intentionality and intentionability, as one's success in having the ends and motives that

the beliefs and institutions of one's culture can satisfy, then what changes need to be taken into account?

Parenting in the 1960s and the 1990s might be approached as a problem in cross-cultural psychology, where each time period is considered a different culture, and the psyches of each group of parents is represented as having differential opportunities for development. But such a catalog of differences is not what interests me. What interests me is the coupling of creativity and human development, which is the focus of cultural psychology. Again, I quote Shweder (1990):

> Cultural psychology is the study of the ways subject and object, self and other, psyche and culture, person and context, figure and ground, practitioner and practice live together, require each other, and dynamically, dialectically, and jointly make each other up. (p. 1)

The "jointly make each other up" describes a creative process. In my view, the ability to imagine and symbolize alternative interactions with "possible worlds" (Bruner, 1988) sets the stage for a life rich in the kinds of experiences available, for what might be called congruence in the individual-social world (see Shweder, 1991). In this dissertation, authoritative parenting is considered an in-the-parent variable. It corresponds to the above quotation's "subject," "self," "psyche," "person," "figure," and "practitioner." This in-the-parent variable has had a significant career in the child-development and education literature, and it is described in Section 2.4. Taking the place of the "object," "other," "culture," "context," "ground," and "practice" referred to in this quotation is the cultural construction of childhood, which is described in Section 2.5.

2.3 Theoretical and Methodological Context of Baumrind's (1971) Work and Her Findings

Before describing the cultural representation of authoritative parenting or the cultural construction of childhood, I will discuss the framework and definitions that operated in Baumrind's (1971) research. In this country in the 1960s, behaviorism was

the dominant paradigm for conducting research in child development (Salkind, 1985). In behaviorism, what can be observed is what counts, and in behaviorism the frequency of a behavior is what is counted. Main contributors to theoretical and laboratory-based advances in this orientation included Baer (1970), Bandura (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961, 1963; Bandura and Walters, 1959), Bijou (1968; Bijou & Baer, 1961; Bijou & Baer, 1976), and Sears (Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957). The citations in Baumrind (1971) suggest the work of Bandura, Levin, Maccoby, Sears, and, in addition, the work of Schaefer (1965) were particularly influential. They can be thought of as contributing to the intentionability of behavior-based research in the social sciences.

Although most of the work in behaviorism up until the 1950s and 1960s was described in terms of the stimulus and response sequence used to train nonhuman creatures, Sears' (Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957) developmental learning theory applied the framework to parent-child relationships. He combined ideas from the psychoanalytic study of development with ideas from Hull's work on the intervening variables placed between a stimulus and response. The intervening variables of greatest interest to Sears were social influences, especially those of the home environment and parental attitudes. In a large-scale study to determine the influence on children of various parenting practices related to permissiveness, discipline, praise, and use of punishment, Sears and his colleagues found that a mother's warmth toward her child was an important factor influencing children's behavior, and that rewards were more effective than punishments in training children. Maternal coldness was associated with children's bed wetting and feeding problems; physical punishment was associated with children's aggressiveness and feeding problems.

Another theoretician who profoundly influenced this tradition and Baumrind was Bandura (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1961, 1963; Bandura & Walters, 1959). Researchers were acquiring evidence that children could learn new behaviors by imitating others, rather than just by the external stimulus-behavioral response process. It was also

becoming evident that children's cognition mediates environmental influences through the operation of verbal strategies while problem solving, and through expectations that children had concerning reinforcement. Bandura integrated these findings in his social learning theory, to which he contributed key concepts about observational learning, the self-regulatory capacities of children, and reciprocal determinism among three interacting sources of influence, including the person, his or her behavior, and the environment (Miller, 1983).

Also entering Baumrind's considerations about parental influences was the work of Schaefer (1965). In her 1971 monograph, she wrote "Since the author shares Schaefer's (1965) interest in Acceptance versus Rejection, Psychological Control versus Autonomy, and Firm Control versus Lax Control as organizing theoretical constructs, the meaning of the empirical clusters" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 14), as well as the hypothetical constructs and the parent behaviors that operationally defined these constructs, is related to Schaefer's constructs. Her decision was connected with her position that

> A great deal of attention has been given in the past to the negative effects of too much control. The disciplinary variables selected for study reflected this particular bias. An effort was made in this investigation to define the control variables separately from the restrictive variables and then to study the interaction of control with nurturance rather than restrictivenes with nurturance. (Baumrind, 1967, p. 46).

One major variable around which Baumrind organized her representations of the different parenting styles was Firm Enforcement (reflecting Schaefer's Firm Control versus Lax Control), which she expected would differentiate authoritarian and authoritative parenting from permissive parenting. A second variable was parental Acceptance, which she expected would differentiate authoritative and permissive parenting from authoritarian parenting. And the third variable, Psychological Control versus Autonomy, was represented in the parent behavior constructs as "Encourages Independence and Individuality," which she also expected to differentiate authoritative and permissive parents from authoritarian parents.

In addition to the developmental and social learning models of behaviorism, and to Schaefer's work on control variables, in which Baumrind developed her methods and observational focus, another intellectual current that contributed to her work was that of Parsons (1951). In order to define the differences between "expressive" and "instrumental" functions, Baumrind referenced his work. By expressive functions, Parsons meant activities where "'the primary orientation is not to the attainment of a goal anticipated for the future, but the organization of the 'flow' of gratifications . . . and of course the warding off of threatened deprivations'" (Parsons, 1951, p. 49, quoted in Baumrind, 1975, p. 13). These were not the functions in which Baumrind was interested.

She was interested in the development of instrumental functions. She quoted Parsons' definition of these activities as being

> '. . . oriented to the achievement of a goal which is an anticipated future state of affirs, the attainment of which is felt to promise gratification; a state of affairs which will not come about without the intervention of the actor in the course of events. Such instrumental or goal-orientation introduces an element of discipline, the renunciation of certain immediately potential gratifications, including that to be derived from passively 'letting things slide' and awaiting the outcome. Such immediate gratifications are renounced in the interest of the prospectively larger gains to be derived from the attainment of the goal, an attainment which is felt to be contingent on fulfillment of certain conditions at intermediate stages of the process.' (Parsons, 1951, pp. 48-49, quoted in Baumrind, 1975, pp. 12-13.)

Baumrind gave as one reason for being interested in these functions that

> Middle-class parents clearly value instrumentally competent behavior. When such parents were asked to rank those attributes that they valued and devalued in children, the most valued ones were assertiveness, friendliness, independence and obedience, and those least valued were aggression, avoidance and dependency (Emmerich and Smoller, 1964). (Baumrind, 1970, p. 106).

Baumrind (1970) disagreed with people who advocated the development of expressive competence over instrumental competence, saying, "At present . . . there is no evidence that emphasis on expressive competence, at the expense of instrumental competence, fits people to function effectively over the long run as a member of any community" (p. 106).

When Baumrind divided the universe of competences in which she was interested, she had already separated out the expressive ones. She represented on a circumplex model the universe of instrumental competencies in which she was interested, as was the convention at that time. It created a conventional spatial form on which to represent the items of concern to her. She wrote that

> Most, if not all, current empirically based models of child behavior are two-dimensional. The names given the two dimensions vary with the investigators, depending upon his [*sic*] view of social-psychological functioning. However, at the item level it appears that, almost universally, one dimension can be found which describes Responsible versus Irresponsible behavior, that is the conforming, accommodating, socialized component of competent behavior and its opposite; and a second dimension orthogonal to it can be found which describes Independent versus Suggestible behavior, that is, the independent, creative, assertive, individualistic component of competent behavior and its opposite. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 91)

However, use of a circumplex model to represent a part of a whole is potentially problematic because of the contradiction that issues between the wholeness of the circle and the partiality of the universe of functions that it is used to represent. Nevertheless, in keeping with the convention to which she alludes, she divided the category of instrumental competences into two clusters of competencies. In 1967, she (Baumrind, 1967) described having differentiated the poles of the two axes along a mental health continuum, although in 1971, the polarities represented the presence or absence of an item competency that contributed to the constitution of a competency cluster, which itself contributed to the constitution of either the Social Responsibility or the Independence competence construct.

After Baumrind and her colleagues developed this structure of constructs by which to represent what they had seen in their field observations, they used statistical tests to measure the coherence of the constructs. They asked if children and parents did indeed manifest the behaviors with such frequency that competency traits could be differentially ascribed to individuals at the same time that competencies could be differentiated on the circumplex plot. For the children's behaviors, Baumrind (1971, p.

6) was satisfied that they did; for the parents' behaviors, the results of cluster analyzing observed behaviors did not exactly repeat that of previous work.

Although two clusters designated Firm Enforcement and Encourages Independence and Individuality did emerge from the statistical analysis, the dimension of Acceptance-Rejection did not emerge as an important source of variance. She attributed this to the homogeneity of the sample, which showed a high degree of acceptance toward children. Furthermore, she pointed out, this was intentional, because "the objective of the study was to relate various patterns of parental *authority* [Italics in original] to the behavior of the children, when real rejection or neglect is not a factor" (Baumrind, 1971, pp. 13-14).

While Baumrind's hypotheses concerning the differential effects of patterns of parental authority received varying degrees of support from the research reported in 1971, she remained convinced that she had identified important variables.

> As a summary generalization, it can be said that Authoritative parents are most likely to facilitate the development of competence via responsible behavior and competence via independent behavior in young children. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 100)

In her summary at the close of her report, she added some specifications:

> 1. Authoritative parental behavior, compared to all other patterns of parental authority, while clearly associated with Independent, Purposive, Dominant behavior in girls, was only clearly associated with the same behavior in boys when the parents were also Nonconforming. [Because observations concerning the Nonconforming pattern have had little influence in the literature, it is not elaborated on here.](Baumrind, 1971, p. 100)

However, earlier in the report, she suggested that "control exerted by Authoritative parents of boys . . . was somewhat restrictive, by comparison with control exerted by Authoritative parents of girls," (Baumrind, 1971, p. 99), as if this might account for the lack of support her hypothesis received. Elsewhere, she elaborated on the important distinction between firm control associated with parental warmth and firm control associated with parental restrictiveness: "In order to understand the effects of either

control or restrictiveness, a configurational analysis that takes into account interactions with nurturance variables is necessary" (Baumrind, 1967, p. 82).

In her 1971 summary, she added a second specification that applied particularly to girls:

> 2. Authoritative parental control, compared to Authoritarian and Permissive parental control, while clearly associated with all indexes of Social Responsibility in boys, was clearly associated in girls only with high Achievement, and not with Friendly and Cooperative behavior. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 100)

She suggested that use of power-oriented rather than love-oriented techniques of discipline with young children achieve compliance through means other than guilt, and that this is particularly beneficial to girls. She wrote that "It may be that the child is, in fact, more free to formulate his [*sic*] own standards of conduct if techniques of discipline are used which stimulate resistiveness or anger rather than fear or guilt" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 100). Later, she introduced the contribution of social context to generating this circumstance:

> for girls [the effects of lax control and few demands] combined with some degree of paternal rejection [but not restrictiveness] actually seems to stimulate and permit expressions of resistiveness to adults and indirectly to facilitate the expression of autonomous strivings of a constructive as well as a socially disruptive nature. Pressures either to conform or to anticonform seem to interfere with the development in girls of the ability to act assertively and autonomously without dependence upon social norms. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 101)

Baumrind seems to be saying that a parent's style need not only influence girls' competences directly; rather, the higher-order variable of the relationship of the parent's style to the norms of the surrounding culture also exerts an influence. The girl who receives practice in resistiveness with a rejecting father may be well prepared to practice resistiveness in a culture that oppresses her, even though the preschooler's low level of cognitive development prevents her from knowing this. It is interesting that she seems to have observed that girls' Independence was won at the expense of their Social Responsibility.

Baumrind's ideas about the differential effects of socialization practices on girls and boys became more elaborated during her 1971 study than they had been before. Her previous reearch (Baumrind and Black, 1967) had shown that preschool boys' primary source of covariation in their behavior clusters centered around socially responsible versus irreponsible behavior, and for girls, around independent versus suggestible behavior. She inferred

> The focal socialization task with boys is reasonably clear, requiring as it does the development of social responsibility. For girls, the socialization task is more problematic, since it involves the facilitation and reinforcement of behaviors which run counter to a stereotypic feminine role. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 8).

Data from her 1971 study led to two additional hypotheses concerning the differential effects of socialization on boys and girls. One of these was that, "Boys and girls are affected somewhat differently by Authoritarian practices, with independence in girls, and social responsibility in boys, most adversely affected by such practices" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 100). The other is that

> If girls were stimulated and encouraged to remain achievement oriented and independent, or perhaps merely not punished for being so, they should continue to be achievement oriented and independent relative to boys in later life. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 100)

This is a big "If."

2.4 Parenting Style as a Parent Variable in Baumrind's Work and Cultural Representations

Baumrind and her colleagues observed and interviewed parents to assess the degree to which their behaviors were associated with each other and with clusters and constructs that were hypothesized to be antecedent to particular child outcomes. The success of her predictions concerning relationships among parent and child variables was the basis for her inferring a cause-effect relationship (Baumrind, 1967, p. 83). The clusters of parent behaviors that, according to her research, had predictable effects on child outcomes, were called parenting styles. The styles that have become well known are

authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting. (The less well-known nonconforming style that Baumrind identified in her 1971 monograph will not be discussed here, because of its lack of impact on subsequent parenting research and discussion.) As a result of Parent Behavior Ratings developed by researchers on the basis of in-home observations and interviews, Baumrind and her colleagues were able to characterize parents as exhibiting an assortment of characteristic variables.

Mothers' and fathers' behaviors were clustered as Firm Enforcement, Encourages Independence and Individuality, Passive-Acceptant, and Rejecting. Mothers' behaviors were additionally clustered as Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior. Without going into detail that would burden this discussion with confusing language, I should point out that not all father clusters were the same as mother clusters. Furthermore, fathers' behaviors clustered around two variables that did not emerge for mothers: Promotes Nonconformity and Authoritarianism. There were additional Joint Behavior Clusters that included Expect Participation in Household Chores, Enrichment of Child's Environment, Directive, Discourage Emotional Dependency, and Discourage Infantile Behavior.

Classifying parents by their style was done according to a formula that took into account how much each parent in a couple exhibited which clusters of behavior. For example, authoritative parents were so classified when, with respect to all other parents in the sample, both parents scored above the median on Firm Enforcement, or one parent scored in the top one-third; both parents scored above the median on Encourages Independence and Individuality, or one parent scored in the top one-third; and both parents scored below the median on Passive-Acceptant, or one parent scored in the bottom one-third (Baumrind, 1971, p. 22). Baumrind (1971) wrote that the authoritative "pattern membership consisted of 12 families of boys and 7 families of girls," (p. 22), although, when I requested the case numbers of these authoritative families, I was sent

just 12 case numbers (Baumrind, 1994). Baumrind described each parenting style as follows:

> The *authoritarian* [Italics in original] parent attempts . . . to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standaard of conduct, usually an absoluted standard, theologically motivated and formulated by a higher authority. She values obedience as a virtue and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's actions or belieffs conflict with what she thinks is right conduct. She believes in inculcating such instrumental values as respect for authority, respect for work and respect for the preservation of order and traditional structure. She does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept her word for what is right . . . .
>
> The Authoritative parent, by contrast with the Authoritarian parent, attempts . . . to direct the child's activities but in a rational, issue oriented manner. She encourages verbal give and talke, and shares with the child the reasoning behind her policy. She values both expressive and instrumental attributes, both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity. Therefore, she exerts firm control at points of parent-child divergence, but does not hem the child in with restrictions. She recognizes her own special rights as an adult, but also the child's individual interests and special ways. The authoritative parent affirms the child's present qualities, but also sets standards for future conduct. She uses reason as well as power to achieve her objectives. She does not base her decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires; but also, does not regard herself as infallible or divinely inspired. . . .
>
> The Permissive parent attempts to behave in a nonpunitive, acceptant, and affirmative manner toward the child's impulses, desires, and actions. She consults with him about policy decisions and gives explanations for family rules. She makes few demand for household responsibility and orderly behavior. she presents herself to the child as a resourxce for him to use as he wishes, not as an active agent responsible for shaping or altering his ongoing or future behavior. She allows the child to regulate his own activities as much as possible, avoids the exercise of control, and does not encourage him to obey externally-defined standards. She attempts to use reason but not overt power to accomplish her ends. (Baumrind, 1971, pp. 22-23).

How a parent developed a parenting style is not a question that Baumrind addressed. She suggested only that it might be a function of the parents' views of the child (Baumrind, 1966, p. 888). Perhaps in keeping with the learning-process assumptions of behaviorism that foregrounds modeling and reinforcement as generative processes, she said indirectly how she thought parents acquired their styles. In an article where she alluded to the challenge to legitimate authority that she appeared to believe was constituted by the country's participation in the Vietnam War, she wrote

> Until relatively recently, parents could believe that by maintaining order within the family, they were upholding a higher order to which they too submitted—this higher order was defined by religious mandate, cultural tradition, or national way. . . . Many parents not only know [the mores of our society] are not divinely inspired, but find them in no sense inspirational. Concerning our social structure, many parents agree with their adolescents, when they in the words of Mario Savio find the operation of the machines so odious and vile as to require of them that they put their bodies on the gears and upon the wheels and upon the levers to prevent these wheels from working at all. To be more specific, these parents share the moral outrage of their adolescents at the tarocities of the Vietnam war, and the gross inequities in distribution of wealth in this country. (Baumrind, 1968, pp. 268-269)

Although that war is over, now, the distribution of wealth has become more unevenly distributed. Whereas in 1970, the top 1% of households owned about 10% of the wealth, in 1989, the top 1% of households owned about 36% of the wealth (Hacker, 1995, p. 70). In behaviorism, the distinction between knowledge and values is a difference between what can be observed and what cannot be observed. Values are not metaphysical; they are physically present in the operation of a just society.

Although Baumrind attributed differential child outcomes to the causal effects of parental styles, researchers interested in the bidirectional effects of children on parents (without addressing historical, sociocultural influences) and of parents on children have found that they are substantial. Indeed, they have suggested that correlations such as those found by Baumrind do not disambiguate cause and effect (e.g., Bell, 1968, and Scarr, 1992). Scarr and McCartney (1983) took the position that "the genotype determines the *responsiveness* of the person to . . . environmental opportunities" (p. 425). In her 1991 Presidential Address to the biennial meetings of the Society for Research in Child Development, Scarr (1992) moved beyond suggesting observed differences may result from bidirectional effects, and asserted the irrelevance of nongenetic parental effects. She commented that

> Behavior genetic research has shown that, for a wide variety of traits, including measures of intelligence, specific cognitive abilities, personality, and psychopathology in North American and European populations, the heritability of such traits is between .40 and .70.
> Of the remaining reliable variance, there is more variation *within* families than *between* families. . . . Being reared in one family, rather than another, within the

> range of families sampled, makes few differences in children's personality and intellectual development. (p. 3)

Baumrind (1993) vehemently disagreed: "The construction from heritability analysis of causal inferences about the absence of parental effects spins a tenuous web of logic" (p. 1311) sorely lacking in a "theory of generative transmission" (p. 1311). She asserted that

> Among the well-researched mediating processes invoked . . . to explain how parental influence 'works' to produce competent children are the following: high-level distancing behaviors; scaffolding; minimum sufficiency principle; induction; elaborated and person-centered communication; effective behavior management, including consistent discipline and careful monitoring; high level of commitment and investment; and modeling reciprocity and prosocial, agentic behavior by balancing what is demanded of, and what is offered to, the child. (p. 1311)

Most of the mediating processes alluded to in the above quotation have been researched in depth by people other than Baumrind; however, most of them are also characteristic of authoritative parenting as she observed it. Although she did not elaborate on the meaning of the phrase "theory of generative transmission," she referenced publications by Habermas (1970a, 1970c) as exemplifying it.

Habermas' work in articulating a theory of communicative competency may have important implications for people disinclined to behaviorism's mechanistic metaphor for understanding the means by which different parenting styles have their impacts. Baumrind's references in the above quotation to "elaborated and person-centered communication" may have been to the work of Applegate, Burke, Burleson, Delia, and Kline (1985), as well as to other publications developed by colleagues in this group. Their focus has been "Reflection-Enhancing Parenting," which they described as

> realizations of a more general *person-centered* [Italics in original] orientation to communication identified in our previous research as a salient dimension of individual difference in communicative development for children and adults. (Applegate, Burleson, and Delia, 1992, p. 3)

Whereas Baumrind's work is opaque to inferences about how to learn the kind of parenting that she thought optimized development of Northern California's middle-class,

urban, Caucasian children's instrumental competences, this is not true of work by Applegate and colleagues. These researchers' work contains guidelines for practicing the communicative competencies that their research appears to demonstrate can be used to induce children in developing communicative competencies.

It should be pointed out that Baumrind took account of the possible influences of parents' verbal behavior on the cognitive processes of their children. For example, she remarked on the subgroup of Authoritative-Nonconforming parents' unwillingness to "'condition' the behavior of their children without appeals to reason" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 99). And, in her earlier work, she also called attention to the "similarities of parents of both contrast groups [authoritarian and permissive] on communication scores, when compared to the [authoritative] parents . . . whose scores were very much higher" (Baumrind, 1967, p. 72). In 1971 she wrote:

> To the extent that the parent uses verbal cues judiciously, he [*sic]* increases the child's ability to discriminate, differentiate, and generalize. According to Luria (1960) and Vygotsky (1962), the child's ability to 'order' his own behavior is based upon verbal instruction from the adult which, when heeded and obeyed, permits eventual cognitive control by the child of his own behavior. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 99)

It is interesting to see how she carried findings from a communications-based research paradigm to findings that substantiate her work within a behavioristic paradigm. It also seems important to suggest that she may have sensed an intact, legitimate structure of observable political authority was a precondition for transmitting legitimate authority to sebsequent generations. If the source of legitimate authority were not observable, behaviorism may lose its traction in accounting for individual differences.

Authoritative parenting's relationship to desirable child characteristics has become a significant rhetorical construct that equates with ideas about optimal parenting. A study based on a sample of approximately 10,000 high school students focused on whether the positive effects of authoritative parenting might be moderated by the ecological context in which the adolescent lived. Students completed questionnaires on the basis of which

researchers identified the parenting style that the teens experienced. Analyses indicated that

> the positive correlates of authoritative parenting transcended ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and family structure. Virtually regardless of their ethnicity, class, or parents' marital status, adolescents whose parents were accepting, firm, and democratic earned higher grades in school, were more self-reliant, reported less anxiety and depression, and were less likely to engage in delinquent behavior. (Steinberg et al., 1991, p. 19)

Another large-scale study (Lamborn et al., 1991), carried out with a sample of 4,100 14- to 18-year olds, contrasted them along four sets of outcomes, including psychosocial development, school achievement, internalized distress, and problem behavior. On measures of psychosocial competence, teens raised by authoritative parents scored the highest, and they scored lowest on measures of psychological and behavioral dysfunction. Adolescents raised in authoritarian homes had relatively lower self-conceptions, and those raised in permissive homes had a higher frequency of substance abuse and school misconduct.

These large-scale studies were expansions of smaller, earlier ones. For example, Steinberg and colleagues (1989) examined the relation between authoritative parenting and school achievement in 120 adolescents of 10-16 years, and found that "adolescents who described their parents as treating them warmly, democratically, and firmly were more likely than their peers to develop positive attitudes toward their achievement and do well in school" (p. 1424). Dornbusch (1987) also found that whereas authoritarian and permissive parenting were negatively associated with grades, authoritative parenting was positively associated with grades for adolescent school performance.

To see whether parenting style affected science achievement in particular, Hein and Lewko (1994) studied the influence of parent-child relationships for high-performing science students. They found that the authoritative parenting style predominated in this group, and that a greater number of family-related variables emerge for females, whereas more motivational and science-outcome variables emerge for males.

In an effort to redress the imbalance of attention to children's development of maladaptive behaviors, Swanson (1988) studied development of prosocial behavior and its relationship to childrearing practices. He found that authoritative parenting made a substantial contribution to encouraging prosocial development. He also identified contributing factors of parental empathy for their children and verbal encouragement of prosocial behavior. Boyes and Allen (1993) found that authoritative parenting had a positive relationship to adolescents' preferences for postconventional moral reasoning. Jackson (1994) found that authoritative parenting was inversely related to child smoking.

Taylor, Casten, and Flickinger (1993) used questionnaires to assess kinship support, psychosocial adjustment, and parenting practices of 125 African-American adolescents. They found that parenting practices mediated the effects of kinship support, so that when the effects of authoritative parenting were controlled, the significant relationship between kinship support and adolescent adjustment were no longer apparent.

Parenting style was introduced as a factor in child-custody considerations in Santrock and Warshak (1979). They found that although children living with the opposite sex parent seemed to be less well adjusted than children living with the same sex parent, authoritative parenting by the custodial parent in both father-custody and mother-custody families was positively linked with the child's competent social behavior. In a study of children's adjustment during family reorganization, Anderson (1992) found that authoritative parenting correlated with high levels of children's social and scholastic competence.

Bayer and Cegala (1992) found that people scoring positively on argumentativeness and negatively on aggressiveness reported behaviors consistent with authoritative parenting, whereas people scoring negatively on argumentativeness and postively on aggressiveness reorted behaviors consisten with authoritarian parenting. Niesman (1993) looked for a relationship between marital violence and maternal parenting style. She found that "at least with this sample of maritally discordant mothers. . .

experiencing marital violence has a significant effect on the level of maternal stress but not a significant effect on maternal parenting style" (p. 1).

Pratt, Kerig, Cowan, and Cowan (1988) investigated variations in parental tutoring of 3-year old children as a function of parenting style. Unlike the processes of imitation and reinforcement on which behavioristic learning theory relies to account for development, the scaffolding model relies on interpersonal interaction. Vygotsky's (1932) ideas of sociocultural learning lead to the postulate of a "zone of proximal development" as a context in which the learner is as yet unable to perform successfully without assistance, but can accomplish components of the task with direct adult support and guidance. They concluded, "our results point to theoretically meaningful convergences in the ways in which the two levels of analyses characterize parent-child interactions" (Pratt, Kerig, Cowan, and Cowan, 1988, p. 839).

These citations of some ways the authoritative parenting construct has been applied in recent research demonstrate that it is widely recognised as a representation of a cultural artifact. In Chapter 5, I try to make sense of this, and elucidate what I think are some benefits and drawbacks of its use as a point of reference in the literature. But the literature on it is not unmixed; there are also some skeptics who question its uncritical use.

In their study of parenting styles of lower-class minority mothers, Ross, Hall, and Demus (1990) found that mothers were highly inconsistent in the parenting style they appeared to represent when asked what they would do in each of 12 hypothetical situations. Furthermore, their answers to hypothetical situations differed from the style in which they actually did respond when asked to describe a real situation like the hypothetical one. The authors remark that they "may have been too hasty in accepting the concept of a consistent parenting style" (p. 9), and they describe the decision of Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, and Fraleigh (1987) to designate parenting style

by the relative ranking of adolescents' responses to questions about parental authority, rather than by a criterion number of answers fitting a particular style description.

When these researchers reviewed the *post hoc* classification of parenting styles, they felt "that [Baumrind, 1971, p. 22] may have been led more by theoretical bias than empirical findings" (p. 10). A constructivist perspective would suggest that of course this is what happened! Gergen (1986) commented on the evocative, but delimiting aspects of viewing "social life as an exchange of reinforcements" (p. 157); perhaps they are never more delimiting than when viewed as runes of an *apriori*, universal reality inscribed on a social scientific theory. In all fairness to the representation of reality that Baumrind (1971) evoked in her monograph, I found it so extremely complex—full of interactive effects and new hypotheses—that it could not legitimate mean parenting, except for people already predisposed to this by the theoretical inventions that produced their experience. (I discuss this metatheoretical perspective in Chapter 5.)

Elings (1988) also dissented from the prevailing view that authoritative parenting is a clear construct and unmixed blessing. She studied literature on the effects of parenting styles on children's self-esteem in three age groups: the preschool child, the elementary child, and the adolescent. She found that for preschoolers, although authoritative parenting was associated with girls' self-esteem, fathers' authoritative parenting was associated with low self-esteem in boys. Baumrind also wondered about some possible adverse effects of authoritative parenting on boys, specifically on their development of independence. She speculated that it was not so much the authoritative style that was sub-optimal for the development of boys' independence as it was that authoritative parents of boys tended to be somewhat punitive, and this contingent punitiveness accounted for the apparent impairment of boys' independence. Patterson and Yoerger (1991) also found that the general model of parenting style was too simple; they reported that mediational models could predict more accurately the kinds of successes and problems that children experience in school. Rather than assuming everyone reacts to the

same behavior in the same way, such models inquire into parents' and children's interpretations of behaviors.

How parental discipline affects children is reconceptualized in a major way in a recent article by Grusec and Goodnow (1994). They highlighted the importance of children's perceptions and motivations in shaping reactions to parental discipline. According to their research, features of the misdeeds, discipline techniques, children, and parents affect accurate perception and acceptance of disciplinary interventions, and these need to be considered when trying to understand how children adopt values. The importance of particular goals other than the adoption of values, such as maintenance of self-esteem and of the parent-child relationship, are also considered. It is noteworthy that Grusec and Goodnow focus on values, which are explicitly cognitive variables, unlike the behavioral variables that were Baumrind's focus. It is also interesting how they carried forward their understanding of Baumrind's work as:

> describing a socialization situation . . . in which the child's views and wishes are taken into account by the parent and in which the socially competent children are those whose skills at negotiation are encouraged. (Grusec and Goodnow, 1994, p. 16)

I take this to be a reinterpretation of Baumrind's work as if it were focused not on disciplinary style, but rather on communication practices. The difference is in the proportion of coercion to inducement interpreted by the child. If the child complied because of perceiving immediate or down-the-road benefit for doing so, apart from the benefit of avoiding a parent-introduced negative consequence, the proportion of inducement to coercion would be high, and the communication model would be salient. But one of Baumrind's points was that being coerced was a good experience for a child, provided the coercion was benevolent; communication is only one form of discipline. In Baumrind's work, learning to negotiate was an important skill, but a different one than suffering coercion.

A critique of Baumrind's model is also presented in Chao's (1994) comparison of it with Chinese childrearing. It is interesting to observe that she used linguistic terms not just as labels of behaviors, but also as indices of cultural ideas that have behavioral manifestations. She wrote that

> For the Chinese, specifically, East-Asian researchers have attempted to provide indigenous descriptions of child rearing. Often the term 'child training' has been used synonymously with 'child rearing,' and Chinese parental control involves this notion of training. . . . *Chiao shun* is a Chinese term that contains the idea of training (i.e., teaching or educating) children in the appropriate or expected behaviors. . . . This training. . . takes place in the context of a supportive, highly involved, and physically close mother-child relationship. (p. 1112)

Noting that some of the same researchers cited here earlier (i.e., Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, Fraleigh, Steinberg, and Brown) have depicted Chinese parenting as authoritarian, she comments that such parenting practiced by Chinese has not had the effects on children's school performance that these researchers would have expected. Dornbusch et al. (1987) asked high-school students to score their own parents according to the three parental control styles originally described by Baumrind (1971). The Asian students tended to score their parents higher on the authoritarian style than the authoritative style. However, contrary to other studies that correlated authoritative parenting with superior grade-point averages, this study found the highest grade-point averages among the Asian students, even though they tended to describe their parents as having the authoritarian style.

In accounting for differences between the Asian "authoritarian" parent and the American "authoritarian" parent, Chao pointed out the importance of the cultural context of the ideas linked to the terms. Baumrind's construct emphasized a set standard of conduct that was enforced without explaining, listening, or providing emotional support. Although the Chinese ideas of child training also emphasized a set standard of conduct enforced by parents and the larger society, they are accompanied by different intentions than typically prevail in the Baumrind characterization of the authoritarian style. Chao cited the work of Smuts and Hagen (1985), who link American authoritarian child-rearing

practices to an evangelical religious fervor that has an ambivalent view of the child. She wrote

> This view particularly stresses 'domination' of the child, or the 'breaking of the child's will,' because of the idea of 'original sin' (i.e., the concept of guilt attached to the infant by reason of deprivation of his original nature). Therefore, the concepts of *chiao shun* and 'authoritarian' have very different cultural roots, and thus very divergent implications. (p. 113)

To understand the implications of these terms, it may be useful to depart from the mechanistic metaphor in which a certain kind of behavior is expected to have a certain kind of result, and to apply a narrative methaphor that credits interpretations of experience with having a determining effect on the experience and its consequences (see also Grusec and Goodnow, 1994). It is interesting to note that the large-scale studies mentioned above used as their data not observations of parents' behavior, but adolescents' perceptions of that behavior. Buri (1995) assured me that in the population of college students and their families that he studies, there is no systematic relationship between parents' behavior and the interpretations of that behavior by offspring in their teens and older. I interpret this to mean that people's stories about their parents' behavior are different than facsimile representations of the behavior. The stories may say less about isolated parenting practices than they say about how competent members of particular subcultures align accounts of personal biographies with valued cultural myths.

Of particular interest to me are ways that the internalized "I" may be yielding to a relational "I" of the sort imaged in the dialogic activity of speech and framed in the narrative metaphor (see Sarbin, 1986). The image of an intrinsically motivated, self-contained, masterful individual person may be understood today as an oxymoron, because we live in an interdependent world that modern technology and the population explosion shrink by the day. These are very constraining conditions. The significance of the narrative as a root metaphor can be attributed to these circumstances; less than ever can the mechanistic metaphor of behaviorism accommodate the human need to make meaning. But this is just one point of view.

I would expect these conditions to make especially salient the need for parents to think out loud about what they are doing; to story what they are doing, either in the form of explicit story telling or in the form of practical arguments that link goals, situations, and actions. Elinor Ochs, Carolyn Taylor, Dina Rudolph, and Ruth Smith (1992) point out that storytelling can be used as a theory-building activity to socialize values, critical thinking, and perspective-taking among its participants. In the narrative metaphor, unlike Baumrind's behaviorist metaphor that celebrated autonomy and agency, there is no value interpretation apart from understanding the experiential, motivational, and consequential context of an action. There can be no blanket, value interpretation of internal or external causality. As Little (1987) observed, the

> monolithic view of personality that sees internality as an unmitigated good. . . may be shortsighted. . . . Highly internal individuals may perform better in environments that allow for control, but externals may not. Indeed, externals appear better adjusted than internals in environments that are constraining. (p. 223)

The experience of these constraining conditions may be reflected in the constituent aspects of parenting styles that appear to nurture optimally competent children. Differences in 1960s and 1990s parents' attitudes, behaviors, and in relationships between attitudes and behaviors could represent indicators of responses to the new constraints. In other words, accounts that parents give of their attitudes and behaviors reflect their assimilation to cultural motives that respond to contemporary cultural conditions.

There is considerable discussion that our Western culture has moved from the modern to the postmodern era (see, e.g., Jameson, 1991; Gergen, 1991). The term "postmodern" acquired sociological significance, according to Marshall (1994), when Lyotard declared in 1979 that

> post-modernism was a generic social condition, and not just a new creative style or body of theory: to wit, a condition wherein there exists a widespread if belated recognition that the two major myths or 'meta-narratives' that have legitimated scientific. . . activity for the past two hundred years are no longer widely believed. (p. 406)

The two myths alluded to concern liberation and truth. According to Marshall, complicity of the sciences in the great social crimes of the century, including the Holocaust, the Soviet gulags, and the creation of weapons of mass destruction, dispelled the Myth of Liberation. And the Myth of Truth, having lost its credibility in the eyes of historians and philosophers of science, is also losing its hold on the psychology research community (Robins and Craik, 1995), as well as the popular imagination.

2.5 The Cultural Construction of Childhood

The social construction of childhood is a key mediator of the language, constructs, artifacts, and settings that interact in parenting practices and child outcomes. These days, children have "play dates," "time outs," Barbies, Nintendos, and work-site daycare that structure segments of time, social interactions, and economic exchange. At a higher level, key sociological frames described in Ariès (1962) that constitute elements in the construction of childhood include privacy, age segregation, and the sentimentalization of the child. All of these owed their origins to the

> new concern about education [that] would gradually install itself in the heart of society and transform it from top to bottom. The family ceased to be simply an institution for the transmission of a name and an estateit assumed a moral and spiritual function, it molded bodies and souls. The care expended on children inspired new feelings, a new emotional attitude, to which the iconography of the seventeenth century gave brilliant and insistent expression: the modern concept of the family. (Ariès, 1962, pp. 412-413)

For purposes of this discussion, I have assimilated the idea of age segregation to the notion of role specialization in order to develop an umbrella category that can serve descriptions of changes in the lives of parents and children. Identification of these themes as the sociological factors that have concatenated throughout development of the "modern concept of the family" gives me an historical context for exploring the interaction of culture with cognition in parenting. It is the context that gave rise to the cultural intentionability of authoritative parenting where Baumrind (1971) located it as an in-the-parent pattern of behaviors, that is, as cognition. Consider, for example, the large

amount of research interest in authoritative parenting as a precursor to success in school. Do the practices and ostensible payoffs of authoritative parenting depend on the "new concern about education" to which Ariès alluded? How might 1960s—1990s variations on this "new concern" and its sequellae have changed the ways that parents and children interact? Or, in the terms stated in Section 2.2, how might these variations have changed cultural practices and institutions so that individuals developing ends and motives congruent with them gives rise to the personalities that populate our families?

That cultures have a profound influence on child-rearing has been widely researched (see, e.g., Whiting and Whiting, 1975; LeVine, Miller, & West, 1988; Kagitçibasi, 1990) and accepted. Baumrind (1977) has addressed the importance of cultural context in shaping her bias to favor personal agency, noting that it "is based on Western preference for individualism at the expense of communalism, so that in a differently organized society, internal-external locus of causality would be given different value interpretations" (p. 2). Miller's (cited in Shweder, 1991, p. 171) work documents such differences between American and Hindu Indian children. During their own cognitive development, American children's cultural conceptions of the person gave increasing weight to agents' general dispositions in explaining social behavior, whereas Hindu Indian children gave greater attributional weight to contextual factors.

The child-development literature also includes discussions of how social class affects child-rearing (see, e.g., Bernstein, 1964) through the linguistic structures that are functional for particular groups, through values that different social classes adopt (Kohn, 1959; Maccoby & Martin, 1983), and through certain expectations that condition children's perceptions of how appropriate a disciplinary intervention may be (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Other researchers have explored how particular cultural eras affect child-rearing (see, e.g., Inkeles, 1983; Alwin, 1988) by the prevalence of certain patterns of adaptation to modernity.

Because nation and social class are being kept constant across the two times being studied, they are not being considered as variables. The variable of greatest interest is the postmodern cultural era, the beginning of which may have registered itself in Baumrind's (1968) worries about the disappearance of "legitimate authority." I cannot describe in detail the ways that either generation of parents discussed here has accommodated to shifts in these broad sociocultural strands of influence, because these themes and their shifts were not addressed directly in any of either study's instruments. The purpose of these paragraphs is, therefore, not to describe in detail how the themes enter the intentionability of the families. It is, rather, to point out that others have found such themes were important in understanding development of the family, and to demonstrate that there is evidence that these themes do seem to organize some experiences of some families.

According to historians (Ariès, 1962; deMause, 1974), the idea of childhood that operates in contemporary Western culture did not begin developing until the close of the Middle Ages. In support of this thesis, any visitor to Boston's Museum of Fine Arts can see paintings as recent as the 1800s that depict children as small adults, who have no particularly childlike facial features, postures, or clothing. Prior to the establishment of the modern construction of childhood, families' lifestyles, whether lower or upper class, were largely communal affairs in which people lived and worked together, with little segregation by activity, sex, age, or class.

Prior to modern times, according to Ariès, "In the same rooms where they ate, people slept, danced, worked, and received visitors" (cited in Empey & Stafford, 1991, p. 25). Children did not go to school, and most were illiterate; they learned their trades and crafts in apprenticeships, side by side with the full gamut of participants in routine socio-cultural activities. Existential concerns for the quality of life that today's parents have about their children were not emphasized. Instead, parents "cared about [children] less for themselves, for the affection they felt for them, than for the contributions those

children could make to the common task" (Ariès, cited in Empey & Stafford, 1991, p. 27).

The three major features that distinguish the modern, twentieth century, Western construction of childhood include the privacy accorded children and families, the role specialization that goes along with long years of age-segregated, compulsory schooling and with away-from-home requirements of an industrial economy, and the shift in emphasis from a functional/economic parent-child relationship to a sentimental one. This construction of childhood would not likely be on the minds of parents interviewed for Baumrind's or my study so much as their minds would be in it. The effects of shifts in the 1960s patterns would more likely appear in metaphors and indirect allusions than in propositional statements; however, the nature of my data does not permit deep exploration of these phenomena.

The role of privacy in the modern construction of childhood was to separate the family from the intrusive strains of the outside world. As family historian John Demos (1986) wrote, the early colonial

> family and the community ran together at so many points; the one was, in the words of the preacher, 'a lively representation' of the other. Their structure, their guiding values, their inner purposes, were essentially the same." (p. 28)

This had come to an end by the early nineteenth century. At that time, the idea of the family began to carry connotations of retirement, seclusion, and retreat. "Home. . . was pictured as a bastion of peace, of orderliness, of unwavering devotion to people and principles beyond the self" (Demos, 1986, p. 30). One may think of Ozzie and Harriet giving television testimony to this idea when the parents in Baumrind's study were young. And, when they became parents, all the mothers in the authoritative style group stayed home and out of paid work almost full time.

The first question of the Baumrind parent interview is, "Did you feel that the presence of the observer made a difference?" (An observer visited each family for 2 hours on 2 evenings, and this question refers to those experiences.) In most cases, the parents

answers were a qualified yes, indicating that there are subtle effects from the breach in the privacy membrane of the family boundary. For example, “They were much more subdued last week than they usually are,” said one father about his children. A mother answered, “I certainly was more self-conscious about the situation, and I think my husband was, but not so much the kids,” said a mother.

“I think we’re less likely to fly off the handle if someone else is here. . . . My husband was surprisingly relaxed. I wasn’t sure he would play as usual with the children. . . . but he did, pretty well,” said another mother. This same mother distinguishes between behavior that is alright at home from what is okay in the outside world. She said she wouldn’t want her daughter “out in the street” using a pacifier, “because that would embarrass me,” but using it at bedtime is “fine.” These quotations suggest that parents think and talk as if home is a private place where things are different when the outside world intrudes, and where different conventions are adhered to than might apply in the outside world.

The methodology for the 1990s study did not include the in-home observations that occasioned some of these responses, and would not, therefore, invite a direct comparison of reactions across the time periods. However, the interview transcriptions could be scanned for responses that suggest awareness of the contrast private and public spaces, and for attitudes about speaking with me as an outsider inquiring about details of family interaction patterns.

Age segregation and other forms of role specialization in the modern construction of childhood also have given rise to conventions that organize family life both morally and operationally. The moral crusaders of the early 1900s (Empey & Stafford, 1991) thought that preserving children’s innocence might be a good in itself, and that children’s potential salvation was endangered by contact with certain adult practices, such as violence, sexuality, alcohol consumption, and crude language. The operational reasons for segregating children arose from the need to teach specialized skills, such as literacy

and numeracy (see Postman,1988), which had not been important for ordinary people in the pre-industrial days when training for adult roles took place in apprenticeships. As tasks became specialized, and changes in the sociocultural environment exacerbated cohort differences between parents and children, the "age differences in power, privilege, and prestige" (Foner, 1978, p. S347) contributed to the perception of age stratification in the family.

These concerns are clearly present in the interviews with 1960s parents, and appear routinely in the questions that elicit remarks about television. One mother said,

> I don't let her watch anything but Captain Kangaroo. . . . Except Saturday morning, she can watch "Popeye. . . . I mean, I—there's so much bad stuff on television that I definitely just make rules. And when she asks me 'Why?,' I just explain to her that I had to make some decisions about television because I know there are things that people are showing on television which would not be good for her. And I can explain it by telling her that it would frighten her.

Another mother says that her children have limits on television: "They can listen only to 'Mr. Rogers,' ' What's New,' and 'Friendly Giant.'"A third mother is explicit about her participation in monitoring television:

> I've always watched TV with them pretty much when they watch. I know what they're watching. [The interviewer asks, "Would you change the program if you felt it was" and the mother answers] Yes, I'd turn it off. . . . [say] for some combat program or something like that that came on after the cartoons.

These examples make it clear that television's potential for exposing children to inappropriate experiences is understood. Newspapers in the 1960s (Brown, 1980) had frequent articles on how television may or may not frighten children, promote violence, widen provincial perspectives, and disseminate valuable information. But these days, concerns are with the systemic impact of television among all ages, that is, with its alteration of mental processing capacities (Brown, 1980), its transformation of civic America (Putnam, 1996), and its force as a vehicle for the commercialization of culture (Ann Douglas, cited in Gabler, 1995).

The role specialization that divided the responsibilities of Baumrind's families appears to have been dramatically reshaped in today's families where so many middle-

class mothers are, themselves, professionals. Whether mothers with professional careers are currently in the work force or are planning to return to it, their professionalism gives them different commitments than their predecesors had. Neighborhoods have fewer people at home with whom to socialize, to help and be helped by, and to monitor the activities in the streets and sidewalks.

In fact, the role specialization that was once a feature of many parents' division of responsibilities may have moved to the child as object of sentimental attachment. Although the process has been underway for a long time, Zelizer (1985) chronicled the exacerbation of the trend in her book, Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children. Here, she wrote about the inverse relationship between a child's economic usefulness in the work force and the size of the insurance benefits available if harm comes to a child. Evidence for the sentimentality theme in 1960s parents' child-rearing is both superficial and deep. It is apparent among Baumrind's sample of parents at the superficial level in both the frequent declarations of affection for their children and the low maturity expectations these parents have for their preschoolers. Whereas children in other cultures (see Whiting & Whiting, 1975) have considerable responsibilities by age five for helping with siblings as well as chores connected with the household and livestock, expectations of these parents are largely limited to children's self-care with respect to dressing, tooth-brushing, and gestures such as clearing their plates from the table.

At a deeper level, intensification of the sacralization theme may itself be constructed out of the relationship between women and paid work, and the assimilation of child characteristics to women that is common in discourse about women and children (see Thorne, 1987). When middle-class women took to the household after World War II, their households had already been given over to labor-saving conveniences that appeared to transform the housewife from a home economist to a common consumer. Two effects of this were (1) to exaggerate the expressive functions of the housewife's

role, to see her as reveling in the expressive functions characteristic of childhood and of motherhood, and (2) to understate the instrumental functions of the housewife's role as sponsor of activities that focused individuals and groups on life-sustaining processes of mutual care.

The extent to which sentimentality goals rather than economic ones have influenced parenting in the 1960s compared with parenting in the 1990s may, therefore, be mediated by the extent to which mothers are removed from the paid work force. Given that Baumrind's authoritative 1960s mothers are not in the paid work force, they would be expected to have adopted the discourse of the day and carry out their instrumental functions toward their 'sacred' children, mostly unconscious of the misrepresentation accorded to these functions. They will not object to the expressive, play-focus imbalance in father-child relationships, and they will often fail to depict parenting as something that they do; rather, they will depict it as something that happened to their children. Neither mothers nor fathers will tend to comment on the imbalances in their relationships with their children in the 1960s, nor will they be aware of how mothers' instrumental behavior tends to go unnoticed by the mother.

The interviews carried out for Baumrind's research appear to support these intuitions. Listen to this father: "She wanted to learn to tie her shoes, so her mother taught her to do it; and I worked with her too, whenever she wanted me to do it." The implication is that the active teaching was the mother's; his teaching was reactive, whenever his daughter "wanted" him to do it.

Another father, asked by the interviewer what he most enjoys doing with his daughter, says, "Sandra called my attention this last year. . . to the fact that I'd never done anything with Elizabeth, and that was true—quite true." Notice that he says he never did anything with his daughter, whether enjoyable or not. He goes on: "But since that time, we've deliberately been aware of that, and we often go places together. . . . I can't just be with her, do nothing, the way Sandra does. . . . When I do things with children

they have to be programmed. I like to take them places. . . . At night I play with them." When this father is with his children, play is what they do together; they build their relationship around recreation. It is worth noticing that what his wife does with the children, he calls "nothing."

Perhaps the crispest summation of responsibilities and representation of this father's place in discharging them is in this remark: "They had a bottle. . . . and she gave it up shortly after he did, so she was only about two and a half. Sandra may tell you something different and if she does, she'll be right." I hear this less as a deferential remark about his wife's knowledgeability and more as a statement of his experience that being the children's father entails little if any culture-given responsibility for knowing what goes on with them.

Below I cite a quotation from this child's mother to illustrate my statement about parenting being not a mother's action so much as a child's response. Not only does the father not see the mother as effortfully shaping a childhood for which he is jointly (even though unconsciously) responsible, the mother does not see herself this way, either. This mother gives no hint of wanted to be counted as having inner experience: "There are rules," she says, "like one night Allen got a special treat—for some reason, he got two cookies after dinner. And he marched in to Elizabeth, 'I've got two cookies, ha-ha.'" She describes what happens next this way: "So Allen lost his cookies." Notice that there is no mention of an intentional, interacting mother.

My point is that 1960s parents were clearly engaged in an experience that was often hard, but they gave little indication of how intentionally effortful they were in exercising their responsibilities (except perhaps the fathers in their tasks as playmates). It will be interesting to see if 1990s parents reflect a cultural situation that pulls even harder on their sense of the sacredness with which their child-rearing efforts are endowed.

Of particular interest when analyzing interviews with 1990s parents will be indicators of the persistence of the modern construction of childhood, and/or indicators of

the presence of a postmodern construction of childhood. Several writers (Demos, 1986; Postman, 1988; Meyrowitz, 1985; Plotz, 1988; Winn, 1988) have suggested there is a postmodern construction of childhood that is equivalent to the disappearance of childhood. Foremost in Demos' (1986) analysis is the yielding of the ideal of a carefully demarcated sphere for the father-breadwinner, mother-homemaker, and guarded children to a more egalitarian ideal in which family members serve each other's needs. He links loss of privacy and reduced intra-family role specialization, which have consequences for the specialness with which children are perceived. In the new family, the developing child's needs are not privileged over those of the post-liberation woman or the post-macho man. Instead, the looser structure finds parents feeling that children intrude in unwelcome ways on adult psychological and physical space.

Postman (1988) wrote that "childhood was an outgrowth of literacy. And it happened because in less than one hundred years after the invention of the printing press, European culture became a reading culture; which is to say, adulthood was redefined" (p. 152). But, he suggests, all that is coming to an end, at least in the United States, because of television and other forms of mass communication. He suggests that the idea of childhood implies a vision of the future, but everything that happens on television happens <u>now</u>. Because television requires no instruction for learning to watch it, and its audience is not segregated by age, it erases the dividing line between childhood and adulthood. In other words, privacy is breached by the vehicles of mass communication, and these introduce behavioral models, ideas, and language to an arena in which these things were previously under the direction of the adults who were committed to the well-being of the particular family.

Plotz' (1988) wrote that the movement away from modern childhood as "a state to be cherished, protected, revered, and prolonged" (p. 68) is developed in some recent fiction. She reads Robert Cormier's novel, <u>After the First Death</u>, and Cynthia Voight's novel, <u>A Solitary Blue</u>, as sketches of the "emergence of a sorry New Model Human

Being, an interassimilated child who is neither child nor adult, but both spoiled" (p. 71). In other words, sentiment is diminished, either absolutely, or with respect to recent, emergent concerns. In 1995, what, evidence may emerge to suggest a trend of diminishment in privacy, separation of roles, or experience of sentimental attachment between parents and preschool children? In other words, what evidence will there be for a postmodern construction of childhood in parents' cognition, and how will it be expressed in interviews with parents?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Selection of Subjects

The subgroup of parents focused on in this dissertation was middle-class, educated, and authoritative; the lived in the Northeast. All participating families had annual incomes of more than $50,000. Their average post-high-school education was 6 years. And they met criteria for the authoritative parenting style as measured by Buri's (1989) Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ), which was developed to identify the group of parents that, according to Baumrind (1971), exhibited the optimal style, as demonstrated by its correlation with families whose children appeared to manifest a combination of considerable social responsibility as well as instrumental independence.

3.2 Procedure

Data collection for this study had three parts. One part entailed working with published and unpublished materials from Diana Baumrind's (1971) longitudinal study. In addition to using her published data, I used unpublished instruments and data that are archived at the Henry A. Murray Center, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts. These instruments included a Parent Attitude Inventory (PAI), included here as Appendix A, which I administered to all participating parents, and a Preschool Behavior Q-sort, included here as Appendix B, developed by a preschool teacher of participating children to characterize their behaviors at school. I used the Preschool Behavior Q-Sort not only for the purpose of describing actual preschoolers, but also for the purpose of describing "ideal" preschoolers. For me, a separate group of research participants, whom I refer to as cultural muses, used this instrument to characterize what they thought the ideal

preschooler might look like. These data served as a check on possible cultural shifts in contemporary understandings of the constitution of competence in preschoolers.

The second part of data collection for my study entailed administering Buri's (1989) PAQ, included here as Appendix C, to identify parents who would meet the criteria for the authoritative parenting style and who matched the demographic profile of Baumrind's sample. Participants also completed the consent form shown in Appendix D, and the data sheet shown in Appendix E. The third part consisted in interviewing a sample of this group of 1995 parents about their child rearing. For this, I adapted the Parent Interview Schedule used by Baumrind and included here as Appendix F.

People who completed the initial questionnaire screening received no reimbursement for their time. Everyone who participated in the second half of the study, which included arranging Child Behavior Q-Sorts, completing Parent Attitude Inventories, and being interviewed, received a modest honorarium for their help.

3.3 Instruments

Comparing constructions of parental authority measured in the 1960s with those measured in the 1990s required finding contemporary windows onto cultural ideas, parents' ideas and practices, and children's characters and competencies. The instruments used for these activities, and the ways the instruments were used, are described below.

3.3.1 The Preschool Behavior Q-Sort

The Preschool Behavior Q-Sort used by Baumrind (1971), was available to me through the John R. Murray Research Center at Radcliffe College, which has archived materials used in her Family Socialization Project. Each item on the Q-Sort was "defined by describing what both a child rated high and a child rated low would look like in the nursery school setting" (Baumrind, 1968b, p. iii). Items in the Q-Sort include, for example, "Has strong sense of self as a positive force (seems willing to fade into the

background)," "Can be trusted (sneaky, cannot be trusted)," "Sets goals which expand his [*sic*] abilities, e.g., learning to pump on swings, trying difficult puzzles (likes to do only what is easiest for him), and "Apprehensive (not anxious)."

Raters were given descriptors of a child who would be rated high on "strong sense of self": "From the rater's point of view, the child immediately attracted interest because of his outstanding positive characteristics, such as maturity, intelligence, competence, creativity, or complicated mode of interaction" (Baumrind, 1968, p. 26). A low rating would go to "the child [who] calls little attention to himself because of outstanding behavior or ability. He is not easily differentiated from the other children" (Baumrind, 1968, p. 26). Additional help for understanding the meaning of the item was provided by information on

> Pertinent Situations: The child noticed first in the nursery school is a good candidate for a high rating provided that he [*sic*] has not drawn notice by disruptive behavior. Differentiations: The emphasis is on positive characteristics of an individualistic nature where the child expresses a strong sense of self. Pathological characteristics, or gross abnormalities, or mere attention-getting behavior should not be the sole indices for high ratings. (Baumrind, 1968, p. 27)

This very detailed level of description seemed critical to my efforts at replicating a piece of this research. Note, however, the conjunction between "strong sense of self," "attract interest," and "positive characteristic of an individualistic nature." In Japan, where not standing out is a desirable quality (DeVos, 1996), this conjunction of favorable observer attitude and a child who attracted interest would not exist. Because Baumrind's descriptions were so detailed and rich, I was optimistic that people using them in my study would reflect cultural shifts between the 1960s and 1990s in the ways that they ordered the Q-sort items for actual and "ideal" children.

3.3.2 The Parental Authority Questionnaire

The limitations of my resources, compared with those available to Baumrind (1971), required that I focus on a limited aspect of her work, and I chose to focus on

parents who appeared likely to exhibit the Authoritative style. The Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ) developed by Buri (1989) appeared helpful for this purpose. He developed this instrument "for the purpose of measuring Baumrind's (1971) three prototypes of parental authority: permissiveness, authoritarianism, and authoritativeness" (p. 2). He reported that it had

> highly respectable measures of reliability and validity . . . . should be useful for assessing the parental authority exercised by both mothers and fathers and it is appropriate for both females and males who are older adolescents or young adults. (Buri, 1989, p. 1)

Questionnaire items were stated from the perspective of a person who had experienced the parenting style.

The question of perspective is a very important one for this dissertation. Buri (1995) has not reported success in linking the parenting style identified by the person filling out the questionnaire with the practices of the participants' parents. In theory, and if Baumrind's predictions were accurate about the causal effects of the authoritative parenting style, and if they still applied today, a statistically significant percentage of people who combine high levels of independence and social responsibility as she defined them would have experienced authoritative parents, rather than authoritarian or permissive parents. However, these hypotheses about my study's parents' parents, and whether or not they are borne out, are of only tangential interest for this dissertation. (In fact, many parents who appeared to meet criteria for being authoritative said in interviews with me that their parents had different styles.)

More directly relevant is the question of how people currently engaged in parenting represent the quality of the parenting that they received when they are asked about it by a stranger for use in her dissertation. Memory can be viewed as a dynamic construction of one's current approach to meeting life's challenges (see Adler, 1956). How one remembers having been parented, especially when this memory is assimilated to a public representation of having been parented, need not be a factual record of how a

person was parented. Rather, how one remembers having been parented may be a current construction that combines traces of the past with effects of the goals that one holds concerning one's current concerns and projects.

This is not to dispute the well-documented (see Goodnow, 1992 p. 257) influences on us by our parents, but rather to suggest that the operation of these influences is mediated by our current goals as they get traction in our culture. Memories reflect not just past events but also future orientation; they direct attention and action. Public forms of self-characterization, such as those elicited in self-report research instruments distributed by strangers, are actions that not only describe the present and the past but also shape the future. They represent speakers' decisions (no matter how conscious or unconscious) to situate themselves in particular currents of cultural forces that support, sustain, and co-construct and amplify some aspects of experience while attenuating others.

The way people present themselves on questionnaires is understood here as picturing their past and present traits while mapping their routes into the future. This is why Buri's (1989) questionnaire seemed such an apt instrument for screening potential participants in my study. An ideal number of respondents would have been over one hundred. This would have permitted selecting participants who were the most authoritative relative to each other, and would have circumvented the potential problem of using as a criterion measure what might have worked better as a relative measure. But, it was not to be.

Of the 180 screening packets distributed to 3 nursery schools in the metropolitan areas of Hartford, Connecticut, and Boston, Massachusetts, 12 were returned. The packets included questionnaires, consent forms, and a family data sheet. An additional two questionnaires were turned in to me as a result of direct requests made to people at a Harvard Summer School course and a parent meeting at a Boston-area high school. Table 1 shows the distribution of responses in the questionnaires. In order to protect

confidentiality and to ensure that each part of a packet was uniquely identifiable, each page in it was given a case number, which is shown in the far left-hand column of Table 1.

Table 1. Responses to Parental Authority Questionnaires (PAQs)

Case	Mother's Mother			Mother's Father			Father's Mother			Father's Father		
	P	N	T	P	N	T	P	N	T	P	N	T
41	27	32	24	32	38	32		*			*	
43	13	23	**33**		*			*		21	27	**35**
47	15	45	24	22	40	21		*			*	
52	17	29	**39**		*			*		22	21	**37**
56	21	27	**31**	20	27	30	27	33	**40**	26	33	24
62	23	38	**39**	18	38	41		*			*	
67	26	21	**44**	21	37	24		*			*	
111	18	34	18	34	9	10		*			*	
137	26	21	**46**	23	20	47	20	37	31	18	34	**42**
140	22	28	**35**	33	22	27	31	25	**38**	14	42	27
146	18	31	**36**	23	34	29	35	23	**47**	3	21	**44**
201	30	25	**33**		*			*		33	16	**34**
203	23	30	19		*			*		30	27	31
204	21	29	28	29	15	41	32	22	40	29	22	22

Note: P = Permissive; N = Authoritarian; and T = Authoritative. The numbers in the columns under these letters correspond to the score each case received on the item. Asterisks (*) indicate no response for these columns. When the highest score was given to Authoritative-style responses, it was set in boldface for this table.

All questionnaires that were returned were completed for the portion describing mothers' characterizations of their mothers. Mothers' characterizations of their fathers, and fathers' characterizations of their mothers and fathers were not always provided.

There were 7 out of 14 families that appeared to qualify as authoritative, by virtue of recalling their parents' practices as being more authoritative than authoritarian or permissive, as measured by this questionnaire. (Because there was no father information for cases 62 and 67, no inferences concerning parenting style can be made about these families.) The strength of respondents' agreement with characterizations consistent with authoritative parenting was indicated by the total number in the column labeled "authoritative parenting," and indicated on Table 1 as T. When this number was higher than the numbers in either of the other columns for the mother's mother, and for either the father's mother or the father's father, the couple was considered "authoritative."

Of these seven families, two were not included in the in-depth part of the study because either they or the appropriate nursery-school teacher was unavailable for it. The families of the remaining five authoritative parents became the participants for subsequent parts of the study. The high percentage of apparently authoritative families is puzzling, and it indicates that my sample was not normally distributed. This, in addition to the difficulty I had in finding study participants, is discussed in Section 4.5.

3.3.3 The Parent Attitude Inventory

One of the tasks facing Baumrind was to specify the cognitive-behavioral constituents of the parenting that went into making up the parenting styles that she identified. She set about accomplishing this task by use of a self-report measure in the form of a Parent Attitude Inventory (PAI), included here as Appendix A, and material from many hours of research associates interviewing parents and making in-home observations of the family in action. Her guidelines called for a total of 50 hours to be

devoted to each family, divided so that 20 hours were spent with the parents, and the remainder were spent with the children.

Although I identified my participants by using the PAQ developed by Buri (1989), I still needed to find out in what ways these authoritative participants resembled and differed from Baumrind's participants. Buri's questionnaire might characterize parenting style at a general level, but it could not tell me whether or how particular attitudes and behaviors combined and contrasted, either within the group of parents I identified or between the 1960s and the 1990s groups. Having participants in my study complete the Parent Attitude Inventory (PAI) that Baumrind used in her study was a way to get the kind of comparative data required.

It may be helpful to point out here some of the ways that Baumrind's PAI compares with Buri's PAQ. Although neither instrument represents itself as an indicator of goals in the realm of current action, I regard them both as elicitors of actions in the form of verbal, public self-characterizations. With Buri's PAQ, respondents choose the best way to characterize their parents' parenting; with Baumrind's PAI, they choose between answers to characterize their own parenting. From the theoretical perspective of this dissertation, choices made in both situations constitute the addition of a slight amount of force in the direction of commitment to and achievement of current goals. In addition to yielding information about the goal dispositions of the respondents, answers on the PAI could yield checks on the accuracy of parenting typology membership suggested by the PAQ; the distribution of scores on the PAI could also yield information about changes in the cultural environments of the 1960s and the 1990s. If the parents in my study really do belong to the authoritative parenting type, they would be expected to share many attitudes with their 1960s predecessors. And, if the times have changed so as to evoke different goal-directed self-characterizations for authoritative parents in the 1990s, there ought to be some systematic differences in their profiles today from those of the 1960s.

If PAI-revealed differences are of the sort that should be attributed to either the authoritarian or the permissive style, rather than the authoritative style, the use of Buri's PAQ to select authoritative parents would be thrown into question. If they are not of this sort, the differences could be attributable to changes in cultural psychology between the two time periods. Both the Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts and the interviews with children's parents can function as sources of data for triangulating decisions on how to account for similarities and differences in the PAIs.

All ten parents who participated in my study individually completed the 117-item PAI. Each question could be answered by checking choice A, choice B, or the column identified as "Meaningless or Neither." For example, Item 98 reads for choice A, "I don't mind it particularly when my child argues with me;" and for choice B, "I don't particularly like my child to argue with me." Respondents could check one of three: A, B, or Meaningless or Neither. Most parents completed the PAI prior to my interview with them, and their reactions to it were the focus of my first questions.

For this dissertation, all of the 1990s responses were tabulated. All the 1960s PAI responses of the 12 couples identified as authoritative (Baumrind, personal communication), whose cases are archived at the Murray Center, were also tabulated. Chi square analyses were performed on the two data sets to see if and where any significant differences existed. Differences were looked for in the numbers of As and Bs, in the rate of agreement on particular answers among couples, in the gender trends on particular topics, and in the relationship between couple trends and gender trends. T-tests were also done to check for significant differences in how individuals scored on the clusters of parent attitudes between the two time periods.

3.3.4 Preschool Teacher Ratings on the Preschool Behavior Q-Sort

In order to determine how the characters and competencies of the children may have been influenced by parenting attitudes and practices, it was necessary to find a

method for observing and describing their children. These steps were combined by asking the children's nursery school teachers to develop descriptions of the children using the Preschool Behavior Q-Sort. For this part of the study, preschool teachers of children in participating families were asked to use the instrument to create descriptions of the children. Using Baumrind's instrument appeared to have several advantages: (1) Results would readily lend themselves to a comparison of children in the two time periods; (2) Its level of detail minimized misunderstandings about the intended meanings of the descriptors; and (3) The constructs into which children's behaviors were grouped had analogs in constructs that showed parent behaviors and attitudes as they emerged from the PAIs.

The children's teachers sorted the 72 items in the Q-Sort into 9 groups according to how the items characterized actual children. My decision to create 9 groups both resembled and differed from the process of Baumrind's research, in which raters created 9 groups; her researchers also ordered descriptors according to their degree of characterization within each subgroup. I omitted this final ordering, for fear of alienating my research participants. Conversations with preschool teachers prior to beginning my study alerted me to their sensitivity about prejudging children and about rank-ordering them in comparison with each other.

Results of teachers' groupings were tabulated in two ways. First, items were grouped according to the theoretical behavior cluster in which they originated. This was consistent with Baumrind's (1968) initial domain mapping, whereby she and her research associates identified eight behavior continua on which they expected to find individual differences. These continua included high versus low stress tolerance, self-confident versus fearful, achievement-oriented versus nonachievement-oriented, approach-oriented versus withdrawn, autonomous versus suggestible, rebellious versus dependable with adults, destructive versus constructive, and alienated versus trusting. After generating

descriptions of these continua, and the items the researchers thought would constitute those continua, other researchers developed descriptions of actual children.

Subsequently in her research, these descriptors were cluster analyzed to see which ones appeared together most regularly with which actual children. Out of this cluster analysis emerged empirical constructs. There were seven empirically clustered constructs, and their character differed slightly from the theoretical constructs. The empirical clusters were named Hostile-Friendly, Resistive-Cooperative, Domineering-Tractable, Dominant-Submissive, Purposive-Aimless, Achievement oriented-Not achievement oriented, and Independent-Suggestible (Baumrind, 1971). To see if there were any differences between the two time periods in the ways that these items might cluster, a number was entered on a grid that had spaces for indicating the degree to which each of the 72 items characterized my study participants.

The second way in which I tabulated descriptors of participants in my study was according to the empirical clusters that emerged from Baumrind's work. Only 43 of the 72 theoretical items served to help discriminate child character and competence according to the empirical clusters that Baumrind found. I drew grids showing each item inside its empirical cluster, and I entered the number that indicated the degree to which the teacher thought the item characterized each actual child in my study. The narrower the range of variation among my participants on each empirical construct, the more likely it would be to still represent a coherent cluster.

Any systematic differences in constituents of the constructs might suggest cultural shifts. Information for interpreting the meaning of differences should be available in the material provided by the "cultural muses" (described below in Section 3.3.5), the parents' attitudes reported in the PAIs, and the interviews held with the parents.

3.3.5 Description of Cultural Context by Cultural Muses

Given that the merits and behavioral referents of many human qualities vary with sociocultural demands, it was not a foregone conclusion that qualities manifested by children thought to manifest optimal combinations of social responsibility and independence in the urban, white, educated middle class of the 1960s would necessarily be characterized by the same qualities in the 1990s. The cultural context of the 1990s might be pulling for a different combination of responsibility and independence features. For example, if in the mid-1850s, Nathaniel Hawthorne's heroine Hester Prynne had declared the Reverend Dimmesdale the father of her illegitimate child, she would most likely have been manifesting suicidal bad judgment, whereas so representing herself in Boston in the late 1990s would likely be interpreted as assertive, if not courageous. Courage and assertiveness in the service of survival during the 1850s would have had very different behavioral referents than they have today. What analogs to this anachronistic 1850s-1990s match might be found by comparing sociocultural demands of the 1960s with those of the 1990s?

Baumrind's (1971) monograph is not explicit about the cultural and historical contingency of optimal child qualities, or even the idea that there might be a single array of optimal child qualities (but see Baumrind 1977 and 1991, where she does develop these ideas). Although she acknowledged that in certain cases considered by her to be suboptimal, child behaviors are consistent with the values of the parents, one version of the 1960s optimal child saturates Baumrind's (1971) research. Indeed, a primary impetus for her work was the desire to find parenting characteristics that might correlate systematically not just with authoritarian parenting, which seemed to promote social responsibility, and not just with permissive parenting, which many believed (falsely, according to her results) would promote high independence at the expense of social responsibilty (as may have occurred with the boys in Lewin, Lippitt & White, 1939). She hoped to find correlates that promoted an optimal combination of the two, of both social

responsibility and independence, which she conceptualized as "interacting coping functions which are brought to bear whenever the child is called upon to interact with others in a group, or to respond to an extrinsic demand" (Baumrind 1971, p. 6).

Operating within this cultural bias, which was not just in her time but also a constituent of the times she was in, she and 7 colleagues developed the Preschool Behavior Q-Sort, consisting of 72 items that described preschoolers, and was used by 1990s teachers to characterize children in participating families. Although its bias disposes it to discriminate child behaviors thought to constitute optimal child characters and competencies in the 1960s, it would not necessarily point to behaviors that a similar demographic group would consider optimal now, 26 years after this particular revision of the Q-Sort was finalized for use in the study reported in Baumrind 1971. [There is, for example, some sense in the child development literature today that a high score on "constructive thinking" (Epstein & Meier, 1989) would more closely approximate the ideal contemporary child profile.]

To find out whether the contemporary cultural pull would value the same behaviors that were valued in Baumrind's time and place, I asked eight human services professionals to imagine profiles of contemporary "ideal" children for my research. All eight were urban, Caucasian, and middle class, although they had diverse sexual preferences. I thought of these people as situated in their professional lives in ways that qualified them to act for me as "cultural muses," that is, as voices attuned to the linguistic and behavioral nuances of describing as well as promoting successful human development. Guiding my selection of these individuals was my belief that their occupational milieus would serve as contexts that reduced the idiosyncratic indexicality of their talk and substituted for it an idiom of talk about human development and its referents to human beings' practices that would be as accurate and generative as any that I could find.

The cultural-muse group included four women and four men. Two had careers in social work, two in psychotherapy, three in elementary and secondary education, and one in preschool education. All had a minimum of 2 years postgraduate training, and 5 years of work experience. Their instructions were as follows:

> Imagine you are raising a child who is now 3 or 4 years old and will be 8 or 9 years old at the turn of the century. Please arrange these descriptors according to the importance each one is likely to have for this child so that she/he has the best possible chances for leading a full, rich life. Create a stack of 12 items for each of 6 categories. . .

The categories differed according to how characteristic the rater believed particular qualities would be, including "extremely characteristic," "fairly characteristic," "somewhat characteristic," "somewhat uncharacteristic," "fairly uncharacteristic," and "extremely uncharacteristic." Because I was concerned to forestall obsessing over details in describing the "ideal" child, I asked the muses to create six stacks of items, rather than the nine stacks I asked the teachers to develop.

3.3.6 Interviews with Parents

According to the guidelines of the study that are archived at the Murray Center, Baumrind's researchers interviewed parents for about one hour concerning their experiences with the child in the study, their attitudes about discipline, and their expectations for the child's future. The interview schedule and transcriptions of the interviews are on file at the Murray Center. For my interviews with parents, I followed this schedule closely. A copy of it appears as Appendix 2.

It is clear that no one-to-one interview can be the same, even if the words in the questions and the overall cultural contexts are identical. Individual interviewers have personal styles that influence the material they get. But neither I nor Baumrind's researchers limited our questions to those in the schedule. Whether similiarities, differences, and puzzlements should be attributed to interviewer, interviewee, the child, the cultural context, or even the style of transcription is very difficult to assess.

Nevertheless, I expected some systematic differences to result from the relative unfamiliarity I had with my research participants, compared with those in Baumrind's study. Unlike her interviewers, who had been observing in the families' homes for two dinner-through-bedtime evenings, I had not met my families prior to asking them these questions. I could not begin my interviews as her researchers did with questions about how the interviewee felt about the presence of the observer in the home. Instead, I asked about their reactions to the PAI.

And, to compensate for the relative thinness of our shared contexts and the conversational reticence I expected would accompany this, I routinely asked for stories that would exemplify the behavior in question. This contrasted with Baumrind's researchers' penchants for probing in ways that were more subtly nuanced. I continued this narrative strain at the conclusion of the interviews by asking for a story that seemed to capture the experience of having been the particular child's parent. After several participants gave me what seemed like rather flat responses, I changed my concluding question. I think that parents may have experienced a disjuncture between the behavior-oriented questions and the interpretation-oriented question at the end. Since most of our conversation was directed at describing external phenomena, the shift to asking for their interpretations may have been too abrupt. About one-half way through my study, I changed the final question, and I asked what I should know about the person's parenting experience that had not yet been mentioned.

I considered applying some content analysis methods to particular responses between the two groups (Applegate, Burke, Burleson, Delia, and Kline, 1985). Responses to requests for descriptions of their children, for information on what they hoped their children would become, and for how they felt about parents' rights and conveniences as reasons for children's obedience are examples of material I submitted to this form of analysis. I also compared responses given in the interviews with responses given on the PAIs. The function of these activities proved to be as vehicles for

determining at what level of detail the interviews could be studied. What I think that they demonstrated was that people need to be invited to go into depth about their associations to questions if one is going to get a sense of how they construe meaning. That people's experiences were very meaningful to them was apparent from their answers, as presented in Section 4.5. However, I think that the questions I asked were too superficial to uncover patterns of meaning making among the parents that I interviewed.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

As described in Chapter 3, this study is comprised of four independent sources of new information: (1) Rankings by eight "cultural muses" who ordered the items on Baumrind's (1968) Preschool Behavior Q-Sort according to the importance they thought that each descriptor was likely to have for a child who would be 8 or 9 years old at the turn of the century so that she/he has the best possible chances for leading a full, rich life; (2) Inventories of attitudes of parents whose scores on the screening device suggest that their styles could be characterized as authoritative; (3) Descriptions of these parents' children, developed by their preschool teachers using Baumrind's (1968) Preschool Behavior Q-Sort; and (4) Interviews lasting approximately one hour that were conducted according to the same interview schedule used in Baumrind's 1971 study.

I consider all of these information sources as indicators of the contemporary construction of childhood among this sample of parents. As described in Chapter 2, the three sociological themes I am most interested in following for their place in the construction of childhood are (1) role specialization and age segregation of children and adults; (2) privacy inside the home, and (3) the sacralization of childhood. How these affect parents' lives is discussed in Section 4.5 and Section 4.6.

4.2 The Cultural Context as Seen by Cultural Muses

That much has changed in the world since the 1960s is obvious. But what might be the importance of those changes to mediating advice to parents that is based on Baumrind's (1971) highly influential research? The generalization offered by Ruddick (1980) that parents everywhere are concerned with the preservation, growth, and acceptability of their children, that is, to their survival, development, and induction to

patterns of local virtue, does not direct our attention to what obstacles constrain and inform parents' specific goals, or what behaviors they would like to encourage if they had the know-how to do so. However, we may take the list developed by Baumrind as a guide to the behaviors that children might exhibit more and less frequently and might thereby give the impression of being more or less competent.

By the time it became the 72-item Preschool Behavior Q-Sort used for Baumrind's 1971 monograph, this instrument had gone through several revisions since its early use in 1961 (for which results are reported in Baumrind, 1967). Baumrind (1971) wrote that "the changes from the initial [95-item] sort represented an attempt to eliminate unreliable items, improve the wording of items found to be ambiguous, and to fill out areas of the model concerned with independence and achievement" (p.5). For her study, observers rated children on the degree to which they were characterized by individual Q-sort behaviors in the nursery school setting.

From the outset, Baumrind conceptualized a circumplex model on which she represented facets of "two unrelated dimensions of competence-incompetence: namely social responsibility versus social irresponsibility and independent versus suggestible behavior" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 6). This was a convention among several child-development researchers in the 1960s (see, e.g., Schaefer, 1961, and Becker & Krug, 1964). After researchers conceptualized where to place particular behaviors on the model, they cluster-analyzed reports of actual children's behaviors to see how the empirical data corresponded to the conceptual expectations:

> . . . all Q-sort items [representing observed behaviors] were plotted in this two-factor space with their factor coefficients used as coordinates. The items were formed into clusters on the basis of position on the circular plot, pattern of intercorrelation of contiguous items, and similarity of pattern for both sexes. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 6)

Baumrind stated that "the final six clusters which emerged were almost identical to five of the seven initial empirical clusters" (p. 6), and "an additional overlapping cluster [with

theoretical relevance] did not appear in the original empirical clusterings. . . but showed up clearly in the ordering of the variables" (p. 6).

I find this very difficult to understand. The tone of the writing suggests she is satisfied that the conceptual and empirical data correspond well with each other. However, it looks to me as if exigencies of the theory may be giving their cues to organization of the data, rather than vice versa. When theories are explicitly hermeneutic, this seems a more justifiable practice than when they are explicitly data-driven, which is the case with Baumrind's (1971) framework (approximately two-thirds of the monograph is devoted to statistical tables). Baumrind's practice in this maneuver may undermine the basis on which the determination of authoritative parenting is premised. It has been my understanding that she thought she demonstrated authoritative parents raised children who manifested the greatest number of what she viewed as desirable child behaviors. However, counting some behaviors more than once, as in the "additional overlapping cluster" mentioned in the previous paragraph, seems problematic. But, this is an aside that is more concerned with the accurate interpretability of Baumrind (1971) than with applicability of what have come to be understood as her results.

For my study, it seemed important to learn whether the items thought to be meaningful in the 1960s would be meaningful today. I reasoned that if my cultural muses could agree on the importance of certain behaviors, their agreement implied the behavior was understandable in a consistent way with respect to its value in contributing to children's competence and character today. I construed agreement to mean that all the muses would rank "very meaningful" items within two points of each other either very high or very low; they would rank "somewhat meaningful" items within three points of each other any place on the high-low continuum; and the items that were widely discrepant in their ranking would be essentially uninterpretable.

Table 2 presents a summary of 1990s cultural muses' responses to clustered Q-sort items that comprised Baumrind's (1971) social responsibility (Clusters I, II, and VI)

and independence (Cluster III, IV, V, and VII) competences. The top one-third of the table lists the 1990s "very meaningful" items; the middle one-third of the table lists the 1990s "quite meaningful" items; and the bottom one-third of the table lists the 1990s "puzzling" items. If the homogeneity of the cultural muses' responses is an indicator of the interpretability of the item, and if the assignment of a very high or a very low rating to the item is an indicator of how much the muses value the item, the meaningfulness and the value of three clusters appears to have persisted, while the meaningfulness and the value of the other four clusters cannot be determined from the data available. In other words, the 1990s cultural muses seem to agree that particular behaviors are recognizable and desirable constituents of the Hostile/Friendly cluster, of the Purposive/Aimless cluster, and of the Achievement-Oriented/Nonachievement-Oriented cluster. However, they do not seem to be in agreement concerning the constituents or merits of the other four clusters.

Table 2. Description of Preschool Behavior Q-Sort Clusters: 1990s Cultural Muses' "Ideal Child" Solutions

	Cluster 1: Hostile/ Friendly	Cluster 2: Resistive/ Cooperative	Cluster 3: Domineering/ Tractable	Cluster 4: Dominant/ Submissive	Cluster 5: Purposive/ Aimless	Cluster 6: Achievement Oriented/ Not Achievement Oriented	Cluster 7: Independent/ Suggestible
Very Meaningful	54. Bullies	52. Trustworthy	2. Manipulates		16. Confident 49. Self as force	12. Gives best 42. Expansive goals	
Quite Meaningful	1. Open with negative feelings 7. Nurturant to other kids 35. Helps others 63. Selfish 70. Insulting	27. Evades adult authority 32. Obedient 33. Impetuous	13. Timid 67. Hits only in self- defense	11. Suggestible 47. Plans own activities	10. Spectator 14. Unoccupied 15. Vacillates 18. Self-starting 19. Disoriented in environment	6. Likes new cognitive skills 8. Doesn't persevere 53. Stretches when lots is demanded	11. Suggestible 66. Stereotyped thinking
Puzzling	72. Thoughtless of others' things	44. Facilitates routine 68. Provocative with adults 69. Responsible about standard operating procedure	36. Doesn't question adult authority 41. Concerned about adult disapproval 71. Non-intrusive	21. Peer leader 48. Resists domination by others 64. Individu-alistic	24. Paid attention to by others 59. Samples activities aimlessly	20. Not pleasantly involved 26. Easily frustrated	36. Does not question adult authority 64. Individualistic
Meaningful and Valued	*	?	?	?	*	*	?

Note: "Meaningful" items are those for which the cultural muses' ratings were homogeneous (within two points of each other on a scale from 1 to 6); "quite meaningful" items are those for which the cultural muses' ratings were somewhat less homogeneous (within three point of each other); "puzzling" items are those for which the cultural muses were further apart than three points; "valued" items are those to which the cultural muses assigned average ratings that were either very low or very high.

Developing a new cluster analysis with my small data base is not possible. But it is possible to consider the 1990s cultural muses' responses to the individual, unclustered items. By summing the ranks that the muses assigned to each behavior, I found that the 12 "very meaningful" items included 2, 9, 12, 16, 28, 30, 42, 49, 52, 54, 61, and 70. These items are summarized as follows:

2. Manipulates other children to enhance his own position or to get what he wants (non-manipulative);
9. Lacks ability to get along with other children (interacts smoothly with other children);
12. Gives his best to work and play (puts little effort into what he does);
16. Confident (lacks confidence);
28. High energy level (low energy level);
30. Apprehensive (not anxious);
42. Sets goals which expand his abilities, e.g., learning to pump on swings, trying difficult puzzles (likes to do only what is easiest for him);
49. Has strong sense of self as positive force (seems willing to fade into background);
52. Can be trusted (sneaky, cannot be trusted);
54. Bullies other children (is not a bully);
61. Tries to manipulate adults (relates straightforwardly to adults);
70. Insulting (does not assault another child's ego). (Baumrind 1968c, iv-vii)

The 38 "quite meaningful" items included 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 39, 43, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 63, 65, 66, and 67. These are summarized below:

1. Expresses negative feelings openly and directly (frustrated or bound up by feelings);
4. Willing to pursue tasks alone (needs support of other children);
5. Forcefully goes after what he wants (hesitates or is easily put off);
6. Likes to learn new cognitive skills (does` not actively seek new learning experiences);
7. Nurturant or sympathetic to other children (unsympathetic when another child is in distress);
8. Does not persevere when he encounters frustrations (perseveres);
10. Spectator (participant);
11. Suggestible (has a mind of his own);
13. Timid with other children (bold with other children);
14. Characteristically unoccupied (generally busy, always occupied);
15. Vacillates and oscillates (knows what actions he wants to take and with whom);
17. Lacking in curiosity (curious);
18. Self-starting and self-propelled (needs reassurance and encouragement from others in order to embark);
19. Disoriented in his environment (well-oriented in his environment);
23. Other children seek his company (company seldom sought by other children):

27. Tries to evade adult authority (accepts adult guidance);
29. Emotionally expressive (emotionally bland)
32. Obedient (disobedient);
33. Destructively impetuous and impulsive (self-controlled and thoughtful);
34. Slow-moving and phlegmatic (alert and vivacious);
35. Helps other children carry out their activities (purposely disrupts activities of other children);
38. Communicates well verbally (rambling, inarticulate);
39. Requires a great deal of adult supervision (does not require supervision);
43. Gets other children in trouble with teacher (protects other children from adult disapproval);
45. Seeks company of other children (avoids company of other children);
46. Avoids peer interaction by techniques such as seeking adult attention (comfortable and secure in interaction with peers);
47. Plans activities for other children (seeks direction from other children or teacher);
50. Socially withdrawn (outgoing);
51. Physically courageous with playground apparatus (fearful)
53. Stretches to meet the situation when much is demanded of him (retreats when much is demanded of him);
55. Understands other children's position in interaction or altercation (nonempathic);
57. Withdraws when faced with excitement or a great deal of activity (enjoy excitement);
58. Friendly attitude towards teaching staff (hostile toward staff);
60. Typically in the role of a listener (fullparticipant in group talks);
63. Selfish (altruistic, shares his possessions willingly);
65. Blame-avoidant (accepts responsibility for wrong-doing);
66. Stereotyped in his thinking (original);
67. Hits only in self-defense or doesn't hit at all (hits aggressively). (Baumrind, 1968c, iv-vii)

The 22 items whose puzzling meaning is indicated by their wide distribution in their ranking included 3, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 31, 36, 37, 40, 41, 44, 48, 56, 59, 62, 64, 68, 69, 71, and 72. Summaries of these are as follows:

3. Well-coordinated and agile (poorly coordinated and clumsy);
20. Does not become pleasurably involved in structured tasks (involves self pleasurably in structured activities);
21. Peer leader (follower);
22. Supports or incites culpable behavior by other children (does not support wrongdoing or inhibits culpable behavior);
24. Paid attention to by other children (goes unnoticed by other children);
25. Dependent upon any one adult, especially mother (self-reliant in relating to adults);
26. Easily frustrated or upset when an obstacle to task performance is encountered (has high tolerance for frustration);
31. Argues with other children to get his point across (backs down when opposed);
36. Does not question adult authority (can question adult authority when he has a good reason);

37. Expresses preferences for one kind of activity over another (does not express preferences);
40. Likes to compete with other children in performance of activities (avoids competitive situations);
41. Concerned about adult disapproval (not concerned about adult disapproval);
44. Actively facilitates nursery school routine;
48. Resists domination by other children (submits to demands of other children);
56. Content, cheerful attitude (discontent);
59. Samples activities aimlessly, lacks goals (purposive);
62. Excludes other children from pair or group play (accepts and includes other children easily into play);
64. Individualistic (complies to the group);
68. Provocative with adults (does not challenge adult authority);
69. Responsible about following standard operating procedure at school (shows little concern about rules and regime);
71. Nonintrusive (domineering attitude);
72. Thoughtless of other children's productions (takes care not to destroy another's work). (Baumrind, 1968c, iv-vii)

How should the range of values assigned to this group of items be interpreted? Might it reflect sociocultural shifts, such that there is less consensus today than in the 1960s among this demographic group concerning desirable child behaviors? Some of the items in the puzzling group may be most meaningful to nursery-school teachers, who spend lots of time with large groups of young children. For example, a secondary school teacher who has one or two children of her own is not likely to have been in many different situations where a preschooler's penchant for becoming pleasurably involved in a structured task made a lot of difference. Nor would such a person have much experience observing the correlations between this penchant and others with more vivid correlations to social responsibility and independence. But preschool teachers have many opportunities to observe such behaviors and experience their consequences. On these grounds, I am inclined to interpret the ambiguity of value assigned to items 20, 21, 22, 24, 31, 40, 44, 48, 62, 69, and 72 as a possible artifact of the differences between the groups' attentional focus in the two time periods and inappropriate to consideration of differences mediated by historical, sociocultural phenomena.

Another possibility is that gender bias in responses may help explain the ambiguity. Seven out of the eight people who developed the Q-Sort with Baumrind

reflected the gender-role specialization whereby women more than men attended to day-to-day childcare concerns. My cultural muses were evenly divided, men and women. Table 3 shows the Preschool Behavior Q-Sort items about which men and women were ambivalent in 1995. Accounting for the outliers from the mean rank that was given to items, women more than men disagreed with each other on items 3 (physical agility), 24 (attention from children), 36 (questions adult authority), 62 (excludes other children), 64 (individualistic), and 68 (provocative with adults). If there is a theme to the items about which women appear to be relatively ambivalent, it might be standing out versus blending in. Perhaps these data can be interpreted as speaking to the much discussed contrast (see, for example, Gilligan, 1982, and Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule, 1986) between women's concern with ethics and epistemology that feature caring and interpersonal relationships, by contrast with men's concern for abstract principles of justice. If so, they suggest that women may not just see this distinction as normative; they may be conflicted about it.

Table 3. Preschool Behavior Q-Sort Items about Which Men and Women Are Ambivalent in 1995 (1 suggests the quality would be very characteristic, 6 suggests the quality would be very uncharacteristic).

Women More Ambivalent than Men	Men More Ambivalent than Women
3. Physical agility (women rate this 1-4; men rate it 1-2)	20. Pleasurable involvement in structured tasks (men rate this 3, 4, 5, and 6; women rate it 4, 5)
24. Attention from children (women rate this 1-4;men rate it 1 ,2, and 3)	21. Peer leader (men rate this 1, 2, 3 and 6; women rate it 2, 3)
36. Questions adult authority (women rate this 2, 3, 4, and 6; men rate it 3, 4)	22. Incites culpable behavior in others (men rate this 3, 5, and 6; women rate it 6)
44. Facilitates routine (women rate this 1, 2, 3, and 4; men rate it 2, 3)	25. Depends on one adult (men rate this 1, 4, and 6; women rate it 5, 6)
62. Excludes other children (women rate this 3, 5, and 6; men rate it 4, 6)	26. Easily frustrated (men rate this 3, 5, and 6; women rate it 4, 5, and 6)
64. Individualistic (women rate this 1, 2, 3, and 5; men rate it 3, 4)	31. Argues to get point across (men rate this 1, 3, and 4; women rate it 2, 3)
68. Provocative with adults (women rate this 2, 4, and 6; men rate it 3, 4, and 5)	37. Expresses preferences (men rate this 1, 2, and 4; women rate it 1, 2)
	40. Likes to compete (men rate this 1, 2, 3, and 4; women rate it 3, 4)
	41. Concerned about adult disapproval (men rate this 1, 3, and 4; women rate it 3, 4)
	48. Resists domination by children (men rate this 1, 3, and 4; women rate it 2, 3, and 4)
	56. Content attitude (men rate this 2 and 4; women rate it 1 and 2)
	71. Nonintrusive (men rate this 1, 2, 4, and 5; women rate it 1, 3)
	72. Thoughtlessly destructive (men rate this 3, 4, 5; women rate it 5, 6)
Both groups equally ambivalent: 59. Purposiveness (range 3-6); and 69. Responsible about standard operating procedure (range 1-4).	

Accounting for the outliers from the mean rank, men more than women disagreed with each other on items 20 (pleasurable involvement in structured tasks), 21 (peer leader), 22 (incites culpable behavior in others), 25 (depends on one adult), 26 (easily frustrated), 27

(evades adult authority), 31 (argues to get point across), 37 (expresses preferences), 40 (likes to compete), 41 (concerned about adult disapproval), 48 (resists domination by others), 56 (content attitude), 71 (nonintrusive), and 72 (thoughtlessly destructive). Men and women disagreed within and across groups on the importance of items 59 (purposiveness) and 69 (responsible about standard operating procedure).

As there may be a theme to differences that separate women from men, there may be one that separates men from women. Again, the theme shows up as a conflict among men, rather than a consensus on ways in which male socialization norms may differ from those that apply to women. Men appear to be conflicted about the degree to which the socialization task of developing social responsibility ought to be feature of successful child-rearing outcomes. Men more than women differ about the desirability of the emotional and instrumental correlates of behaviors that might be normative among a group that seeks to stand out.

If gender-sensitive behaviors comprised a substantial number of the items that made up a competency cluster in the Baumrind (1971) study, the proportion of men in the 1990s study might have skewed the weighting of valued behaviors. It is also possible that the 1990s cultural muses lacked sufficient information to make informed judgments concerning the relative merits of assorted behaviors in the nursery school setting, and it is not disagreement so much as naiveté that is reflected in the scattering of their rankings of several behaviors. But some of the behaviors that people seem puzzled about can be experienced by anyone who spends time with even one or two children. Excluding as too unclear the items about which only nursery- school teachers would be well informed leaves seven items that may reflect sociocultural shifts. These are 36, 64, and 68 for women, and 25, 26, 56, and 71 for men.

Ambivalence indicates not only lack of group consensus about an issue or lack of understanding; it may also indicate the presence of conflict within individuals and groups about the issue, which is what I suggested above. Is there something about questioning

adult authority, about individualism, and about being provocative with adults (items 36, 64, and 68) that is differentially meaningful and/or problematic for women and men? Is there something about depending on one adult, about frustration, about contentment, and about intrusiveness (items 25, 26, 56, and 71) that is differentially meaningful and/or problematic for men and women?

To begin answering these questions, it is helpful to consult Baumrind (1971). Item 36 (does not question adult authority) co-constitutes Baumrind's empirical cluster III: Domineering-Tractable; item 64 (individualistic) co-constitutes her empirical cluster IV: Dominant-Submissive and cluster VII: Independent-Suggestible; and item 68 (provocative with adults) co-constitutes her empirical cluster II: Resistive-Cooperative. Interestingly, relatively high scores for all these clusters (that is, being domineering, dominant, independent, and resistive) appear to bode well for a preschool girl's independence:

> It looks as though girls, in order to be achievement oriented and purposive, should, relative to other girls, be nontractable. Independence is more difficult to achieve for girls than for boys, and probably requires, even at this young age, a certain amount of rejection of peer and adult influence, and training in true independence of normative standards. (p. 92)

This seems to me a subtle piece of information that is not readily intuited, and is worth further study. Is it still true, and if parents could choose between promoting resistiveness in the service of later developmental precocity, would they do so? A different understanding of the place of a behavior in a person's developmental trajectory might alter a parent's experience so that it would not be felt as negative. Can a person be playfully rejecting and accomplish the same end? Would the child not subjected to the playful rejection suffer from a contrast effect? In any case, I am inclined to attribute the muses' responses on these items to the subtlety of how they interact with other desirable qualities rather than to sociocultural change in what is desirable.

Looking at the items about which men appeared ambivalent shows that item 26 (easily frustrated) co-constitutes cluster VI: Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement

oriented; and item 71 (nonintrusive) co-constitutes cluster III: Domineering-Tractable. (Items 25 and 56 did not appear in any of Baumrind's empirical clusters, which means that their presence or absence did not correlate with any of the seven constructs in terms of which she reduced her data.) What might it mean that men appear less clear than women about the place of frustration proneness and intrusiveness in optimal child development? Baumrind (1971) wrote that preschool

> boys show more hostility to peers and resistance to adult supervision and less achievement orientation. It is of interest that resistiveness to adult authority and achievement orientation were highly negatively correlated for boys and not at all related for girls, and that domineering behavior on the part of girls was more highly related to constructive activity than it was for boys. (p. 92)

For boys, the relationship between scores on the clusters Resistive-Cooperative and Achievement oriented-Not achievement oriented was clearly negative. However, the girl who, relative to other girls, is resistive to adults is not necessarily nonachieving; with boys, such resistiveness is likely to be coupled with nonachievement (Baumrind, 1971, p. 8).

Do men see intrusiveness and frustration-proneness as less problematic than women? Might that be why women perceive these behavioral qualities as more problematic than men? It is conceivable that the relatively dominant, male gender does have a different experience of these qualities than do women. In summary, there are too many confounding variables connected with the fuzziness of language, gender differences, and cluster constituents to attribute apparent shifts in the desirability of particular child behaviors to sociocultural shifts in what people hope to see in the next generation.

4.3 Indicators of Parents' Intrapersonal Ideas about Authoritative Parenting

Data for this section come from the PAQs used for identifying parents who seemed likely to meet my study's criteria for having an authoritative style, and from comparison of the PAIs filled out in the 1960s by participants in Baumrind's (1971)

study with PAIs filled out by participants in my study. In order to keep stable as many factors as possible across the two time periods, and to minimize misinterpretations arising from my own middle-class, well-educated personal history, I sought participation from nursery schools whose families, like my own, were mostly middle-class, Caucasian, and well educated. Nevertheless, despite the demographic similarities, there do appear to be noteworthy differences between the populations that participated in the two studies.

4.3.1 Demographic Characteristics of 1960s and 1990s Participant Samples

Some of the differences in the two samples may be attributed to demographic characteristics of the pool from which my sample came, but many of these demographic characteristics are themselves aspects of sociocultural shifts that have taken place since the 1960s. First, I will present the factual comparisons in Table 4. Interpretive comparisons will be presented subsequently.

Table 4. Comparison of 1960s and 1990s Sample Characteristics by Cohort

	Average Age of Child (in months)	Number of Children in Family	Birth Order of Child	Mother's Education	Mother's Employment outside home	Father's Education	Father's Employment
1990s Families	47	1.8	1.2	16-22 years- 18.2 years avg.	22 percent	12-24 years- 19.2 years average	Blue Collar- Medical Doctor
1960s Families	53	2.9	2.3	Approximate average: 16	.5 percent	Nearly all Ph.D.	Professors and Graduate Students

As Table 4 shows, there are several obvious differences between the groups. Perhaps the least relevant is the youthfulness of children in my sample, whose average

age was 47 months, which compares with an average age of 53 months for Baumrind's sample. Baumrind found no significant effects of age on the likelihood that a child's parents would be of the Authoritative type. What she did find was that

> The only relevant Child Behavior Cluster where significant correlations with a sample characteristic appeared was the Resistive. Age and number of children correlated in opposite directions with Resistive cluster scores. . . . In general, older boys were more Resistive. But boys from Authoritative homes, who on the average were older, were less Resistive. However, boys from larger families were also less Resistive. Since sons of Authoritative parents come from larger families, family size cannot be ruled out as a causal factor for the low resistiveness of these boys. (Baumrind, 1971, p. 62)

Although this is an interesting finding, it does not entail a suggestion that large families are a necessary condition for emergence of the authoritative parenting style, or for its benefits to be reflected in children's behaviors. Certainly large family size cannot have contributed to the apparent effect of authoritative parenting observed in my study in which no family had more than two children.

However, there are several substantial differences in the parents' educational and employment situations across the two time periods. Whereas Baumrind's authoritative parents' group was comprised of mothers whose average amount of education was about 16 years, mothers in my group averaged more than 2 years of study after college. How much of what kind of work was done by mothers in Baumrind's study is not described. However, prior to becoming parents, nearly all mothers in my study worked nearly full time as professionals (law, education, and medicine) or as executives. At the time of my study, mothers' average employment time outside the home was 22%, compared with less than 1% for mothers in Baumrind's study.

A different trend was apparent in the fathers' education and employment. Perhaps the unusualness of Baumrind's sample is most striking with respect to the extremely high educational level of most of the fathers (although she wrote that fathers belonging to the authoritarian group were among the most highly educated men in the sample). Whereas nearly all the authoritative fathers in Baumrind's study had doctorates, and they all

provided nearly all the earned income for the family, the fathers who participated in my study represented a range from high-school graduate to doctoral level professional. Furthermore, unlike fathers in Baumrind's study, fathers in my study did not necessarily contribute more than one-half of the family's earned income. These shifts are consistent with national demographic trends, in which more women with children under 5 are employed outside the home, more women are well educated, and more fathers are intimately involved with child-rearing than was the case in the 1960s.

Children in all the families that participated in my study either lived with, or knew children who lived with, fathers who had major child-care responsibilities between 9 am and 5 pm. Even among the 1990s fathers whose wives are home full time, all said that they wash dishes, change diapers, and/or put children to bed on a regular basis. Role specialization in the 1990s families is clearly altered from that characterizing 1960s families.

4.3.2 Comparison of 1960s and 1990s Parents' Attitudes

Looking at the PAIs completed by Baumrind's authoritative parents and the parents in my study also suggests there are important attitudinal differences between the groups. Whether this means the group of parents who helped with my study do not belong to the Authoritative type, whether it means Authoritative parenting correlates with attitudes and practices different than those with which it correlated in the 1960s, or whether ways of talking about child-rearing incorporate different concerns are the questions that interest me the most. Answers to the questions have implications for recognising individual and sociocultural patterns of influences in child-rearing.

In describing development of the PAI, Baumrind (1971) wrote that the hypothetical constructs essentially parallel those of the Parent Behavior Ratings. These ratings were made on the basis of observations done in the home on two different evenings, beginning at 5 pm and continuing from meal preparation through the bedtime of

the participating child. The observer recorded the activities of the mother, and of everyone around her, at 5-minute intervals. Observers had been trained to be particularly attentive to control sequences—who initiated them, how forcefully they pursued goals, and what were the outcomes. I could not make similar observations with my participants; my reliance on the teachers' reports of children's behaviors, on interviews with the parents, and on the PAIs makes for a thinner data set than was available for the Baumrind study.

Baumrind (1971) wrote that

> In general, conforming parents accepted the [parent attitude] inquiry, while nonconforming parents objected to the inquiry even when parents like themselves had helped to formulate the questions. Many individualistic but not nonconforming parents felt that a self-report measure could not reflect their position accurately. (p. 74)

The PAIs offer parents three choices on each item: A, B, or "meaningless or neither." They also leave several inches at the bottom of each page for comments. The proportion of "meaningless or neither" answers in the two groups of parents was similar (5% for the 1990s group and 6% for the 1960s group). But more often than 1990s parents, the 1960s parents filled the bottom space with comments. I interpret this to mean that the group of 1960s parents whose PAIs I compiled, which was the not-nonconforming subset of the Authoritative group, may have expressed their individualism by answering questions about their attitudes, and then elaborating on their answers in the space provided. I think Baumrind in the above quotation is suggesting that the attitudes are prior to the individualism, and not vice versa. Hence, whatever differences the 1960s and 1990s PAIs may show in attitudes reflect differences in attitudes and are not confounded by differences in individualism. This might suggest that for these particular groups of parents, the PAIs do reflect attitudes that differentiate them from other parenting types, and that the differences between the 1960s and 1990s groups could be attributed to sociocultural changes rather than to membership in different parenting orientations.

Baumrind developed the PAI by mapping out the construct domain of interest, that is, social responsibility versus social irresponsibility and independent versus

suggestible behavior. Using these or similar polarities to model the array of children's behaviors relevant to their achievement and interpersonal development was a common practice (see Schaefer, 1961; Becker and Krug, 1964). The model is theory-dependent in that it hypothesizes a generative tension between two unrelated dimensions of competence-incompetence, and it hypothesizes that the relationships between these dimensions can be described in a circumplex form. The model is also empirically based, because the clusters of behaviors to which the domains refer are developed on the basis of child observations that have been factor analyzed and formed into clusters on the basis of their "position on the circular plot, pattern of intercorrelation of contiguous items, and similarity of pattern for both sexes" (Baumrind, 1971, p. 6).

When Baumrind developed the PAI, her demonstrable interest was in the accurate lexical representation of observable behaviors and the not-so-observable attitudes. The hypothetical constructs of the PAI parallel those of the Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts. Several hundred parents criticised and helped to revise the items to improve their definitions and their empirical workability (Baumrind, 1971, p. 24). Also in developing the PAI, Baumrind (1971) hoped to be developing "an initial screening device for selecting subjects" (p. 74). However, she found that "willingness to take the inquiry seriously and in good faith, while itself a function of the variables which were being measured, contributed in unpredictable ways to unreliability in a given family's protocol" (p. 74).

What might she mean by this? Perhaps she means that taking the inquiry seriously reflects social responsibility and/or instrumental competence. If so, families where people score relatively low on these qualities might be expected to be unreliable in selecting the attitudes that most closely describe themselves, and they might not bother to think about their answers. But the families in my study do not appear to belong to this group, nor do those who met Baumrind's (1971) authoritative criteria. She may also have been referring to research on attitudes that was showing the importance of consistency among attitudes

is lower among relatively complex thinkers than less complex thinkers (see O'Keefe, 1980).

Baumrind (1971) observed that "very striking behavioral differences" (p. 62) in authoritative parents' abilities to specify aims and methods of discipline, promote their own code of behavior, not be coerced by their children, and to set standards of excellence for their children were not reflected in pattern differences on the PAI cluster scores. Perhaps these unexpected cluster absences are what she was referring to in the above quotation about parents' attitudes contributing unreliably to the cluster analyses.

When chi-square tests were carried out to look for statistically significant differences in items on the PAIs across the two times, none were found. However, there were very strong trends, and t-tests carried out on the PAI clusters showed some significant differences between the two time periods, as shown in Table 5 and Table 6. Of course, the samples from both time periods are very small; any generalizations they appear to imply, even for this narrow demographic group, are highly speculative.

Table 5. Comparison of 1960s (1971) and 1990s Mothers' PAI Clusters

Mothers' PAI Clusters	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Probability
1. Early maturity demands						
1971	12	3.54	2.74			
1995	5	3.64	2.18	— .08	15	.94
2. Values conformity						
1971	12	3.32	1.58			
1995	5	4.80	.45	−2.99	14.22	.01**
3. Angered over lack of control						
1971	12	1.42	1.24			
1995	5	1.20	1.64	.30	15	.77
4. Firm enforcement						
1971	12	3.29	1.57			
1995	5	3.20	1.26	.12	15	.91
5. Promotes nonconformity						
1971	12	7.98	2.18			
1995	5	6.20	1.92	1.58	15	.14
6. Discourages infantile behavior						
1971	12	2.61	1.48			
1995	5	3.00	1.00	— .54	15	.60
7. Authoritarianism						
1971	12	5.09	3.75			
1995	5	10.02	1.62	−2.80	15	.01**
8. Impatient						
1971	12	2.92	.29			
1995	5	2.13	.63	2.43	3.43	.08
9. Consistent, articulated child-rearing philosophy						
1971	12	3.73	1.27			
1995	5	4.60	.55	−1.45	15	.08

Note: Two asterisks indicate significant difference at the level of $p < .01$.

Table 6. Comparison of 1960s (1971) and 1990s Fathers' PAI Clusters

Fathers' PAI Clusters	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Probability
1. Early maturity demands						
1971	12	2.42	1.88			
1995	5	2.80	1.10	− .42	15	.68
2. Values conformity						
1971	12	3.70	2.79			
1995	5	5.60	2.51	−1.31	15	.21
3. Angered over lack of control						
1971	12	1.67	1.56			
1995	5	.40	.55	2.47	14.89	.03*
4. Firm enforcement						
1971	12	2.97	1.48			
1995	5	2.60	1.67	.46	15	.66
5. Promotes nonconformity						
1971	12	3.08	1.51			
1995	5	1.40	1.52	2.10	15	.05*
6. Discourages infantile behavior						
1971	12	3.25	1.82			
1995	5	3.80	.84	− .64	15	.53
7. Authoritarianism						
1971	12	1.02	.74			
1995	5	2.60	2.41	−1.44	4.32	.22

Note: An asterisk indicates findings are significant at the level of $\underline{p} < .05$.

Mothers in the 1990s scored significantly higher than their predecessors on Values conformity and Authoritarianism; they also scored lower, although the difference does not reach significance, on Promotes nonconformity. Fathers in the 1990s scored significantly lower on Promotes nonconformity; although the differences do not reach significance, 1990s fathers also scored much higher on Authoritarianism and much lower on Values conformity. Fathers in the 1990s also scored significantly higher than their 1960s cohorts in Angered over lack of control. It is interesting that even though today's world is considered higher stress than the 1960s, these parents do not report being more angered over lack of control or more impatient than do their predecessors.

4.3.2.1 Mothers' and Fathers' Value for Conformity, 1960s and 1990s

This cluster consisted of items concerning attitudes about obeying rules at home and in school. The 1990s mothers chose the conformity option 96% of the time, whereas 1960s mothers chose it 64% of the time; the 1990s fathers chose the conformity option 70% of the time, whereas 1960s fathers chose it 45% of the time. It does not seem surprising that men feel less strongly about obeying rules and otherwise making trouble than do women; research supports the idea that preschool and adult males alike have a propensity to require more of the socialization attention be paid to developing social responsibility than do females (see Baumrind, 1971, p. 8). It is somewhat surprising that 1990s men appear to value conformity as much as did 1960s women. Perhaps this is suggestive of the "converging" (Peterson and Rollins, 1987, p. 485) male-female roles, or decreased role specialization.

Among women, the greatest disagreement across the time periods was on item 99, "In family living, it is often best not to be too strict about enforcing rules [versus] Family rules should be strictly enforced." Next after that, the 1960s women joined the 1960s men in their responses to item 76, "Some public school rules are so arbitrary or foolish that I would not insist that they be obeyed by my child [versus] I would expect my school-age child to obey all school rules," and item 107, "A child should not have to obey all demands of his teachers [versus] A child should be taught to obey all his teachers' demands." More 1960s mothers and fathers supported disobedience on these items than did those of the 1990s.

4.3.2.2 Mothers' and Fathers' Promotion of Nonconformity, 1960s and 1990s

Although nonconformity clusters emerged for both mothers and fathers, the items comprising them differed for the two groups, and the variation across time periods also differed. Mothers' support for promoting nonconformity decreased between the 1960s

and the 1990s, although the numbers are less dramatic than for several of the other clusters. In the 1960s, mothers chose 36% of possible pro-nonconformity responses, and in the 1990s, they chose 25% of the possible pro-nonconformity responses. For fathers, the change was from 84% supporting pro-nonconformity responses to 40% pro-nonconformity respones in the 1990s.

For fathers, the items comprising the cluster included item 28, "I want my child to feel that he is liked by everybody [versus]I want my child to be different from the crowd;" item 54, "It is more important in this world (A) to learn how to get on with other people [versus] (B) to learn how to fight for one's ideals; item 69, "I do not want my child to be a nonconformist [versus] I do not want my child to be a conformist;" and item 112, "It is more important for a child (A) to be an individual than to fit in with the crowd [versus] (B) to be liked than to stand out from the crowd." Baumrind (1971) summarized these definers of nonconformity as describing "a preference for a child who was individualized and motivated by ideals" (p. 44). Compared with the 1960s, the 1990s certainly does seem to downplay ideals.

There is also a cluster describing mothers' nonconformity, and it includes an additional eight items that place "an emphasis on nonconformity rather than on accommodation to the group" (p. 44). On the four items matched in mother and father nonconformity (listed above), both parents are much less nonconforming in the 1990s than the 1960s. However, including among the definers of mothers' nonconformity an emphasis on social rather than just cognitive development is interesting. On these items, the mothers show a distribution of conforming and nonconforming responses that is very similar to those of Baumrind's 1960s authoritative mothers.

Baumrind thought that girls' optimal development would benefit from active intervention by socializing agents seeking to maintain girls'

> purposive, dominant and and independent behavior. Without active intervention by socializing agents, the cultural stereotype is likely to augment girls' already well-developed sense of cooperation with authority and eventually discourage

> their independent strivings towards achievement and eminence. (Baumrind, 1970, p. 110)

Perhaps the stable percentage of nonconformity-supportive responses for girls' social development reflects 1990s mothers' intuition of Baumrind's insight about the need for socializing agents to actively promote girls' social assertiveness in contrast to their accommodation.

4.3.2.3 <u>Mothers' and Fathers' Authoritarianism, 1960s and 1990s</u>

Mothers' and fathers' Authoritarianism increased between the 1960s and the 1990s. Mothers' Authoritarianism increased from 37% of the possible choices to 71% of the possible choices. Fathers' Authoritarianism increased from 38% of the possible choices to 48% of the possible choices. The items that clustered in the PAI construct of mothers' Authoritarianism include

> Should not talk back; should honor parents; O.K. for child to question decisions; punitive about child hitting mother; O.K. for child to argue; impudence should be punished; children must respect authority; all parents deserve respect; conforming child less interesting; parents should take preschooler's opinion seriously; children need more guidance today; should come immediately when called; [and] preservation of order and tradition good. (Baumrind, 1971, pp. 42-43).

For fathers, Authoritarianism included only four of these items, and an additional one about bedtime. Baumrind described the difference this way:

> This cluster was defined by quite different items for father and mother, and yet these items had sufficiently similar meaning and the factors had sufficiently similar patterns of factor coefficients that the cluster for each could be given the same name. . . . for fathers, the cluster measured restrictions placed upon verbal protest, and for mothers the cluster measured nonequalitarian attitudes and respect for parental authority. (p. 46)

Discussion of my research findings begins with the mothers, and includes fathers, when relevant.

Unlike their 1960s counterparts, 1990s mothers were unanimous in making choices that favored Authoritarianism on item 21, "a child should be disciplined if he is impudent or fresh,[versus] it is often the spunky, interesting child who is impudent;" item

33, "when a child is called he should come immediately [versus] a child should not have to come immediately when he is called," and for item 84, "young children need more freedom to make up their own minds about things than they seem to get today [versus] young children need more guidance from their parents than they seem to get today." In the 1960s, two-thirds or fewer of the mothers made the choice that favored Authoritarianism on these items.

Another consideration is that the higher educational level of 1990s mothers compared with 1960s mothers might have been expected to be reflected in reduced authoritarianism. An increase in mothers' educational levels has characteristically been an indicator for decreased authoritarianism; this makes the increased authoritarianism of 1990s mothers especially noteworthy.

The most striking subset of differences between the 1960s and the 1990s mothers appeared in a number of items related to speech. These included item 29, "A child should be able to question the authority of his parents [versus] A child should honor his mother and father and accept their authority," item 50, "A child who defies authority is not very likeable [versus] A child who always does as he is told is not very interesting," item 81, "A child should not talk back to an adult [versus] It is good to see a child hold his own in an argument with an adult," item 92, "I do not like my child to question my decisions [versus] it is all right with me if my child argues with me about my decisions," and item 98, "I don't mind it particularly when my child argues with me [versus] I don't particularly like my child to argue with me." On all of these speech-related items, the ratio of 1990s mothers supporting the authoritarian position ranged from 60% to 100%, compared with their 1960s counterparts supporting the authoritarian position at ratios that ranged from 13% to 25%. All of these except for item 50 are also part of the father's Authoritarianism cluster. Like their wives, fathers are much less likely to encourage free speech in the 1990s than they were in the 1960s.

These differences suggest the importance of learning more about the verbal interactions that do occur between parents and children today. Speech may not be equated with transmission of or submission to authority in the same way now as then. I imagine that the burgeoning of the Free Speech Movement in California during the 1960s, amplified by the 1968 lifting of the Hollywood Production Code, increased the salience of 1960s authoritative parents' sensitivity to the relationship between language and child-rearing as they were mapped onto Baumrind's orthogonal axes of social responsibility and independence.

Furthermore, the wording of the PAI items may have been more deeply affected by the Free Speech Movement, and the cultural forces it traveled on, than was any explicit formulation of how to practice authoritative parenting. In other words, the PAI's authors seem to have couched many of their questions in terms of speech, but this may have been motivated more by the availability heuristic that cloked speech in a metaphoric mantel of expansiveness, progress, and freedom than by the necessity to ask so many questions about the kinds of talk that parents engaged in with their children. This cultural environment may have opportunistically skewed the emphasis toward speech as a source of metaphorical thinking and a context for development of legitimate authority, rather than a product of it.

To the extent that Berger and Luckmann (1966) are correct in saying "language constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialization" (p. 133), and "The most important vehicle of reality maintenance is conversation" (p. 152), one has to worry if important consequences do or will follow from the apparent restrictions on language use among 1990s families. The other item on which mothers at the two times differed enormously in the proportion of responses that favored authoritarianism was item 105, which offered these choices: "No child should be permitted to strike his mother" and "A mother should not be harsh with a small child who strikes her." To my ears, this is a puzzling dichotomy, but none of the 1960s mothers

answered "meaningless or neither," and only one of the 1990s sample did so. Unlike the 1960s mothers, the majority of 1990s mothers (80%) chose the authoritarian option.

I wonder how the prohibition against children striking their mothers is enculturated in an environment with so many taboos on the use of language. This is especially puzzling in view of 1990s authoritative mothers agreeing with those of the 1960s in supporting the nonauthoritarian choice between (Item 91) "parents should take seriously the opinions of young children," and "most young children change their minds so frequently that it is hard to take their opinions seriously." How do parents learn about the opinions of their young children?

How should these differences be interpreted? Do they suggest that 1990s parents who appeared to exercise Authoritative parenting are really better suited to the profile of the Authoritarian style? Reporting on the contrasts among children of these parenting styles, Baumrind described significant differences in the level of hostile and resistive behaviors among sons of parents from the two groups. If measures of sons' behaviors on the Hostile-Friendly and the Resistive-Cooperative scales are likely to differentiate the two parenting styles, it seems likely from the 1990s boys' high-friendliness and high-cooperativeness scores on these behavior clusters that these parents represent the authoritative style.

Although the number of families with girls who fell within the definition of the Authoritarian style was only two in Baumrind's study, she wrote that they were not Achievement oriented, and they were Suggestible. According to the Preschool Behaivor Q-Sorts done for my study, the girls in my study were achievement oriented, and they were not suggestible, which leads me to rule out their parents' style as belonging to the Authoritarian classification.

4.4 Behavior Characteristics of Authoritatively Parented Children

Because my method of identifying families who represented the Authoritative parenting style differed from Baumrind's, and because I expected some socioculturally induced changes, I needed to confirm whether I have indeed identified children who have experienced Authoritative rather than Authoritarian or Permissive parenting. To the extent that the Authoritative style does influence and therefore differentiate child behavior outcomes, 1990s children should be expected to have the same salient characteritics as 1960s children, unless mediating sociocultural factors have changed so radically that a meaningful comparison cannot be made. After examining my data with these questions in mind, I will develop more detailed descriptions of the children in my sample.

4.4.1 Behavior Characteristics of 1990s Authoritatively Parented Children

Although Baumrind's (1971) sample of 146 children and their families was large enough to allow profiles of parenting styles to be developed relative to each other, my small sample of 5 children and their families precluded this possibility. Therefore, my use of the descriptors as criterial rather than relative differs from her use of them. After her observers identified children as being helpful, selfish, or obedient, for example, the scores on the Preschool Behavior Q-Sort were normalized for her study, and this concealed from the reader's view the raw scores that the children were given on each behavior.

Since the range of scores given to normal children in middle-class preschool environments on many of the descriptors might not be normally distributed, my characterizations of children in my sample are open to error. That is, although the numerical mean of each rating is five (because raters sorted descriptors into nine groups according to the degree to which the behavior characterized the particular child), considerations such as familiarity with the child and social desirability might constrain teachers' responses on particular items to a relatively narrow range.

For example, it is not easy to imagine that there is a large number of 3—5 year olds that could score as high on hostility as participants in my study scored on friendliness. Another problem with converting the number scale to ordinary language arises from the frame of reference in which each has meaning. The number scale in the Baumrind study related to the degree to which a behavior was characteristic of a child relative to the other behaviors in the Q-sort, not relative to other children in the world. This caveat notwithstanding, the children in my sample do seem to correspond in gross outline to the socially responsible, independent group that Baumrind described as having Authoritative parents.

Nursery-school teachers in the 1990s distributed their 72 Preschool Behavior Q-Sort Descriptors among 9 groups, with the results shown in Tables 7—13. "Item" refers to the number of each descriptor on the Q—sort; descriptors were worded so that reverse coding was sometimes required, but these have been counter-reversed so that all scores below 5 represent the direction consistent with the meaning of the cluster's first definer.

For example, a low number on the table in cluster I, Hostile/Friendly, could represent a friendly behavior that rarely if ever characterized the child and would therefore contribute to a high-hostile score, and a low number could also represent a hostile behavior that might be extremely characteristic or salient. Item 7, "Nurturant or sympathetic toward other children" exemplifies a characteristic on which a child rated high would be scored low for this cluster. Item 63, "Selfish," exemplifies a characteristic on which a child rated high would be scored low (which would mean rated high) for this cluster, because its meaning is in the direction of the cluster's first definer. A low number would tend to qualify that child for being first (as in "tops") in hostility.

Tables 7 through 9 show items belonging to clusters that Baumrind grouped into the Social Responsibility construct, and the next Tables 10—13 show items belonging to clusters that Baumrind grouped into the Independence construct. The numbering of the

clusters I, II, etc., used here follows her system; if it were mine, and if it were unimportant to carry forward connections to her study, the number for the third part of the Social Responsibility construct would be III instead of VI, and the numbers for all parts of the Independence construct would be consecutive, i. e., IV, V, VI, and VII.

Table 7. Distribution on Cluster I (Social Responsibility Construct): Hostile/Friendly of 1990s Children's Scores according to Their Teachers' Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts.

Item	Case				
	Boy 1	Boy 2	Boy 3	Girl 1	Girl 2
7	9	9	6	8	8
35	7	7	6	7	7
54	9	9	6	9	9
55	8	4	7	5	8
63	8	9	7	7	6
70	9	9	8	9	9
72	9	5	6	9	9
Totals	59	56	47	54	57
Average	8.4	8.0	6.7	7.7	8.1

Note: Summary descriptions of the items are: 7—understands other children's position in interaction; 35—helps other children carry out their plans; 54—bullies other children; 55-understands other children's position in interaction; 63—selfish; 70—insulting; and 72—thoughtless of other children's productions (Baumrind, 1971, p. 7). Keep in mind that the numbers in the table represent conversions of scores based on their meaning relative to the construct.

Table 8. Distribution on Cluster II (Social Responsibility Construct): Resistive/Cooperative of 1990s Children's Scores according to Their Teachers' Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts.

Item	Case				
	Boy 1	Boy 2	Boy 3	Girl 1	Girl 2
27	5	6	7	8	7
32	9	8	6	8	8
33	9	5	7	9	9
44	7	5	5	6	8
52	9	6	6	9	9
68	8	6	6	9	6
69	9	6	8	9	8
Totals	56	42	45	58	55
Average	8	6	6.4	8.3	7.9

Note: Summary descriptions of the items are: 27—tries to evade adult authority; 32—obedient; 33—impetuous and impulsive; 44—actively facilitates nursery school routine; 52—can be trusted; 68—provocatie with adults; and 69—responsible about following standard operating procedure at school (Baumrind, 1971, p. 7). Keep in mind that the numbers in the table represent conversions of scores based on their meaning relative to the construct.

Table 9. Distribution on Cluster VI (Social Responsibility Construct): Achievement Oriented/Not Achievement Oriented of 1990s Children's Scores according to Their Teachers' Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts.

Item	Case				
	Boy 1	Boy 2	Boy 3	Girl 1	Girl 2
6	2	4	3	4	3
8	*	5	4	*	2
12	1	4	2	1	2
20	3	6	6	3	1
26	8	3	7	8	5
42	4	5	7	4	4
53	3	5	5	3	5
Totals	27	32	34	23	22
Average	4.5	4.6	4.9	3.8	3.1

Note: Summary descriptions of the items are: 6—like to learn new skill; 8—does not persevere when he encounters frustration; 12—gives his best to work and play; 20—does not become pleasurably involved in tasks; 26—easily frustrated or upset when an obstacke to task performance is encountered; 42—sets himself goals which expand his abilities, e.g., learning to pump on swings, trying difficult puzzles; 53—stretches to meet the situation when much is demanded(Baumrind, 1971, p. 8). Keep in mind that the numbers in the table represent conversions of scores based on their meaning relative to the construct.

Table 10. Distribution on Cluster III (Independence Construct): Domineering/Tractable of 1990s Children's Scores according to Their Teachers' Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts.

Item	Case				
	Boy 1	Boy 2	Boy 3	Girl 1	Girl 2
2	9	8	9	9	7
13	7	5	3	8	4
36	6	9	3	5	6
41	8	9	4	7	6
67	9	3	6	9	9
71	4	7	8	8	7
Total	43	41	33	46	39
Average	7.2	6.8	5.5	7.7	6.5

Note: Summary descriptions of the items are: 2—manipulates other children to enhance his own position or to get what he wants; 13-timid with other children; 36—does not question adult authority; 41—concerned about adult disapproval; 67—hits only in self-defense or doesn't hit at all; 71—nonintrusive (Baumrind, 1971, p. 7). Keep in mind that the numbers in the table represent conversions of scores based on their meaning relative to the construct.

Table 11. Distribution on Cluster IV (Independence Construct): Dominant /Submissive of 1990s Children's Scores according to Their Teachers' Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts.

Item	Case				
	Boy 1	Boy 2	Boy 3	Girl 1	Girl 2
11	2	9	2	3	4
21	7	8	5	5	5
47	8	8	1	6	3
48	6	7	3	5	3
64	4	6	3	2	5
Total	25	38	14	21	20
Average	5	7.6	2.8	4.2	4

Note: Summary descriptions of the items are: 11—suggestible; 21—peer leader; 47—plans activities for other children; 48—resists domination of other children; 64—individualistic (Baumrind, 1971, p. 7). Keep in mind that the numbers in the table represent conversions of scores based on their meaning relative to the construct.

Table 12. Distribution on Cluster V (Independence Construct):Purposive/Aimless of 1990s Children's Scores according to Their Teachers' Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts.

Item	Case				
	Boy 1	Boy 2	Boy 3	Girl 1	Girl 2
10	4	1	2	4	4
14	4	1	1	2	2
15	8	8	1	3	3
16	4	4	1	4	1
18	3	2	1	8	1
19	2	3	1	1	1
24	6	3	1	4	4
49	2	3	2	7	4
59	6	7	2	2	2
Total	39	32	12	35	22
Average	4.3	3.6	1.3	3.9	2.4

Note: Summary descriptions of the items are: 10—spectator; 14—characteristically inoccupied; 15—vacillates and oscillates; 16—confident; 18—self-starting and self-propelled; 19—disoriented in his environment; 24—dominates group activity; 49—an intereting, arresting child; 59—sample activities aimlessly, lacks goals (Baumrind, 1971, p. 7). Keep in mind that the numbers in the table represent conversions of scores based on their meaning relative to the construct.

Table 13. Distribution on Cluster VII (Independence Construct):Independent/Suggestible of 1990s Children's Scores according to Their Teachers' Preschool Behavior Q-Sorts.

Item	Case				
	Boy 1	Boy 2	Boy 3	Girl 1	Girl 2
11	2	9	2	3	4
36	6	9	3	5	6
64	4	6	3	2	5
66	3	9	2	3	4
Total	15	33	10	13	19
Average	3.8	8.3	2.5	3.3	4.8

Note: Summary descriptions of the items are: 11—suggestible; 36—does not question authority; 64—individualistic; 66—stereotyped in his thinking (Baumrind, 1971, p. 8). Keep in mind that the numbers in the table represent conversions of scores based on their meaning relative to the construct.

Consistent with Baumrind's (1971) practice, I have represented the clusters as they are constituted by assorted behaviors that are more or less characteristic of the participating children. However, for my study, the ranking of the children was carried out by their nursery-school teachers. Researchers in the Baumrind study were different people than the children's nursery-school teachers. Also, for my study, the ranking was done according to nine groups, whereas Baumrind's researchers also arranged the behaviors within the nine groups according to how characteristic they were of the children in her study.

As reflected in these Tables and in her materials, the dimension of Social Responsibility is subdivided into three clusters of behaviors that operationally define it as it emerged in analyses of empirical descriptions of children—Hostile/Friendly is Cluster I, Resistive/Cooperative is Cluster II, and Achievement Oriented/Not Achievement

Oriented is Cluster VI. The dimension of Independence is subdivided into four clusters of behaviors that operationally define it as it emerged in analysis of empirical descriptions of children—Cluster III is Domineering/Tractable, Cluster IV is Dominant/Submissive, Cluster V is Purposive/Aimless, and Cluster VII is Independent/Suggestible.

According to their nursery-school teachers, the children in my sample tended to be very friendly, as indicated by their high scores (average of 7.8) on the cluster of behaviors termed Hostile/Friendly (see Table 7), where a high score indicates the characterization is in the direction of the second word in the cluster name. They were also very cooperative, as indicated by their high scores (average of 7.3) on the cluster of behaviors termed Resistive/Cooperative (see Table 8), where a high score indicates the characterization is in the direction of the second word in the cluster name. The children in my study also tended to be Achievement Oriented, rather than Not Achievement Oriented, as indicated by their relatively low scores (average of 4.2) on this cluster (see Table 9), where a low score is in the direction of the first word in the cluster. Each child's scoring in the direction expected for highly socially responsible behaviors suggests that these children meet this half of the expectation that children raised by Authoritative parents will demonstrate both character and competence.

Also according to their nursery-school teachers, participants in my study demonstrated high levels of behavior indicating Independence. On the Dominant/Submissive continuum, their mean rating is 4.7; on the Purposive/Aimless continuum, their mean rating is 3.1; and on the Independence/Suggestible continuum, their mean rating would be 3.6, were it not for the anomalous case of one child whose illness-induced developmental delays may account for this cluster average being 5.7. Participants in my study have a mean rating on the Domineering/Tractable cluster of 6.6, which I think would disqualify their ratings on this cluster from contributing to their Independence. However, since the conditions for being rated high on either of the constructs are met by ratings in either all or all but one of the clusters in the construct (see

Baumrind, 1971, p. 91), participants in my study do rate high on Independence. Consequently, there appears to be adequate support for saying that the children in my study have the behavioral attributes that would be expected of children with authoritative parents.

4.4.2 Differences between 1990s and 1960s Cohorts of Children

Are there any ways in which the 1990s children differed from those of the 1960s? Theoretical possibilities include: (1) There might be a large scatter in the degree to which various behaviors characterize 1990s children within a single cluster, which could suggest that the elements that once contributed to its constitution no longer do so; (2) there might be some additional behaviors that appear to belong in a cluster, but did not appear there in the 1960s. The small size of my sample and the impossibility of contrasting it with samples of children parented according to different styles prevent me from exploring these interpretations.

4.5 Interviews with Parents

The differences between the parent interviews that I conducted and the transcriptions of those conducted by Baumrind's group are attributable to many factors, including different interviewer styles, different transcriber styles, and the relative familiarity of Baumrind's researchers with the families they studied, compared with me and my families. Although Baumrind's guidelines specified trying to keep each interview to one hour, her interviewers appear to have elicited a great deal more casual conversation than I did. The relative formality of my interviews could be interpreted in many ways. In general, the parents who spoke with me seemed restrained and serious. They alluded to stresses and painful experiences (hospitalizations, miscarriages, and infertility) that did not come up in the 1960s interviews.

Interpreting this as a sociocultural phenomenon rather than an interpersonal one might suggest that the stresses of modern life were reflected in my sample in special ways. Although I do not know what proportion of the 1960s families approached for Baumrind's project accepted the invitation, I was struck by the low participation rate (14 out of 180 families approached through their nursery schools, and an additional several dozen families exposed to the opportunity through word of mouth and the bulletin board at the health club) among families I approached. Some of this may be attributable to my timing; I began looking for participants in the spring, and the fall, when the school year starts, might have been a better time.

Prior to my study, I did not have personal relationships with the three nursery schools whose families participated. Sympathy appeared to be a dominant motive with two of the participating schools; these schools had directors who had very recently earned doctorates. Friendship with a relative of mine appeared to be the dominant motive for the other one. In other words, nobody except me was especially interested in the outcome of the research.

4.5.1 Listening to the Silence

One parent who returned the screening questionnaire left out identifying information. Apparently, privacy was an issue for her. One parent volunteered for additional participation, provided the child would not be involved in any way. I infer she feared that there might be negative consequences for the child's participating in an activity that might objectify him or her, but this is just one common reason that parents have given in casual conversations. In another case, the mother was very interested in further participation, but the father refused; she did not say why. In another case, a mother phoned me to ask if it was too late to send in the initial questionnaire. After learning it was not, and pressuring me urgently for an opportunity to be interviewed, she did not return the questionnaire.

Another remarkable fact is that none of the questionnaires that were returned showed permissive parents. Perhaps there are just parents who are more or less permissive, and the questionnaire would turn up very few whose permissiveness exceeded both their authoritativeness and their authoritarianism. It is also possible that if such a group of parents exists, either their attitudes interact with the task of participating in the study in such a way as to prevent their participation, and/or they are too swamped by demands of their times and their children to respond to an outsider's request for information.

My difficulties eliciting help from nursery schools and cultural muses may also say something about the silence. Several schools in the Cambridge area were already committed to helping other research projects, and appear to have agreements to make their families available to students from only one university. One teacher whom I invited to serve as a muse refused, not because she lacked the time, but because she felt the idea of an optimal parenting style or an ideal child was philosophically objectionable in a multicultural environment of pluralistic values.

This reaction does concern me; however, I consider raising children an essentially covenantal rather than a creedal activity. The task I wanted help with did not seem to me a request for prejudicial labeling so much as a request for naming. In my view, such naming is important for community participation in a shared project. The African proverb tells us that "It takes a village to raise a child." Although the teacher who refused might have had the time to do my task, she did not have the time to be persuaded of its merits.

4.5.2 What the Parents' Voices Tell

Baumrind (1971) wrote that authoritative parents in her sample exhibited "very striking behavioral differences" (p. 62) in their abilities to specify aims and methods of discipline, promote their own code of behavior, not be coerced by their children, and to set standards of excellence for their children. These differences would have been evident

in observations, but they should also appear in the interviews. I had thought I might need to use a method of linguistic analysis such as that employed by Applegate and colleagues (Applegate et al., 1985) in their studies of "reflection-enhancing parental communication." But my interviews were based on a questionnaire that sought information about behaviors, not ideas. Although people could not help but show their ideas, they were not invited to elaborate on them in a way that would lend their responses to this form of analysis. However, the questions did in many cases elicit information that constituted the basis for developing practical arguments (see Fenstermacher and Richardson, 1993) which are distinguished by their expression of a desired state of affairs (aims of discipline, standards of excellence), relevant empirical data (methods, behavior), and actions based on the above.

Questions about aims and methods of discipline came up throughout the interviews in examples that parents gave to illustrate their children's behaviors and their responses. One of the last questions asked in the interview requested an explicit formulation of the parent's position: "Would you say that you have a position about childraising, a way of bringing up children which helps to guide you?" Nearly all of the 1990s parents seemed to have easy access to how their parenting resembled that of their parents, and/or differed from it. One father answered:

> I think I base [my position] on the way that my parents raised me, and probably more on the way that my father raised me. And I think we all, at least I believe that we all to a certain degree either imitate or rebel against our parents, and the way that they raised us. My father always treated me as an equal, and always shared kind of the wonderful things of the world with me. He still does. . . . He's in his 60s, and I'm in my 30s, and our relationship in one sense hasn't changed that much. . . . My mother is very very loving, but is more in her own way of an authoritarian than I am. And so I don't think I'm as authoritarian as she was. She was more of a believer in corporal punishment, not beating or anything, but a believer that there was an appropriate time for that, than I am. . . . I'm a strong believer in giving your children hugs and kisses and stuff like that. It may sound really really corny, but I think it's wonderful. And so, basically speaking, I think I follow my parents, with just little minor nuance changes.

Another father said:

> I can say partly what it is. . . . this is obviously something that I've thought a lot about, cuz it's my work, so . . . I think that . . . adults have a definite role in bringing up their kids . . . in both emotional and social and cognitive areas to make sense of the world . . . . Part of that role is letting them explore and experiment within . . . what their emerging abilities are and some of it is to give them guidance and how . . . to enjoy and to be playful . . . .

This father said he was raised this way "to a degree," but "in a much more traditional way, in terms of gender role."

Participants in my study also included parents who thought of themselves as having constructed their parenting from an assortment of sources. One mother said:

> I think about it. I may leave stuff out. But I think children need as many loving and caring adults as they can fit into their lives. More is better. I think that shared child-raising is really beneficial for all concerned. I think children need to be guided by parents, that is parented. I think they need lots of that. They need lots of protection. And lots of modeling and lots of overt words, lots of taking care. A lot of it. And I think they need to be exposed slowly to different situations so that nothing's a big shock. . . . I think everybody should get a lot of sleep, so that the more humor there is, the more fun. It can be really fun. You're talking to somebody who's on summer vacation right now. I have so much more humor now. . . .

But, when asked if this were how she was brought up, she answered, "I'm not sure how I was brought up, actually." In the course of extensive professional training for work in human services, this mother had logged thousands of hours reading, talking, observing, and practicing being with children. Another parent who thought her style was less the product of imitating her parents than thoughtful observation and conversation said, "I guess I really think that children have to lead a lot, guide you along the way, show what they're capable of at a certain time, and what they're not . . . ."

In addition to illustrating the kind of language in which these parents identify their goals and methods of discipline, these examples characterized their own codes of behavior. Parents appeared to be trying to model the nurturance and consideration that they hoped to elicit. How they resisted being coerced, which Authoritative parents appear to be surprisingly better at than others was apparent in the interviews. Questions that elicited comments on resisting coercion included: Number 3b—"How do you feel when

he disobeys?" Number 4—"Do you ever tell ___ that you're going to have to punish him and then for some reason you don't follow through?" Number 6b—"How do you go about getting him to do [regular tasks, e.g., chores, tooth brushing, tidying up?" Number 12Bd—"Does it bother you when you have to force him to do what you want him to do?"

To the question about how they felt when their children disobeyed, parents were candid, ironic, and conflicted. They offered these remarks:

> It depends on how she disobeys. Disrespect I don't tolerate. I tell her right off the bat, you know, I don't like the way you're talking right now. . . . At times I'm mad. At times, I'm able to deal with it a lot easier .

> Tired. Seriously, . . . I guess I get very firm, very clear, and very sharp. that's what I get. . . . [And if he doesn't react?] If it's that bathroom situation, where he won't get out of the bath, I will pull him out. . . .Yeah. I would say use humor, use humor, but I don't always.

> Well, it's very difficult, because you feel like strangling her. And that's the worst that I feel. . . . It's very difficult not to hit her or grab her. . . .I've definitely felt like doing it, and just sort of taken a step back. . . . and that seems like torture. . . . it seems like it would be so much easier to just smack her, but . . . I just never wanted her to be around physical violence. . . . I think you just kind of lose something if you do that. You kind of give in.

> I try not to get upset. Usually I find that I can reason with him. . . . I'm always kind of figuring that there's somewhere or another that I just haven't communicated to him what he needs to do and I try and figure out a way to balance what I need with whatever he wants. . . . I just try and get around it. Some things you just can't get around I mean if he doesn't want to get in his carseat to drive somewhere, you've got to put him in the carseat. I mean, that isn't negotiable.

> The reasoning thing doesn't work real well. You do try and sit down and talk, but about some things, I have learned that I try to explain things too much. And I have really learned just to say yes or no. . . . .The reason she's whining and nagging is I was just going on and on and on. . . . .I used to try to talk her out of it, and now I try to get to yes or no real quick. . . . The hard part is. . .if I say no too soon, I think if I just went in there and sat down with her for 5 minutes, she'd be okay for an hour. So sometimes I find I say no too quick, but after I've said it, you can't back down . . . . [and if she doesn't obey] I use time out.

These quotes show how deeply these parents have thought about their behaviors. They have tended to analyze the situation in which the disobedience occurred; they reported the

real as well as the most and least preferred modes of reacting; they all struggled not just with the child but also with themselves.

On following through (and not) with promised punishments, one parent showed his thoughtfulness, and the degree to which he contextualized both his behavior and his goal:

> That may be if you ask him to do something once, you know, two or three times, such as, you know, "Turn off the tv; it's time to come eat. . . . you're not gonna watch it the rest of the night" and then, if he didn't. That happened. Well, he did turn off the tv. Well, actually, I think [my wife] came in and turned it off. . . . I don't know if that would be considered not following through. . . . Are you going to say, well, she came in and turned it off. . . . and he got up and went to eat. I guess . . . in the absolute sense of following through. . . he shouldn't watch it the rest of the night, . . . but I think the object was to get the tv off and have him come eat, not have that happen with too much fanfare. . . .

And here is a father who had spoken previously about his occasional use of distraction as a tool for getting compliance:

> I'm just figuring it out as time goes on, what she responds to. . . . I've been guilty [of not following through], but very infrequently. I think in general I try not to do that. I try not to threaten her very much, but if I do, then I definitely carry through with it. [What might prevent carrying through is] if she, you know, if she gives a big smile or a kiss or gets real cute, or something to distract me. . . then that works. . . .but most of the time I'm pretty good about that.

A mother, when asked about how she got her son to follow through on regular tasks, answered this way:

> He brushes his teeth, and he has to submit to cleaning, and sunblock. . . . and a night diaper. . . . He'll procrastinate for the diaper. He'll wiggle and giggle, I mean, depending on his mood of the evening, the time, when we hit our limit we say, "You have to cooperate." We do that with our different voice. . . . And the other thing we can do is the withholding of stories. We can say, "You'll only get one story and if you can't cooperate now, there won't be time for any stories." You can get whatever you want.

When I asked if it bothered them to force their children to obey, one father said, "Yea, it does a little bit. But I realize she's 3 years old and not really, I can't expect her to sort of be a little machine." When this father examined his expectations, he also examined their meaning; he interpreted that immediate compliance would imply his daughter was a "little machine." A mother gave the example of her son's lieing down by the kitchen

window during meal-preparation time as a safety issue that she had to force. It "irritated" her, but she "picked him up and . . . moved him. And then I put up the gate, and he wasn't happy. He cried. And he got over it. But he was upset." What interested me about these responses is how they take account of complexity in daily life. For these parents, children's obstructiveness becomes an impromptu call to examine their motives and practice their endurance.

The last theme Baumrind (1971) said distinguished Authoritative parents was their high standards of excellence. I am puzzled as to what operations Baumrind thought would comprise this standards-setting process. The parents whom I interviewed had varied ideas about whether children should be permitted to quarrel with siblings, friends, and adults. Some thought quarreling was okay, while others had a policy of sending quarreling children back home. As to how the children should care for their rooms and their toys, parents were also of varied minds. Some thought a child had the right to learn about the consequences of destructive action by losing the toy; others thought that respect for material property was an important value to learn.

However, all agreed that destroying books is not to be tolerated. All think it is important to provide intellectual stimulation. Some do this consciously by reading, traveling, fantasy play, developing interests that the child demonstrates, introducing new people and situations, and buying educational toys. One father may have summed it up:

> Academic excellence. . . could be an unfair expectation for a child. . . [but] striving to be the best you can . . . and having high expectations is something that I think is important. To have predetermined what those areas are is where you might try to temper it.

Again, what impressed me was the parent's representation of himself as struggling with meaningful alternatives, trying to characterize his position as much for himself in terms of what he valued as for me to complete my research project. It was, finally, this representation of parents as themselves learning and growing from the experience that seemed to be a distinguishing feature of this group.

4.6 The Cultural Construction of Childhood in Parents' Cognition

One of my original questions was how what is intentionable in the culture is represented in the intending psyche. I would like to give a few examples of how I see the culture-based themes of privacy, child sacralization, and role specialization moving around in the minds of my participants.

When I asked one mother what she thought about daycare, she equivocated a little, and then said, "I think the kids get tired. And there's just not that much private space. I think it's nice to just exude." Then she contextualized the remark further: "We had the children and I want to exude who I am. . . . I guess it's that value thing. I want to be with them and do it, and have Ted be with them and do it." The sense of private space as family space in which one "exudes" who one is represents itself to her even as it recedes. Privacy in this example is remembered as intentionable, but is less accessible now.

A father talking about how unimaginably tough it has been to have a family also communicates a sense that the culture is speaking through him, rather than he through it. He says,

> We tried to give them the same upbringing that we had. We had the neighborhood where all the moms were home. All the moms were home and all the kids would play and the parents were there and the fathers would come home. That's not it. It's just not working. . . . . now all the kids are inside playing Nintendo.

Naming the absence of something that feels as if its pulling you seems like the sort of feeling a culturally intentionable script would evoke in one's cognition. Culture also operates in cognition, for example, with dreams about one's child growing up, getting a car, having a career and maybe a family. But this is likely a less abstract and cultural kind, one that is more thoroughly blended with the personal history of one's psyche. Although the father quoted above is speaking from memory, it is an idealized memory. The idealization has more in it of the culture than of the individual.

The clearest examples suggesting further entrenchment of child sacralization concern families where the parents seriously worry about keeping their 1- and 2-year old children home, because the children seem to be having such a good time at daycare. Three mothers described their children's daycare arrangements as partial responses to what they thought were the expressed wishes of their children, and were contrary to the wishes of the parents. One father described his way of bringing up children as being informed by the idea that "parents are custodians and guardians, and children are a gift and we have a responsibility to them to let them develop into whatever they're going to develop into." This, by the way, was a father who sounded as if he was quite directive in many ways.

Finally, role specialization in the household seems to be in radical reconstruction with most of these families. All but one of the fathers had routine child-care and house-care responsibilities. During interviews, the parents mentioned conversations about parenting with their spouses; they told stories about each other and the children that made obvious how much they shared lives and decisions. When I asked one father what questions I might have left out of the interview that would have been important to talk about, he pointed out I had asked nothing about how he thought the marriage partnership had changed. He referred to the experience of getting to know different aspects of his wife; he seemed quite enthusiastic about them. From her telling me that they had both filled out the PAI separately and then talked about what had come up I inferred there might have been some very interesting material that I missed.

Again, I raise these themes of privacy, child sacralization, and decreased role specialization in order to name what may be on-going streams of influence that alter the composition of parenthood and childhood, and therefore the experience of these relationships. Reviewing my reflections on the parents' interviews, I notice that what stands out for me is the parents' thoughtfulness, and the ways that they, themselves, are in process. Not that they are not both demanding and nurturant; they are. But what stands out is that they are so engaged in the process, both intellectually and emotionally.

Although I began this project wondering if the parenting style that worked well for this demographic niche in the 1960s would work well in the 1990s, I am concluding the project wondering if the notion of style corresponds not so much to parenting practices as to rhetoric about parenting practices. When behaviorism's influence was at its peak, the rhetoric of stimulus and response assimilated research and analysis; studies of child-rearing focused on what parents did to their children. If there is a paradigm shift under way such that conation is replacing behavior as a focus of research and analysis, a less anachronistic approach to parenting studies would focus not on what parents do, but on how they think about what they do, and not on what children do, but on how they think about what they do.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND NEXT QUESTIONS

There are three conversations in which the results of this study about Baumrind's constructions of parental authority seem relevant. These are conversations about replicating aspects of other people's studies, about enculturating people in the desirable and workable motives of their time and place, and about parent education. After describing these conversations, I will suggest ideas for further study, and reflect on the process of developing this dissertation.

5.1 This Study as a Mini-Replication

I used the word "constructions" in the title of this dissertation to invoke five ideas: (1) parental authority as an idea of researchers who study it; (2) parental authority as an idea of grownups who raise children; (3) parental authority as a pattern of practices by which grownups and children familiarize each other with the sorts of things, beliefs, and institutions that they learn to want and for which they work; (4) parental authority as the subjective, authorial context within which individual parents prioritize and express their values; and (5) parental authority as an aspect of several styles of nurturing and discipline that could be described as authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive, and have been studied in some depth since the 1960s. Baumrind's work with this typology of styles, as well as my access to her instruments and data, provided an opportunity to do a mini-replication study and explore what she meant by parental authority.

My research supported Baumrind's findings on the correlation between parenting that combines nurturance and demandingness with child outcomes that demonstrate competence at getting along with others and in taking on challenging tasks. The parents in the families who participated in my study were firm in their discipline, and they supported

their children's emotional and cognitive development with intelligence, warmth, and energy. Their children appeared to be highly competent in the areas of social responsibility and independence specified by Baumrind (1971).

But, I do not really know whether their levels of competence are equivalent to those of Baumrind's authoritatively parented children, because I do not have the large population of people receiving and practicing parenting styles on which to norm the children and parents in my study. Also, the replicability of any protocol of observation and measurement is subject to the pitfalls of all operational methods that, "by their very nature, function to create their own reality and meaning" (Peterson & Rollins, 1987, p. 479).

For example, the detailed nature of behavior descriptions, and the process of assigning a particular behavior to a particular conceptual cluster, may have functioned to create reality and meaning for the researchers rather than to reveal a reality equally accessible to researchers, parents, teachers, and children. Developing the descriptions and determining where to place them in the conceptual hierarchy of competence constituents may have been as much a process of inducting researchers to a shared reality as it was of laying the groundwork for exposing reality in the discoveries of the research. To the extent that this is true, instead of minimizing the possibility of misunderstandings for my mini-replication, the detailed nature of the descriptors would increase the possibility of misunderstandings.

If the "ideal" child profile created by my cultural muses was an accurate reflection of children that 1990s middle-class, Northeastern, Caucasian, urban, well-educated parents hope to raise, and if high frequencies on the competencies that Baumrind (1971) clustered were an accurate reflection of children that her sample hoped to raise, then there may or may not be some differences between the two time periods in descriptions of imagined optimal-child outcomes. Representing what might be intentionable in the 1990s culture, the cultural muses in my study clearly appeared to agree on the meaning and

value of competencies constituting qualities of being hostile/friendly, purposive/aimless, and achievement oriented/not achievement oriented. They appeared to either not recognize or not value the competencies constituting qualities of being dominant/submissive, domineering/tractable, independent/suggestible, and resistive/cooperative. What might this mean?

Baumrind (1971) speculated that resistiveness in preschool girls bodes well for their subsequent development of instrumental competencies, but this is a witty speculation that is unlikely to have been considered by the muses in my study. Unless someone intuited that a preschool girl's resistiveness was a likely precursor of some other more socially desirable quality that would emerge in later years, one would be unlikely to expect that it would characterize an "ideal" child with any frequency. It is also possible that the marginality of these qualities, and the complexity with which they interact with people and situations, may have made them less salient to the muses; this factor may account for their not appearing prominently in the characterization of the 1990s "ideal" child.

There is evidence in both the Baumrind (1971) interviews and in mine that parents of girls worked with them on being assertive, and that parents of boys worked with them on neither fighting nor acquiescing too much. Talking, teasing, rough-housing, and taking physical risks in play with parents all provided opportunities for developing these marginal competencies. I can imagine that parents participate in these activities with the intention of helping children develop some of the qualities whose social desirability is less clear than friendliness, achievement, and purposefulness. This lack of clarity may account for their not being reflected in the cultural muses' clusters of meaningful and valued competencies.

The methodology I employed for this study did not yield data on which I can base interpretations of parents' individual priorities with respect to raising their children, or data from which I can infer their experiences of success, failure, or gratification. I am,

however, curious as to similarities and differences among parents in the correspondences between, on the one hand, their child-rearing priorities and practices, and on the other hand, their degree of personal satisfaction with the parenting process and emerging child outcomes. I would need a much clearer sense of each parent's personal voice in order to carry out this level of analysis; doing so would require ethnographic methods that elicit beliefs and values underlying and organizing parents' activities and comments.

When I spoke with parents, parental authority as an idea in parents' heads was harder to locate than their attitudes toward work and play. Although Baumrind (1971) appears to have conceptualized parents as leaders of their families, the relevance of this construct to parents in my study was not apparent. Parents described themselves as models, guides, guardians, conversational partners, teachers, protectors, mediators, advocates, friends, and admirers; much less did they come across as authorities who made decisions that ran counter to the wishes of their children. In fact, when they described their disciplinary practices, they often represented themselves more as learners than as authorities. They mentioned getting help from books, friends, family, and teachers in doing "time out," helping children with their rivalries, and moving them through transitions in the day. It seems ironic that 1990s parents appeared to be more authoritarian on the PAIs than did those of the 1960s.

This omission of parents' self-representations as authorities leads me to wonder how much currency the idea of authority has now among adults in this narrow demographic band. The passing of the hyper-political 1960s, itself an heir to the socio-political aftermath of the Second World War, may have taken with it the appropriateness of the "authoritative" moniker for an optimal parenting style, making room in our global village for something more like "village" parenting. Outside the research community, among parents and teachers, I found no recognition of the distinction between authoritarian and authoritative. And people to whom I explained it seemed to forget it very

quickly. This conjecture, coupled with the statistically significant differences on the PAIs with respect to authoritarianism, points to a sociocultural shift across the time periods.

In summary, looking at my research as a mini-replication study, shows it exposed some familiar truths, some new challenges, and some unresolved puzzles. Parents' combining nurturance and demandingness seems to be good for children. Whether generalizations can be made about particular qualities and competencies that parents want their children to develop is unclear now; it may have also been unclear during Baumrind's time, but she proceeded as if it were clear. Finally, how parents in this demographic group view their roles, and how these views of their roles affect their practices, no longer seems to fit inside a framework of talk about authority. How, or if, this is connected to themes of privacy, role specialization, and child sacralization is an open question.

5.2 Enculturating Motives and Goals

How people acquire the motives and goals with which their cultural institutions are congruent, and which the people and the institutions can therefore sustain, has been a question underlying my exploration of Baumrind's (1971) research. It seems likely that child-rearing practices would be a primary site for these acquisition processes, and for observing changes in them.

Having carried out my research for this project using the instruments that Baumrind used, I see that they did not get at the subjective material out of which my participants made meaning. The interview schedule did not invite the conversations that would have exposed me to the networks of beliefs, experiences, and goals that could have furnished a description of the processes by which parents imitated, invented, and discovered workable child-rearing practices. I do not have adequate data for studying how or if particular sociocultural changes in child sacralization, privacy, and role specialization would be reflected in parents' practices or child outcomes.

Why I did not anticipate this deficit in my data becomes an interesting question. My own consciousness seems to be a stage upon which the positivism of Baumrind's work and the interpretivism of cultural psychology are in a struggle. When Baumrind framed her 1971 "Patterns of Parental Authority" in a behaviorist paradigm, she implicitly referenced a realist argument about the nature of experience. This argument states that people see what they see because it is there; because reality is that way. When I framed my study from a constructivist perspective, calling it "Constructions of Parental Authority," I was asking one question implicitly and another one explicitly.

My implicit question was how adequately could the large quantities of numbers and words that described and defined Baumrind's activities and results direct me to replicate a piece of her project. In a way, this implicit question was a test of the realist argument. My explicit question was how would her findings hold up, given the changes that have taken place since the 1960s when Baumrind began her work. What I did not ask in the beginning was what her findings found. Were they products of her assumptions and theory rather than measurements and discoveries?

According to Gergen (1986),

> almost any theory (Freudian, Skinnerian, social learning, role-rule, cognitive) should be capable of absorbing all empirical outcomes so long as there are communities of scholars capable of negotiating the meaning of theoretical terms across divergent context. (p. 140)

This comment suggests that a new theory would be adopted if the "community of scholars" committed to a prior theory lost interest in defending it. One of the fascinating and challenging features of Baumrind's work is that even when she appeared to have lost interest in defending her theory, she defended her findings.

For example, 9 years after publication of the 1971 monograph on which my study was based, she wrote, "There is a present paradigm shift toward an organismic model and a concern for final as well as efficient causes, furthering the development of an integrative science of socialization" (Baumrind, 1980, p. 639). In this article, she

continued to defend the findings of the longitudinal study of which the 1971 monograph was the first installment, and to expound on the implications of these findings. For example, she reiterated the success with which the socialization practices that she identified accounted for

> *individual differences* [Italics in original] in those aspects of competence in which males and females, relative to each other, were inferior (i.e., agentic behavior in girls and communal behavior in boys), variations in socialization practices did not seem to account for the mean difference favoring males in agentic behavior and females in communal behavior. (Baumrind, 1980, p. 643)

But in this article, there was a shift in how she framed her thinking from the causal type of stimulus-response paradigm to an explanatory paradigm. For example, she credited Dinnerstein and Chodorow with having noted a dynamic with which she appeared to agree, that mothers "because they are of the same gender [as their daughters] experience a strong identification and symbiosis with their daughters, which the latter reciprocate" (p. 643). The language suggests a different kind of logic that integrates with a different sociocultural pull in her community.

Gergen (1986) suggested that scientific explanations and descriptions could be thought of as analogs to the performative utterances about which Austin (1962) wrote. Promises are examples of performatives; they can be neither verified nor falsified, but they play a very important role in social affairs. Gergen (1986) wrote that "the forms of theoretical description and understanding generated within the sociobehavioral sciences . . . appear to describe events in the real world, but closer examination reveals no spatiotemporal coordinates" (p. 152). Nonetheless, he wrote, "they carry with them a considerable degree of 'illocutionary force,' that is, the capacity to invoke patterns of social action" (pp. 152-153).

Applied to Baumrind's 1971 monograph, this idea suggests that patterns of parental authority have their influence via patterns of conversations about parental authority. If conversations about authority have lost their currency in this group of parents, what might have taken their place?

5.3 Implications for Parent Education

My desire to learn more about how parenting affects children, as well as my desire to teach what was known and what people wanted to know about how parenting affects children were among my reasons for undertaking this project. The empirical and theoretical work of Baumrind (1971) seemed to be a promising source of information for me. I think, however, that it would have been more useful for parent education in the 1960s and 1970s than it would be now. Not because it was more or less true then, but because its theoretical framework and its language fit the ambient conversation in her community then, and it does not seem to fit my community now.

For example, people's experience of the role of talk seems to have changed between the two time periods. In Baumrind's time and place, the Free Speech Movement was at its pinnacle. In 1968, the Hollywood Production Code that censured language and images was removed. Removing restrictions on language seemed to pave the way to political progress. The discourse of agency prioritized using language to differentiate ideas and to distinguish the self. But these days, we can read advertisements in The New York Times by organizations such as the YWCA and the Jewish Anti-Defamation League cautioning us on our use of language, arguing that the wrong word could send someone to the morgue, and that extremist rhetoric may have been partially responsible for the assassination of Rabin. The 1990s may be a time for recolonizing rhetoric and for appreciating the agency of discourse.

On my study's PAIs, parents were very different in their attitudes toward their children's talk than were 1960s parents. Questions that referred to children's talk accounted for the most substantial shift in parents' attitudes between the two time periods. "More authoritarian" would have been the Baumrind-based characterization of the differences between the parent groups. But I think the difference is more likely to reflect a complex adaptation in the parenting processes and goals that are developed in the

language that parents share with their children. I do not think describing the 1990s parents as more authoritarian or more conforming than their predecessors addresses the broad, ecological changes to which these attitudes are adaptations. Since the 1960s, the dramatic expansion of the communications industry has transformed social experience.

This transformation is a consequence not only of the quantity of language and visual images to which the media expose us; it is also a consequence of the coherence among those media communications that construct their targets—families—as consumers of the media and products advertised there. This is what I mean by the agency of discourse. Whereas face-to-face communication offers many opportunities to make eye contact, observe responses, clarify, and negotiate misunderstandings, media communications emanate from a corporate ecology in which we, who are receivers of the communications, are commercial targets. The high proportion of lookless, touchless media words and images that crowds our experience often pits our interpersonal selves of face-to-face communication against the product selves that have been created by the corporate ecology.

One way of thinking about the difference is that in the 1960s, the authoritative parents in Baumrind's study urged their children to speak their minds, whereas the authoritative parents in my study urged their children to mind their speech. For such parents, the importance of speech in child socialization may have shifted from being a function of intellectual development to being a more basic and complex function of social and moral development. Without talk about their talk from the parents, this speculation cannot be supported with data. But my intuition of its importance relates to my study's implications for parent education.

If there could be conclusive evidence that identifiable parenting styles could account for major portions of the variance in child outcomes, trying to teach about them might be a good idea, although even the idea of conclusive evidence seems rhetorically anachronistic. It is also contrary to fact; Maccoby and Martin (1983) pointed out, "There

are many cases in which either authoritarian or permissive parenting seems to work as well as the authoritative-reciprocal pattern that emerged as optimal in a number of studies" (p. 82).

The popularity of Baumrind's findings may be more a product of a social-psychological phenomenon than of their interpretability or applicability in intentional parenting practice. This phenomenon could be thought of as a product of a desire for answers to questions about how to raise children and the tendency of a population to gravitate to what D'Andrade (1990) called a "modal response." It occurs when, for various reasons, large numbers of people are drawn to an idea. This contributes to making it an idea to which people want to be drawn.

I may be an example of this process. I was drawn to Baumrind's ideas because I wanted information about parenting, I wanted a dissertation topic, I liked that she was a woman, and the Murray Center had materials that clinched the specialness of the project. This specialness might just be the co-created product of cultural intentionability and my psychic intention.

The most important educational need that parents have may be for talk with each other about their experiences raising children. Parents may be able to learn about their parenting by talking with each other to make constant references back and forth between their goals, values, observations, and practices of child-rearing. Not only are there many different and legitimate ways to raise children, but also there are idiosyncratic interpretations and experiences of those ways. Talk with each other about specific parenting experiences could create a context for exploring the desired connections between parents' practices and children's outcomes. Because of its ability to generate and refine reality, conversation itself may be the most educational practice available to parents. The parenting education approach reflected in the very popular format of "It Takes a Village To Raise a Child" reflects this bias. Rather than instructing parents in what to do, this format helps parents develop a community with each other and elicits their own

language for describing what they do, why they do it, and what effects they seem to have.

5.4 Questions for Further Study

This research has called attention to an apparent shift in some parents' attitudes toward their children's talk. Compared with the 1990s parents who participated in my study, the 1960s authoritative parents seemed to be far less concerned about their children addressing them politely, and more concerned that they practice speaking and arguing. How do the parents who have these attitudes about their children's talk think about it? To what in the parents' minds and in the cultural ambiance do the attitudes appear related? How do they talk about talk? What open-ended questions would invite the associations, distinctions, and descriptions that would detail the substance perceived these days in talk?

The second question for further study is how do parents' conversations with each other about their child-rearing affect their experiences and those of their children? Are parents understandings of their intentions likely to get sharper? Are the intentions likely to change? What are the connections between intentions, practices, and outcomes? How well does talk keep alive the questions and generative responses? In what positive, negative, and puzzling ways does it mediate the effects of children on parents? To what extent, and for whom, is parenting about meeting internalized cultural expectations; to what extent is it about having predictable influences on the children being parented?

A third question of considerable interest is the relationship between the meaning of the parenting experience to individual parents, the particular competences of their children, and the patterns of nurturance and demandingness that prevail in the families. What are the meaningful axes on which experiences of parents whose children have significant mental, emotional, and physical disabilities can be compared with experiences of parents whose children demonstrate consistently high levels of independence and social responsibility?

5.5 Concluding Reflections

To go beyond the information assembled for this dissertation, I would like to go back to a question that intrigued me before I began this project, and one inside which the dissertation question could be framed. The question is, "How does language contribute to human experience?" Language has an obviously important role in experience that is related to communication, but the centrality of language to the ontogenesis of similarities and differences in individual, social, and cultural practices has also received considerable attention (see, e.g., Bernstein, 1971; Carroll and Casagrande, 1958; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1984; Osgood, 1964; Sapir, 1921; Whorf, 1956), mostly in fields outside child development. When I reflect on the project that my dissertation documents, I see that all of my questions and my data are dependent on language mediated by the rhetorics and interpretations of other times and other people.

My question arose from bibliographic research suggesting that work patterns had reduced role specialization (e.g., Goldscheider and Waite, 1991), widespread in-the-home exposure to mass-media culture had reduced the capacity of families to construct private refuges from a pluralistic world (e.g., Postman, 1988; Berger, Berger, and Kellner, 1973), and the increased sentimentalization of children (e.g., Zelizer, 1985). Since I am not only a reader of this research but also a citizen of these times, there is purposefulness in my selection of this research to characterize experience. It seems to me that this research documents massive sociocultural changes relevant to parental practices and identities today. The questionnaires, Q-sorts, attitude inventories, and interview questions that allowed me to make comparisons within and across time periods came from Baumrind's (1971) research. Although the PAIs suggested that changes had taken place in parents' attitudes toward their children's use of language, none of my data linked such changes to the particular socio-cultural factors described in the bibliographic research.

Inside the behaviorist paradigm that legitimates seeking causes and effects, this lack of connection between socio-cultural phenomena and research findings leaves one nonplussed. But outside the behaviorist paradigm, and in a framework that asks about how people make meaning in their lives, the lack of connection can be understood as a function of a mismatch between the underlying and the overt questions in this dissertation. For me, these socio-cultural phenomena are in the foreground of my experiences as a parent. They challenge my confidence, shape my questions, and frame my worries and goals. But for Baumrind, documenting the merits of combining nurturance and demandingness was in the foreground of her experience.

To learn how and/or if these socio-cultural phenomena surface in parents' child-rearing experiences, parents' talk would have to comprise a major portion of the study's raw data. The study reported here always used Baumrind's instruments to mediate the raw data. Ethnographic methods focused directly on the linguistic meaning-making processes of participating families would be appropriate for follow-up studies. Although language is the principle vehicle for translating objective reality into subjective reality, and vice versa,

each translation involves some transformation. Although objective and subjective realities correspond to each other, they are not identical. The individual and cultural influences in these patterns of transformation, studied in contexts where they serve the coping function of making private sense while communicating publicly would provide a different understanding of constructions of parental authority than the one Baumrind developed in terms of nurturance and demandingness.

It would be interesting to see the linguistic processes in which these two complementary parenting functions are recognized, sustained, and generated among parents today, and interesting to see the ratios in which parents think of themselves as practicing them. If it were so that parents in this demographic niche are more likely now than in the 1960s to urge their children to be mindful in their speech, not just to speak

their minds, the shift might be consistent with a resurgence of linguistic psychodynamics familiar in oral rather than literate cultures. Among particular groups, one effect of literacy on speech may have been to segment the distribution of manners, morals, and ideas; one effect of its decline among particular groups such as those on whom this research has focused may be to force into speech a reintegration of the multiple functions of human communication.

APPENDIX A

PARENT ATTITUDE INVENTORY

Parent Attitude Inventory

Preschooler Parents

From Baumrind 1971

Directions:

This booklet contains questions concerning parents' attitudes toward child rearing. Each question contains two opinions about the same matter. Your task is to choose one of the pair (A or B) that MOST represents your attitude, and to place a check mark in front of the letter (A or B) that precedes that statement.

Examples: 1. ✓ A. Most parents have times when they are annoyed with their children.
___B. Most parents enjoy their children at all times.

2. The best age to wean a baby from a bottle is:
___A. by five months of age or a little younger.
✓ B. by ten months of age or a little older.

For some questions you will find that you agree with neither alternative A nor alternative B. For other questions you will find that you agree with both alternative A and alternative B. In all cases, however, you are requested to choose the opinion that best represents your point of view. FOR EACH QUESTION PLEASE CHECK A OR B.

Where you feel that a question is meaningless, or where neither alternative applies please check the best alternative. Then check the column to the right of the question, headed "meaningless or neither", and comment where needed.

Most questions apply to your preschool children. However, there are some questions which make sense only for older children and you will want to draw upon your general experience or attitudes concerning older children to answer those questions. The alternatives for all questions are constructed so that there are no right or wrong answers. That is, in each case there are very real differences among child behavior specialists and among thoughtful parents as to what is the best response.

There may be questions which describe kinds of behavior where what you actually do and what you believe you should do are different. In those instances please choose the alternative which describes what you actually do, but let us know of the discrepancy under Comments.

If you have time, please go over the responses a few days after you have first completed the Inquiry. You may wish to reconsider or change some of your responses.

On each page space is left for Comments. Please use the space as you wish, to discuss a particular question or to criticize the wording of a question. Your comments on the questions will be considered carefully.

Before going on to the rest of the Inquiry, we would like to know by means of the following five questions, whether you feel that you have a general, fairly definite, child-rearing policy or whether you prefer to make your decisions in a flexible, spontaneous, unplanned fashion. PLEASE CHECK A or B.

Question	Meaningless or Neither
1. ___A. I do not have a definite, clear position on how to raise children. ___B. I do have a definite, clear position on how to raise children.	—
2. ___A. There are very few, if any, generalizations about child rearing which I think hold for most families. ___B. There are many generalizations about child rearing which I think hold for most families.	—
3. ___A. I have strong convictions concerning child rearing. ___B. I do not have strong convictions concerning child rearing.	—
4. ___A. A good child-rearing theory is of great help to a parent in handling practical situations with children. ___B. A theory of child rearing is seldom of any real help in the day to day problems of bringing up children.	—
5. ___A. I try to think out beforehand how I want to bring up my children. ___B. I react spontaneously to what my children do, and do not try to formulate a general policy beforehand.	—

Comments:

PLEASE CHECK A <u>or</u> B FOR EACH QUESTION IN THE INQUIRY.

Meaningless or Neither

6.___A. I believe in choosing good books for my child to read.
___B. I think it best to let my child choose his own books according to his own taste. —

7.___A. I would rather have my child speak his mind than be polite at school.
___B. I would rather have my child be polite at school than speak his mind openly when he disagrees with a teacher. —

8.___A. I often feel quite relieved after I've given my child a well-deserved scolding.
___B. When I yell at my child I often feel badly because I lost my temper. —

9. A child can be expected to do some chores occasionally:
___A. by age three and a half or younger.
___B. by age four or older. —

10.___A. I want my child to be interesting and different more than I want him to be gentle and polite.
___B. I want my child to be well-behaved and gentle more than I want him to be interesting and different. —

11.___A. Compared to other parents I make few demands on my children.
___B. Compared to other parents I expect a great deal from my children. —

12.___A. A child should not talk back to a parent.
___B. A child has a right to express his own point of view to a parent. —

13.___A. It is best for a parent to try to avoid open conflict with a child.
___B. Open conflict between parent and child is often a good thing. —

<u>Comments:</u>

Meaningless or Neither

14.___A. Willful and aggressive behavior in a young child is a sign that he is developing independence and a mind of his own.
___B. A parent should do whatever is necessary to curb a child's willful and aggressive behavior. —

15.___A. I very often feel angry with my child.
___B. I seldom feel angry with my child. —

16.___A. It is best for a three-year-old to be permitted to play and not to be asked to help with chores.
___B. It is best for a three-year-old to be given his share of household chores. —

17.___A. A parent should be direct with a child even when that leads to open conflict.
___B. A parent should tactfully avoid open conflict with a child whenever possible. —

18.___A. A parent should always comfort a child in pain.
___B. Children should learn to tolerate some pain without being babied. —

19.___A. It is not important for a child to learn to read and to count in nursery school.
___B. Nursery school is a good place for children to learn reading and number skills. —

20.___A. A child must learn to conform to all school rules and regulations.
___B. A child should not have to conform to all school rules. —

21.___A. A child should be disciplined if he is impudent or fresh.
___B. It is often the spunky, interesting child who is impudent. —

22.___A. The imposition of parental authority on a child is wrong.
___B. The parent should set forth and enforce standards of personal conduct for the child. —

<u>Comments:</u>

Meaningless or Neither

23. If my child refused to come in after I had called him several times:
___A. I would probably get angry with him.
___B. I would try to be patient with him. ___

24.___A. A child should be expected to eat the food that is set before him.
___B. A child should not be expected to eat a food he really dislikes. ___

25. I would expect my child to be toilet-trained at night:
___A. by four or younger.
___B. by four and a half or older. ___

26.___A. All children provoke feelings of anger in parents.
___B. A mature parent seldom gets very angry at a child. ___

27. If my child refused to come when I called him I would:
___A. not persist if he became angry.
___B. be even more persistent if he became angry. ___

28.___A. I want my child to feel that he is liked by everybody.
___B. I want my child to be different from the crowd. ___

29.___A. A child should be able to question the authority of his parents.
___B. A child should honor his mother and father and accept their authority. ___

30.___A. Too much emphasis is placed on obedience nowadays for young children.
___B. Too much emphasis is placed on personal freedom nowadays for young children. ___

31.___A. The preservation of order and tradition should be highly valued.
___B. There is no reason for the younger generation to preserve the order and tradition set by the older generation. ___

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

32. If I refused to get my child a toy he wanted when we were shopping together in the supermarket and he continued to demand that I buy him the toy:
___A. he might throw a temper tantrum or cause a scene.
___B. I would not have much trouble getting him to stop fussing. ___

33.___A. When a child is called he should come immediately.
___B. A child should not have to come immediately when he is called. ___

34. If my child refused to come in when I called him:
___A. I would insist that he obey me immediately.
___B. I would first explain to him why I wanted him to come in. ___

35.___A. I prefer to select certain programs on television for my child to watch.
___B. I prefer to let my child choose the programs he will watch on television. ___
(If you do not have a television set, indicate what you would do in the event that you did have a set. Please check here if you do not have a television set:___)

36.___A. My child often does things which make me angry.
___B. My child seldom does things which make me angry. ___

37.___A. It is hard to control the actions of a nursery school-age child.
___B. It is easy to control the actions of a nursery school-age child. ___

38. I like to see my child dressed:
___A. differently from the other children.
___B. so that he fits in and looks like the other children. ___

39.___A. An adult cannot expect a child to obey a rule he does not understand.
___B. A child should be expected to obey a rule even if he doesn't understand the reason behind it. ___

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

40.___A. You are unlikely to spoil a baby by picking him up every time he cries. ___

___B. You tend to spoil a baby by picking him up every time he cries.

41.___A. A parent should not spank a child in anger. ___

___B. It is quite all right for a parent to spank a naughty child in anger.

42.___A. Not all parents deserve the respect of their children. ___

___B. A child should respect his parents because they are his parents.

43.___A. A four-year-old cannot be expected to help take care of a younger child. ___

___B. A four-year-old can be expected to be of some help in the care of a younger child.

44.___A. Some children can only be made to obey by scoldings and punishment. ___

___B. Most children will obey a parent who is firm and loving.

45. When I ask my child to help tidy up his room: ___

___A. I am sure that I can get him to obey me.

___B. I am not at all sure that he will obey me.

46. If my child were to make me late for an important appointment by dawdling and refusing to hurry: ___

___A. I would try to be patient with him.

___B. I would probably get angry with him.

47.___A. A child has a right to do what he wants with his own toys. ___

___B. A child should have to take proper care of his toys.

48.___A. It is best for a preschool child that he be cared for almost entirely by his mother. ___

___B. A preschool child can receive excellent daytime care from a good babysitter or housekeeper.

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

49.___A. Traditional religious values have little place in guiding parent-child relations today. ___

___B. Parental discipline should be directed at teaching the child to do the will of God.

50.___A. A child who defies authority is not very likeable. ___

___B. A child who always does as he is told is not very interesting.

51. I would expect my child to help put his own toys away: ___

___A. by age two and a half or younger.

___B. by age three or older.

52.___A. When I am very angry with my child I let him know it quite clearly. ___

___B. When I am very angry with my child I try to control myself.

53.___A. Punishment may have harmful side effects and probably is not an effective means of controlling child behavior. ___

___B. Most children respond well to punishment (including physical punishment) which is just and fair.

54. It is more important in this world: ___

___A. to learn how to get on with other people.

___B. to learn how to fight for one's ideals.

55. I would expect my child to stop using a pacifier: ___

___A. by age three or younger.

___B. by age three and a half or older.

56.___A. I feel confident that I know the right way to bring up my child(ren). ___

___B. I am uncertain at times of the right way to bring up my child(ren).

57. Other parents probably see me as: ___

___A. rather firm with my child.

___B. rather permissive with my child.

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

58.___A. I do not believe in giving a three-year-old household duties and responsibilites.
___B. I believe in giving a three-year-old his share of household duties and family responsibilities. ___

59.___A. When a young child is feeling sad he should always be comforted.
___B. Young children often get their feelings hurt too easily. ___

60.___A. In general parents today do not reason enough with their children.
___B. In general parents today reason too much with their children. ___

61.___A. It is all right for a mother of preschool children to work half-time or more as long as she has a good babysitter.
___B. A mother of preschool children probably should not work more than half-time. ___

62.___A. Self-will in a preschool child should be nourished and encouraged.
___B. Willfulness in a preschool child should be discouraged. ___

63.___A. A child should be able to do as he likes as much as possible.
___B. A parent must insist that a child do many things against the child's will. ___

64. A child who demands a great deal of attention at bedtime:
___A. may have a problem that is bothering him.
___B. should be disregarded or punished. ___

65. When I tell my child to go to bed or to take his bath:
___A. I have reason to believe from past experience that he will obey me.
___B. I am not at all sure that he will obey me. ___

66.___A. I would like to be more patient than I am with my child.
___B. It doesn't bother me particularly when I am impatient with my child. ___

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

67.___A. The child today is expected to conform too much.
___B. The child today is rewarded too much for non-conformity. ___

68.___A. Even if a child disobeys a school rule on purpose the reason behind the rule should be carefully explained to him.
___B. When a child disobeys a school rule on purpose he should be made to obey without further explanation. ___

69.___A. I do not want my child to be a nonconformist.
___B. I do not want my child to be a conformist. ___

70.___A. It is difficult for a preschool child to feel secure without his mother or father present.
___B. Most preschool children feel secure without their mother or father present. ___

71. I would expect my child to be able to dress himself completely:
___A. by age five and a half or younger.
___B. by age six or older. ___

72. Children would be less likely to get into trouble with the law:
___A. if parents taught their children respect for authority.
___B. if parents listened more to what their children had to say. ___

73.___A. I like to see a child have opinions and express them, even to adults.
___B. A child should not contradict persons with more experience than himself. ___

74. If left alone frequently with adults other than his parents a preschool child is likely:
___A. to become more independent.
___B. to become more insecure. ___

75. If my child refused to go to bed at his usual time I would:
___A. insist firmly that he go to bed without further fuss.
___B. first try to reason with him. ___

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

76.___A. Some public school rules are so arbitrary or foolish that I would not insist that they be obeyed by my child.
___B. I would expect my school-age child to obey all school rules. —

77.___A. I care more than most parents I know about having my child(ren) obey me.
___B. I care less than most parents I know about having my child(ren) obey me. —

78.___A. I do not believe that a preschool child is old enough to choose the clothes he wants to wear for the day.
___B. I believe in giving a preschool child considerable choice in selecting the clothes he wants to wear for the day. —

79.___A. I prefer to avoid fights with my child.
___B. I don't mind having a good fight with my child. —

80. I would still permit my child to have a bottle at bedtime:
___A. at age three and a half or younger (or not at all).
___B. at age four or older. —

81.___A. A child should not talk back to an adult.
___B. It is good to see a child hold his own in an argument with an adult. —

82.___A. A child can benefit from nursery school by age two and a half or even younger.
___B. A child of two and a half probably should be home with his mother rather than at nursery school. —

83.___A. The idea that a child should show "respect for authority" is rather foolish.
___B. The idea that a child should show "respect for authority" is valid today, as it was yesterday. —

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

84.___A. Young children need more freedom to make up their own minds about things than they seem to get today.
___B. Young children need more guidance from their parents than they seem to get today. —

85.___A. A three or four-year-old child is a little too young to really know his own mind.
___B. A three or four-year-old child can make many decisions for himself. —

86.___A. My three or four-year-old child can very seldom convince me to change my mind by his logic.
___B. My young child can often convince me by his logic to change my mind after I have refused a request he has made. —

87. I would expect my child to stop sucking his thumb:
___A. by age four or younger.
___B. by age four and a half or older. —

88.___A. I often find it hard to get my preschool child(ren) to obey me.
___B. I have no trouble getting my preschool child(ren) to obey me. —

89.___A. Punishing a child in anger is likely to relieve a parent and make him feel better.
___B. Punishing a child in anger is likely to make a parent feel rather guilty. —

90.___A. I like my child to play at times with odd and interesting children.
___B. I prefer that my child stay away from children who are odd and different. —

91.___A. Parents should take seriously the opinions of young children.
___B. Most young children change their minds so frequently that it is hard to take their opinions seriously. —

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

92.___A. I do not like my child to question my decisions.
___B. It is all right with me if my child argues with me about my decisions. ___

93.___A. If provided with a choice of foods a child can regulate his own diet fairly well.
___B. It is up to a mother to regulate her child's meals in order to be sure that he eats a well-balanced diet. ___

94.___A. The young child who is striving to meet demands made upon him by his parents is under constant tension and anxiety about his own worth.
___B. The young child becomes a more competent and self-reliant person by striving to meet the demands made upon him by his parents. ___

95.___A. Young children need more freedom to do as they desire.
___B. Young children need many restrictions on their activities. ___

96. I would expect my child to help make his bed and tidy up his room:
___A. by age five or younger.
___B. by age five and a half or older. ___

97.___A. When my child kicks up a fuss or has a temper tantrum I find it takes me some time to quiet him down.
___B. My child seldom, if ever, has a temper tantrum; if he does, I have little trouble quieting him down. ___

98.___A. I don't mind it particularly when my child argues with me.
___B. I don't particularly like my child to argue with me. ___

99.___A. In family living it is often best not to be too strict about enforcing rules.
___B. Family rules should be firmly enforced. ___

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

100.___A. I select certain television programs for my child to watch and do not permit him to watch others.
___B. I do not censor the content of the television programs which my child watches. ___
(If you do not have a television set, indicate what you would do in the event that you did have a set.)

101. With regard to my children, I would characterize my discipline as:
___A. quite firm.
___B. fairly permissive. ___

102. When a child continues to get out of bed after he has been sent to bed two or three times:
___A. he should be punished for his disobedience.
___B. he should be put to bed quietly but firmly. ___

103.___A. Most preschool children cannot be of any real help around the house.
___B. Most preschool children can be trained to be of real help around the house. ___

104.___A. A young child should be permitted to be self-regulated and free of restraint as much as possible.
___B. The child must learn to accommodate himself to the demands of the group. ___

105.___A. No child should be permitted to strike his mother.
___B. A mother should not be harsh with a small child who strikes her. ___

106. If I were tired and my child kept putting off going to bed:
___A. I would try to be patient with him.
___B. I would probably get angry with him. ___

107.___A. A child should not have to obey all demands of his teachers.
___B. A child should be taught to obey all his teachers' demands. ___

Comments:

Meaningless or Neither

108.___A. A mother can expect household help from a three-year-old child. —
___B. A mother cannot expect household help from a three-year-old child.

109. If I wanted my school-age child to tidy up his room:
___A. I would insist that he do it immediately so that he would not forget. —
___B. I would let him decide for himself how and when to go about the job.

110.___A. Living on a schedule makes life a lot easier. —
___B. Trying to keep to a schedule makes life a lot harder.

111. When a child seeks attention from a parent:
___A. he should in general get the attention he seeks. —
___B. he should be disregarded so as to discourage attention-seeking.

112. It is more important for a child:
___A. to be an individual than to fit in with the crowd. —
___B. to be liked than to stand out from the crowd.

113.___A. Preschool children like to spend most of their time in the security of their own home. —
___B. Preschool children like to explore new places away from home.

Comments:

Attitude Toward the Questionnaire

114.___A. I enjoyed taking this inquiry.
___B. I did not enjoy taking this inquiry.

115.___A. I found it difficult to choose between alternatives A and B for many of the questions.
___B. In general I did not find it difficult to choose between alternatives A and B for most of the questions.

116.___A. I did not get very much for myself out of taking the questionnaire.
___B. I found the questionnaire useful or interesting to take.

117.___A. I did not find the inquiry too long.
___B. I thought that the inquiry took too much of my time to complete.

(The inquiry took me about ___minutes to complete.)

Comments:

Previous research indicates that beliefs and practices associated with child rearing are in a state of flux. The main purpose of the Parent Attitude Inquiry is to discover what child-rearing attitudes are prevalent in the community today. Other researchers in the past have found that attitudes towards child rearing are related to such factors as sex and birth order of the child, parents' education and occupation, ethnic background (race), and religion. It is important to understand each person's attitudes and beliefs in the framework of these factors. For that reason we request that you answer the following questions in these areas. As you may know, all identifying information is destroyed as soon as the responses are transferred to data sheets. Until then responses are held in strict confidence. We want to take this opportunity to thank you for your help and to let you know that as data are analyzed, the general results will be brought to the attention of your nursery school teacher and in this manner can be made available to you.

Age of child attending nursery school___ Birthdate_______ Sex: M__ F__

Education of Parents (cross out highest grade completed)

	Father	Mother
Grade School:	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
High School:	9 10 11 12	9 10 11 12
College:	Fresh. Soph. Jr. Sr.	Fresh. Soph. Jr. Sr.

Postgraduate: Specify_______________ Specify_______________

Business or Trade School: Specify_______________ Specify_______________

Occupation of: Father_______________ Mother_______________

If mother is working, what percent time?_______

Ethnic background of: Father_______________ Mother_______________

Do both parents live in home? Yes____ No____

Number of children in family____ Family religion_______________

Please list below the birthdays and sex of all children in the family including the one attending nursery school:

	Birthdate	Sex
1st Born	_______________	M__ F__
2nd Born	_______________	M__ F__
3rd Born	_______________	M__ F__
4th Born	_______________	M__ F__
5th Born	_______________	M__ F__

Thank you.

APPENDIX B

PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR Q-SORT

MANUAL FOR THE PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR Q SORT

Form III (72 items)

January 1968

The present 72-item Q sort is a revision of a previous 95-item Q sort. The domain of behavior covered consists primarily of interpersonal behavior. Such behaviors are observed easily in most nursery school settings. In addition there are some Q items on achievement-orientation which may require the child to be observed while participating in a structured situation, such as an intelligence test would provide. These items were devised to define eight constructs, nine items for each construct.

Construct	Defined by Items	To Measure
I. High vs. low stress tolerance	1, 3, 26, 28, 30, 38, 51, 57, 65	Organic and psychological factors basic to competence such as vitality, integration, balance, resilience, and courage
II. Self-confident vs. fearful	13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 25, 47, 50	Resolution, involvement, and forcefulness
III. Achievement-oriented vs. nonachievement-oriented	6, 8, 12, 20, 40, 42, 53, 59, 66	Purposive, self-motivated behavior in situations requiring effort, high performance, or tolerance of frustration
IV. Approach-oriented vs. withdrawn	5, 10, 14, 17, 24, 29, 34, 48, 49	Thrust, vitality, potency, and expressiveness
V. Autonomous vs. suggestible	4, 11, 31, 36, 37, 41, 46, 60, 64	Non-disruptive individualism
VI. Rebellious vs. dependable with adults	27, 32, 39, 44, 52, 58, 61, 68, 69	Socially disruptive nonconformity
VII. Destructive vs. constructive	7, 22, 33, 35, 54, 67, 70, 71, 72	Hostile impulsive behavior directed at peers
VIII. Alienated vs. trusting	2, 9, 23, 43, 45, 55, 56, 62, 63	Distrust, suspiciousness, and social ineptness

Each item was defined by describing what both a child rated high and a child rated low would look like in the nursery school setting. For many items, pertinent situations are pointed out in which a child might demonstrate the behavior described; and differentiations from other items measuring similar kinds of behavior are made. Each researcher who uses the Q sort and the manual should be prepared to go through a similar process of training. Empirical item meaning should be acquired consensually by the observer staff in the specific setting in which the observation is to take place.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING THE PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR Q SORT

With the individual to be rated in mind, look through the 72 cards. You are to sort these statements into a row of nine categories placing at one end of the row those cards you consider most characteristic or salient with respect to the subject and at the other end, those cards you believe to be most uncharacteristic or negatively salient with reference to the subject. Eight cards are to be placed in each category:

Category	Label of Category
9	extremely characteristic or salient
8	quite characteristic or salient
7	fairly characteristic or salient
6	somewhat characteristic or salient
5	relatively neutral or unimportant
4	somewhat uncharacteristic or negatively salient
3	fairly uncharacteristic or negatively salient
2	quite uncharacteristic or negatively salient
1	extremely uncharacteristic or negatively salient

First, form three stacks of cards. One stack should consist of attribute-descriptions characteristic of the individual; another stack should consist of about the same number of attribute-descriptions uncharacteristic of the individual; remaining cards belong in the middle pile. When the three piles have been established, they may be further divided, this time into their proper proportions. Check your judgments and placements. Record your placements on the sheets provided, ordering the items within each category by their item numbers from low to high (for convenient data analysis). Check the recording o˘ your placements.

Preschool Behavior Q-Sort Items

1. Expresses negative feelings openly and directly (frustrated or bound up by feelings)
2. Manipulates other children to enhance his own position or to get what he wants (non-manipulative)
3. Well-coordinated and agile (poorly coordinated and clumsy)
4. Willing to pursue tasks alone (needs support of other children)
5. Forcefully goes after what he wants (hesitates or is easily put off)
6. Likes to learn new cognitive skills (does not actively seek new learning experiences)
7. Nurturant or sympathetic towards other children (unsympathetic when another child is in distress)
8. Does not persevere when he encounters frustrations (perseveres)
9. Lacks ability to get along with other children (interacts smoothly with other children)
10. Spectator (participant)
11. Suggestible (has a mind of his own)
12. Gives his best to work and play (puts little effort into what he does)
13. Timid with other children (bold with other children)
14. Characteristically unoccupied (generally busy, always occupied)
15. Vacillates and oscillates (knows what actions he wants to take and with whom)
16. Confident (lacks confidence)
17. Lacking in curiosity (curious)
18. Self-starting and self-propelled (needs reassurance and encouragement from others in order to embark)
19. Disoriented in his environment (well-oriented in his environment)
20. Does not become pleasurably involved in structured tasks (involves self pleasurably in structured activities)
21. Peer leader (follower)
22. Supports or incites culpable behavior by other children (does not support wrongdoing or inhibits culpable behavior)
23. Other children seek his company (company seldom sought by other children)
24. Paid attention to by other children (goes unnoticed by other children)
25. Dependent upon any one adult, especially mother (self-reliant in relating to adults)
26. Easily frustrated or upset when an obstacle to task performance is encountered (has high tolerance for frustration)
27. Tries to evade adult authority (accepts adult guidance)
28. High energy level (low energy level)
29. Emotionally expressive (emotionally bland)
30. Apprehensive (not anxious)
31. Argues with other children to get his point across (backs down when opposed)
32. Obedient (disobedient)
33. Destructively impetuous and impulsive (self-controlled and thoughtful)
34. Slow-moving and phlegmatic (alert and vivacious)
35. Helps other children carry out their activities (purposely disrupts activities of other children)
36. Does not question adult authority (can question adult authority when he has a good reason)
37. Expresses preferences for one kind of activity over another (does not express preferences)
38. Communicates well verbally (rambling, inarticulate)
39. Requires a great deal of adult supervision (does not require supervision)
40. Likes to compete with other children in performance of activities (avoids competitive situations)
41. Concerned about adult disapproval (not concerned about adult disapproval)
42. Sets goals which expand his abilities, e.g., learning to pump on swings, trying difficult puzzles (likes to do only what is easiest for him)
43. Gets other children in trouble with teacher (protects other children from adult disapproval and punishment)
44. Actively facilitates nursery school routine (undependable)
45. Seeks company of other children (avoids company of other children)
46. Avoids peer interaction by techniques such as seeking adult attention (comfortable and secure in interaction with peers)
47. Plans activities for other children (seeks direction from other children or teacher)
48. Resists domination by other children (submits to demands of other children)

49. Has strong sense of self as a positive force (seems willing to fade into background)
50. Socially withdrawn (outgoing)
51. Physically courageous with playground apparatus (fearful)
52. Can be trusted (sneaky, cannot be trusted)
53. Stretches to meet the situation when much is demanded of him (retreats when much is demanded of him)
54. Bullies other children (is not a bully)
55. Understands other children's position in interaction or altercation (nonempathic)
56. Content, cheerful attitude (discontent)
57. Withdraws when faced with excitement or a great deal of activity (enjoys excitement)
58. Friendly attitude towards teaching staff (hostile toward staff)
59. Samples activities aimlessly, lacks goals (purposive)
60. Typically in the role of a listener (full participant in group talks)
61. Tries to manipulate adults (relates straightforwardly to adults)
62. Excludes other children from pair or group play (accepts and includes other children easily into play)
63. Selfish (altruistic, shares his possessions willingly)
64. Individualistic (complies to the group)
65. Blame-avoidant (accepts responsibility for wrongdoing)
66. Stereotyped in his thinking (original)
67. Hits only in self-defense or doesn't hit at all (hits aggressively)
68. Provocative with adults (does not challenge adult authority)
69. Responsible about following standard operating procedure at school (shows little concern about rules and regime)
70. Insulting (does not assault another child's ego)
71. Nonintrusive (domineering attitude)
72. Thoughtless of other children's productions (takes care not to destroy another child's work)

Preschool Behaviors Q-Sort

1. Imagine your are raising a child who is now 3 or 4 years old and will be 8 or 9 years old at the turn of the century. Please arrange these descriptors according to the importance each one is likely to have for this child so that she/he has the best possible chances for leading a full, rich life. Create a stack of 12 items for each of 6 categories:

Category	Label of Category
1	Would be extremely characteristic
2	Would be fairly characteristic
3	Would be somewhat characteristic
4	Would be somewhat uncharacteristic
5	Would be fairly uncharacteristic
6	Would be extremely uncharacteristic

2. What sex was the child you imagined?______

3. Would you have thought the same characteristics would be important 25 years ago? _____

4. Demographic Information
Name & phone # (optional)______________________
Sex _____ Year of birth ______ Occupation ____________
Education: Number of years after grade school ___________
No. of hours per week you work for pay _______
Family income last year (mark one) <$10K; $10K-$25K; $25K-$40K; $40K-$55K; >$55K
Age & sex of your children ____________ Religion ________
Ethnic background ________________ Marital status _______

5. Comments on doing this activity:
____
____
____
____
____

Note: These descriptors were used in a study begun in 1969, and some of the language is different than if they were written today.

Item 1. Expresses negative feelings openly and directly (frustrated or bound up by feelings).

High: The child does not become bound up with negative feelings but is able to express himself openly and with approriate emotionality relevant to the cause and cure of what is troubling him when experiencing a generally frustrating situation, particularly when an altercation arises with a peer or a divergence with a teacher, e.g. he cries to get help or he expresses anger.

Low: In a frustrating situation the child is likely to become bound up with feelings and become either excessively passive or regressive, e.g., he cries because of inability to express anger or to take action.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: Note reactive regressive, or passive behavior under stress particularly during divergences with peers and teachers. Note when teacher asks child to give up playing if he becomes angry or disappointed but cannot express it and becomes resentful.

Differentiations: This item should be differentiated from item 29, Emotionally expressive (emotionally bland), which focuses on the ability or willingness of the child to express positive emotions, although children typified by bland affect are apt to receive low ratings on both items

Item 2. Manipulates other children to enhance his own position or to get what he wants (non-manipulative).

High: The child frequently uses other children to his benefit without consideration for their own interests. He accomplishes this by indirect methods and not by physical force or persuasion. He appears to understand other children's vulnerability and does not hesitate to use it. His motivation is to save himself effort, or to avoid punishment by getting another to do what he wants or to exercise power indirectly.

Low: The child is direct in his interaction with peers. He asks directly for what he wants and is not likely to gain his ends by maneuvering others.

Pertinent Behavior: The child may attempt to get another child's trike by leading the child to believe that there is something of interest for him inside, or may get a child to hit another who is bothering him (the manipulator), thereby avoiding a risk of physical harm or of punishment for fighting.

Item 3. Well-coordinated and agile (poorly coordinated and clumsy).

High: The child rated high demonstrates exceptional large motor coordination in walking, running, and climbing.

Low: The child rated extremely low has difficulty running and climbing, and in walking is apt to show signs of immaturity like waddling or stiff-leggedness.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: The best and perhaps only situation for observing pertinent behavior besides running is play on large, high, outdoor apparatus where muscular skill is required. A jungle gym is ideal and a tree makes a good substitute.

Differentiations: Do not substitute observations on behavior concerned with fine motor coordination as expressed in art work, etc., indoors, since these two abilities are not highly related. Therefore, particular attention must be given to the quiet girl who spends most of her time indoors. Care must be given not to infer poor coordination from lack of activity. Also, degree of courage rated by Item 51, Physically courageous with playground apparatus (fearful), should not be used to rate this item, although there is undoubtedly a positive relationship.

Item 4. Willing to pursue tasks alone (needs support of other children).

High: The child spends a significant portion of his time in activities which he has chosen because of their interest to himself. He pursues these activities whether or not others choose to join him. He stops because he reaches some end point (e.g., he finishes a puzzle), or closure, rather than out of a need for supportive companionship.

Low: The child is continually in the company of other children. He is not likely to initiate a new activity without checking to see if it is acceptable to others. His commitment is to interpersonal relationships rather than to tasks or activities. He does not feel comfortable when alone.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: Note solitary play, particularly of a constructive nature like digging or building, and purposeful puzzle working, not just aimless manipulation.

Differentiations: Do not rate the child high on this item who is alone because of lack of interest or anxiety about acceptance. These characteristics are rated by item 15, Vacillates and oscillates (knows what actions he wants to take and with whom); item 19, Disoriented in his environment (well-oriented in his environment); and item 59, Samples activities aimlessly, lacks goals (purposive). The focus here is on purposeful, independent activity.

Item 6. Likes to learn new cognitive skills (does not actively seek new learning experiences).

High: The child responds positively to a teaching situation and may actively seek aid from a teacher while attempting something new. During IQ testing he responds positively to each new task and becomes engrossed in its problem-solving aspects. The child rated extremely high should go beyond a willingness to learn, showing an actual preference for learning situations.

Low: The child avoids learning situations and during IQ testing attempts to withdraw from the situation psychologically and/or physically.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: The child attempts to turn teaching situations or IQ testing into opportunities for play or interpersonal maneuvers with the intent of avoiding confrontation with a demanding task. A child rated low is one who is apt to quit playing with a puzzle or a complicated toy, e.g., when a teacher shows interest in his progress.

Differentiations: Attempt to keep ratings on this item independent of the child's performance in learning situations.

Item 5. Forcefully goes after what he wants (hesitates or is easily put off).

High: The child characteristically knows what he wants in terms of the resources available and does not hesitate to pursue his goal using whatever appropriate techniques are required to obtain it. The emphasis is on the amount of commitment the child gives to his own desires and his willingness to confront obstacles, by obtaining the help of teachers and the cooperation of other children. An example of a child who is rated high is one who when encountering opposition from another child uses reason and persuasion to change the other's mind, expending time and energy in so doing, or uses the same approach on a teacher in order to have her intercede on his behalf. Some use of muscle instead of reason might also be rated high if such behavior typically is successful and not self-defeating.

Low: The child makes only feeble attempts at obtaining what he wants. He accepts the prepotency of another's need if it conflicts with his own and will not push a teacher beyond her initial 'no' to obtain a goal. He is apt to be hesitant about expressing desires or evasive when asked what he wants.

Pertinent Situations and Behavior: Stubbornness when encountering an obstacle is not a good indicator of a very high rating, although giving up would indicate a low rating. Stubbornness is a reaction to not getting what is wanted and in its most rigid form is apt to be self-defeating.

Differentiations: This item is more general and at a higher level of competence than just overcoming frustration in problem solving tasks, as in item 8, Does not persevere when he encounters frustration (perseveres), although it is apt to be related for some children. Rated here is a form of constructive self-assertiveness, quite different in its effects from behavior rated by item 54, Bullies other children (is not a bully) and by item 71, Non-intrusive (domineering attitude).

Item 7. Nurturant or sympathetic towards other children (unsympathetic when another child is in distress).

High: The child extends aid and/or comfort to a child who gets hurt. A child characterized in the extreme by this item may even extend comfort or aid when another is hurt even if s/he has been arguing or fighting with the child and has thereby been the cause of the suffering. A child rated high might offer a toy or piece of equipment in her/his possession to a child who is distressed over not having something s/he wants, whether through loss, another child taking it, or not enough equipment to go around during a structured activity. S/He may invite a child to play with her/him whom s/he sees standing alone and dejected.

Low: When another child is injured or in distress the child rated low just stares or continues her/his activity. The child who injures another and runs away should be rated extremely low as should the child who pokes fun at a child crying.

Item 8. Does not persevere when s/he encounters frustration (perseveres).

High: When the demands of the situation are such as to make success difficult and/or require failure to be overcome the child quickly gives up.

Low: The child rated low very quickly becomes problem oriented when confronted with a difficult task and commits herself/himself to its solution. S/He overcomes frustration and pursues her/his objective even if s/he fails more than once.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: Note behavior during teaching situations, IQ testing, and puzzle solving.

Differentiation: The focus of this item is on the teaching or problem-solving situation, not peer interaction. Perseverence there is better rated by Item 5, Forcefully goes after what s/he wants (hesitates or is easily put off).

Item 9. Lacks ability to get along with other children (Interacts smoothly with other children).

High: The child is not able to sustain a long period of play with the other children without some difficulty arising. There may be an attempt to exclude him because the others anticipate that he will disrupt the ongoing activity through his ineptness. This disruption is not necessarily caused by his hostility or aggression but rather because of his lack of social skills. It is as though what he hopes to gain from the play situation diverges from the common interests of the others. This divergence is not over the formal aspects of the play situation but is a difference in understanding the implicit specifications for appropriate behavior. He is not easily accepted by the other children. The non-aggressive but 'left-out' child is likely to get a high rating on this item.

Low: The child is accepted by other children in their play. He is likely to be greeted when he comes near, and his presence in a structured activity is not likely to interfere with the other children. He enters into group play situations easily. His presence is not likely to cut short the ongoing enterprise. Other children are not afraid of or intimidated by him.

Differentiations: This item focuses on ease of acceptance by other children while item 23, Other children seek his company (company seldom sought by other children) requires that the child be actively sought after as a playmate.

Item 10. Spectator (participant).

High: The child spends most of his time at nursery school watching other children play without participating much himself. If called upon to participate he either withdraws or plays only momentarily in order to comply with the demands of others, then withdraws at the first opportunity.

Low: The child is always a participant, only watching long enough to assess whether or not he wants to join.

Pertinent Situations: Note free play.

Differentiations: This item can be a specific form of Item 14, Characteristically unoccupied (generally busy, always occupied), but a child high on this item is not necessarily high on 14--he can be visibly involved emotionally and in this sense reinforce differentially the behavior of more active participants.

Item 11. Suggestible (has a mind of his own).

High: The child is easily influenced by another child and is thereby easily led away from one activity and into another. He is easily maneuvered into activities or modes of play which suit other children. With one other child, he is apt to be the follower. He takes his cue from other children.

Low: The child pursues activities for the pleasure derived from the activity and his commitment to it and is not likely to give it up to suit someone else. He is more likely to suit himself than a peer, not out of hostility but because he has set his mind on obtaining a particular goal. In a two-child play situation, he is apt to be the dominant member.

Differentiations: This item focuses upon the child's independence from influence by peers. Item 36, Does not question adult authority (can question adult authority when he has a good reason), and Item 41, Concerned about adult disapproval (not concerned about adult disapproval), focus upon the child's independence from adults. This item focuses upon the child's mode of interaction in peer dyads rather than in a group. In contrast, Item 64, Individualistic (complies to the group), focuses upon the child's mode of interaction in gatherings of more than two children.

Item 12. Gives his best to work and play (puts little effort into what he does).

High: To be rated high on this item the child must characteristically involve himself in a task or game for its own sake (not for interpersonal reasons) and he must actively give of himself to the situation. Interpersonally, he does not fear rebuff. During IQ testing he should show personal investment in the quality of his performance and be willing to risk failure.

Low: The child characteristically withholds himself from most activities. A child overly concerned with the interpersonal aspects of games (winning or losing favor), the teaching situation, or who will not risk failure or rebuff is apt to be low on this item.

Pertinent Situations: This is a general item concerned with the quality of the child's involvement in all aspects of the nursery school.

Item 13. Timid with other children (bold with other children).

High: The child hesitates to ask another child for something he needs to further his own plans. He is reluctant to join an already-functioning group and tends to avoid children who are known for their aggressive behavior.

Low: The child does not hesitate to initiate play with another child, to suggest new activities, or to ask a child for something he wants in a shared endeavor. He does not go out of his way to avoid the more physical children.

Pertinent Situations and Behavior: The focus of this item is on social interaction with peers.

Differentiations: Ratings should be made as independently as possible of dominance vs. submissiveness which is better rated by reference to items 48, Resists domination of other children (submits to demands of other children); 24, Paid attention to by other children (goes unnoticed by other children); and 71, Nonintrusive (domineering attitude). This item focuses upon the nature of the child's social interactions. In contrast, item 5, Forcefully goes after what he wants (hesitates or is easily put off), focuses upon his commitment to a goal and his ability to achieve it.

Item 14. Characteristically unoccupied (generally busy, always occupied).

High: The child participates very little in the nursery school situation finding little to interest him in either individual or group activities. His presence has little effect on the behavior of other children.

Low: The child is always involved in some activity either by himself or in a group.

Pertinent Behavior: A child who continually daydreams, remaining out of contact with the activities of his peers, would receive a high rating.

Differentiations: Although there is an obvious relationship to item 28, High energy level (low energy level), the ratings of this item should be kept as independent as possible of pure expenditure of energy. Although the spectator (item 10, Spectator [participant]) may receive a high rating, the focus of this item is on the child's lack of interest as the reason for his lack of participation.

Item 15. Vacillates and oscillates (knows what actions s/he wants to take and with whom).

High: The child is ambivalent about his/her actions and his/her social relations with others. S/He appears anxious about committing him/herself to any situation or activity with others, and once a course of action is pursued, s/he experiences conflict and quickly withdraws.

Low: The child shows no conflict between his/her desires for play and the situation offered at nursery school. S/He plays single-mindedly with other children in an involved and integrated manner.

Pertinent Situation and Behavior: Note social situations. The child who 'hangs around' is a likely candidate for a high rating.

Differentiation: Differentiate from Item 59, Samples activities aimlessly, lacks goals (purposive), noting that Item 15 pertains to obvious signs of conflict and anxiety. The child's lack of participation is not motivated by his own preferences but is marked by vacillation in anxiety-producing situations.

Item 16. Confident (lacks confidence).

High: The child displays a strong sense of self and is self-assured with regard to his/her ability to fulfill the demands made upon him/her at nursery school. S/He demonstrates an 'I can do that' attitude in contrast to an 'I can't do that' attitude.

Low: The child will not try anything new and/or hesitates to answer questions in the teaching situation. His/Her initial impulse is to assume that s/he will fail if s/he has not recently met with success.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: Note when a child volunteers to be the first to try something new and his/her willingness to attempt to answer questions which are admittedly hard or call for more than stereotyped answers.

Differentiations: This item focuses upon the child's view of her/himself and hence should be kept as independent as possible of performance and carefully delineated from Item 51, Physically courageous with playground apparatus (fearful); Item 30, Apprehensive (not anxious); and Item 48, Resists domination by other children (submits to demands of other children). However, for children at the extremes the ratings for these items would be highly similar.

Item 17. Lacking in curiosity (curious).

High: The child is typically uninterested in the activities of others and is not easily enticed into a new activity by an appeal to his/her curiosity. As the structured activities change during the nursery school day s/he is not likely to be drawn toward something different.

Low: The child is interested in what others are doing. S/He is drawn toward any new situation which arises, particularly of an extraordinary character and can be motivated to change activities by an appeal to his/her curiosity. S/He is apt to approach a new adult or child at nursery school.

Pertinent Situations: Note behavior during IQ testing, field trips, and when anything novel is introduced at school.

Item 18. Self-starting and self-propelled (needs reassurance and encouragement from others in order to embark).

High: The child typically becomes caught up immediately in activity upon entering the nursery school and quickly becomes involved in a new activity (group or solitary) once an ongoing activity is terminated. S/He does not need help in getting started each morning nor does s/he need to be remotivated during the day. S/He brings to nursery school a set of expectations and plans which are easily met and carried out.

Low: The child finds it hard to become involved in nursery school activity unless s/he is approached and encouraged by a teacher or peer.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: Note initial behavior in the morning and behavior which follows structured activities like juice or story time.

Differentiations: Keep ratings independent of activity level (Item 28, High energy level [low energy level]) and quality of work or play.

Item 19. Disoriented in his environment (well-oriented in his environment).

High: The child is lost at nursery school, i.e., he does not understand what is going on and/or what is expected of him. Many of his responses are inappropriate to the situation. The child behaves as though he were unaware of his purpose in being at nursery school and of his appropriate role in the ongoing activities.

Low: The child uses the situation as a resource for his own enjoyment and growth and these ends are obviously at one with the intended or implied nursery school program. He knows why he is there and why the other people and objects are there, too.

Pertinent Situations and Behavior: At the beginning of the nursery school year, children who have not been at school before will not know where things are or what to expect from their teacher or peers. Some children will quickly do what is necessary in order to get oriented--ask questions, explore the environment, test teacher and peer for limits of acceptable behavior. These children may become very well-oriented. Other children will not actively come to know their environment and will remain perplexed about what there is to do, what they are permitted to do, and what resources are offered by the nursery school; that is, they will remain disoriented.

Differentiations: Keep ratings focused on specific signs of disoriented behavior, not merely general anxiety (Item 30, Apprehensive [not anxious]), although disorientation will almost certainly generate anxiety.

Item 20. Does not become pleasurably involved in structured tasks (involves self pleasurably in structured activities).

High: The child may perform or not perform in structured situations but he gains no obvious pleasure from his participation.

Low: The child involves himself in those tasks which are structured around teaching and expanding the child's abilities or general knowledge, and this involvement brings obvious pleasure. He accepts the challenge of IQ testing and gains pleasure from the experience.

Pertinent Situations: Note structured activities, teaching situations, and IQ testing.

Differentiations: This item focuses on the pleasure gained from participation in structured tasks. Items 8, Does not persevere when he encounters frustration (perseveres), and 12, Gives his best to work and play (puts little effort into what he does), are concerned with degree of involvement, and ratings should be kept as independent as possible. In Item 44, Actively facilitates nursery school routine (undependable), the child behaves in a certain manner which has a constructive or destructive effect, while in Item 20, the focus is on the child's pleasure in his involvement with the task.

Item 21. Peer leader (follower).

High: The child is sought after as a playmate by other children who willingly follow his directions or suggestions. He frequently gives directions and metes out reward and punishment to those who play with him, usually by giving or withdrawing his attention or including or excluding others from his next project.

Low: A child rated low frequently puts himself more or less at the service of a friendly, direct leader or goes along easily with whatever the group decides to do without contributing much to the decision making process. There is at least one peer to whom he frequently defers.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: Note whether members of ad hoc groups direct their comments and suggestions to one particular individual. This individual is apt to be the leader, just as the child who never makes suggestions but who is always in the company of others is apt to be a follower.

Differentiations: In order to rate the child high on this item, his general likableness or acceptability must be coupled with active direction. Acceptability is rated by items 9, Lacks ability to get along with other children (Interacts smoothly with other children), and 23, Other children seek his company (company seldom sought by other children). This item should also be rated as independently as possible of the child's ability to manipulate others (Item 2, Manipulates other children to enhance his own position or to get what he wants [non-manipulative]) or to dominate (Item 24, Paid attention to by other children [goes unnoticed by other children]), although there should be an obvious relationship with the latter item. Keep the low ratings independent of general submissiveness which is better rated by Item 48, Resists domination by other children (submits to demands of other children). It is quite common for a child to accept one or two peers as leaders while assuming a non-submissive or even dominant relationship to others. A child who prefers independent, solitary, or parallel play should be given a neutral rating.

Item 22. Supports or incites culpable behavior by other children (does not support wrongdoing or inhibits culpable behavior).

High: If another child indicates that he might misbehave, the child rated high will encourage him to follow through. He may even suggest to another that he do something wrong. He likes to see misbehavior and the disruption it causes; he enjoys or does not consider its effect on the wrongdoer or upon others; thus, he may encourage a child to throw blocks in a crowded room.

Low: The child rated low is quick to dissociate himself from wrongdoing. The extreme rating would go to the child who discourages wrongdoing by pointing out to others the consequences of their acts in terms of the possibility of harm to others or punishment to themselves.

Item 23. Other children seek his company (company seldom sought by other children).

High: The child is sought after as a playmate. He is asked to join groups of children who are playing. His name is brought up when other children are planning things to do.

Low: The child is seldom sought by other children as a companion. Unless he initiates contact with other children he is likely to be left alone.

Differentiations: This is a specific item indicating that the child is purposely sought after as a companion or playmate. Item 9, Lacks ability to get along with other children (interacts smoothly with other children), is better used for rating general acceptance.

Item 24. Paid attention to by other children (goes unnoticed by other children).

High: In a group activity the child typically is at the center of the interaction making suggestions to others about how to proceed, doing more than his share of talking, directing, or changing the course of events. He always manages to garner for himself a large portion of the benefits of the activity and, in general, is paid close attention to by both teachers and children because of the force of his presence.

Low: The child may or may not participate but is given very little attention by others because of his inability or unwillingness to exert himself forcefully in a group interaction.

Pertinent Situations: Note group play, structured or unstructured.

Differentiations: The focus here is on dominance rather than leadership (Item 21, Peer leader [follower]) although for some children these qualities will go together. A child who dominates some group situations which he chooses to join could be rated high, while generally staying somewhat aloof from interpersonal contacts requisite to a leadership role. The child does not need to be exhibitionistic to be high on this item, nor is that any implication that his domination results in frustration or loss of self-esteem for other children as would be true in Item 70, Insulting (does not assault another child's ego), or 71, Nonintrusive (domineering attitude).

Item 25. Dependent upon any one adult, especially mother (self-reliant in relating to adults).

High: The child typically has a difficult time separating from his mother at the beginning of school and/or he is quick to form a one-to-one relationship with a teacher which he then has trouble relinquishing. He is apt to follow one or more teachers about and to seek personal attention.

Low: A child rated extremely low uses the teacher only as a resource for knowledge or help with that which he cannot reasonably take care of himself. He separates easily from his mother upon entering nursery school.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: Note separation from mother relinquishing attention of teacher in the teaching situation, and preference for companionship of teacher rather than that of peer. A good overall index is simply the proportion of time spent near an adult.

Item 26. Easily frustrated or upset when an obstacle to task performance is encountered (has high tolerance for frustration).

High: When encountering an obstacle which can be either another child, an adult, or a physical object, the child rated high is apt to give an excessive display of anger and/or crying accompanied by a general deterioration in performance.

Low: A child rated low must be able to overcome frustration by not letting emotionality, expressed or unexpressed, reduce his performance. Frustration may lead to intensified effort.

Pertinent Situations and Behaviors: Note interruptions by peers or teachers of ongoing activities, or physical limitations which interfere with, for example, complicated constructions. Note response to repeated failure with difficult puzzles or problems.

Differentiations: A general passive response should not receive a low rating. A passive response is better rated by item 8, Does not persevere when he encounters frustration (perseveres), and 5, Forcefully goes after what he wants (hesitates or is easily put off). A stubborn child might receive a high rating on item 26 and also a relatively high rating on item 5 or low on 8.

Item 27. Tries to evade adult authority (accepts adult guidance).

High: The child's manner of play is frequently such as to result in adult intervention. He may seek to avoid compliance with the adult by achieving the same end, not acceptable to the adult, which endangers himself or another child or risks destroying play equipment or another's construction using alternative means. When given a suggestion by an adult for an alternative mode of behavior, he is apt to leave the situation rather than comply. He behaves as though the interests of adults were antithetical to his own.

Low: When the child's behavior is such as to require adult intervention, the child easily complies without lessening his interest in what he is doing. He may modify his behavior slightly or incorporate the suggestion of the adult. The child does not behave as though he finds the restrictions placed upon his behavior inhibiting; rather he assumes that the adult has his interests in mind and responds accordingly.

Pertinent Situations: Note all adult control situations.

Differentiations: The emphasis of this item is on expressions of trust and distrust in adults while item 32, Obedient (disobedient), focuses on overt obedience vs. disobedience.

Item 28. High energy level (low energy level).

High: A child characterized as high is continuously active while at nursery school and is likely to continue running or jumping (more likely boys) longer than the other children. He does not tire quickly when dancing (more likely girls) or engaging in other strenuous activities.

Low: A low rating characterizes a child who expends relatively little energy, gives up physically strenuous activities quickly, or obviously avoids them, runs in short bursts while others run continuously, and is apt to spend more time indoors than is typical for his age and sex.

Pertinent Situations: Note outdoor play in general; however, care must be taken with girls. Some indoor tasks can involve a good deal of energy expenditure, e.g., helping teacher cook by stirring, etc., or cleaning up with vigor.

Differentiations: Keep ratings on this item independent of quality of play. Keep ratings of this item closely tied to amount of energy expended. Other items are concerned with more qualitative differentiations, e.g., withdrawal is rated by item 50, Socially withdrawn (outgoing), tendency to be a spectator by item 10 Spectator (participant), busyness by item 14, Characteristically unoccupied (generally busy, always occupied), and the quality of involvement by item 12, Gives his best to work and play (puts little effort into what he does).

Item 29. Emotionally expressive (emotionally bland)

High: The child has easy access to his feelings, particularly positive emotions. He is able and willing to feel and express exhilaration, joy, delight, and so on, and obviously enjoys doing so.

Low: The child is emotionally bland, giving little clue as to the extent of the pleasure derived from his activities.

Differentiations: The ability to express negative feelings is rated by Item 1, Expresses negative feelings openly and directly (frustrated or bound up by feelings). Degree of involvement should not be used as a guide to rating this item. Focus only on expressed affect.

Item 30. Apprehensive (not anxious).

High: A child rated high on this item should be insecure with regard to almost all aspects of the nursery school situation with the possible exception of a one-to-one interaction with a teacher.

Low: A child rated low is not made anxious by any of the activities or interactions at nursery school, being generally on top of or at one with everything that goes on.

Pertinent Situations: All activities and personal interactions are pertinent.

Differentiations: This is a general item and a child receiving an extreme rating is also likely to receive an extreme rating on all or a major portion of items 26, Easily frustrated or upset when an obstacle to task performance is encountered (has high tolerance for frustration); 51, Physically courageous with playground apparatus (fearful); and 57, Withdraws when faced with excitement or a great deal of activity (enjoys excitement), which relate to stress tolerance; items 13, Timid with other children (bold with other children); 15, Vacillates and oscillates (knows what actions he wants to take and with whom); 16, Confident (lacks confidence); 19, Disoriented in his environment (well-oriented in his environment); and 50, Socially withdrawn (outgoing), which describe aspects of self-confidence; and items 8, Does not persevere when he encounters frustration (perseveres); and 12, Gives his best to work and play (puts little effort into what he does), related to achievement-orientation.

Item 31. Argues with other children to get his point across (backs down when opposed).

High: The child willingly engages in argument with a peer about his rights when a divergence occurs or with a playmate concerning what to do next. He is also likely to support, with reason, one way of pursuing a goal versus another. He is not intimidated by the force of the position held by another child.

Low: When the child argues with a peer who remains firm about who should give up a possession or position, he quickly gives in. He will also easily change his ongoing activity if asked to do so by another child in order to avoid argument.

Pertinent Situations: Note structured play or art work where children must share materials or take turns participating.

Differentiations: The low ratings on this item should be kept as independent as possible of timidity with other children (Item 13, Timid with other children [bold with other children]). The child may have a general positive approach orientation toward peers but may give in easily when opposed. In fact, the child rated low is apt not to retreat from the situation as a timid child would. He is at least as likely to join the opposition as to totally retreat.

Item 32. Obedient (disobedient).

High: The child does what he is told to do by an adult. The instruction is quickly complied with and is not quickly forgotten.

Low: The child does not easily comply with adult orders or suggestions. If he does, his compliance is only momentary, and the forbidden behavior will recur when the adult leaves the field unless he has been distracted completely.

Pertinent Situations: Note situations where behavior is forbidden.

Item 33. Destructively impetuous and impulsive (self-controlled and thoughtful).

High: The child frequently takes action without thinking, thereby endangering either himself or others. The child has little self-control. If s/he wants something, s/he grabs for it whether or not it is in the possession of someone else. S/He interrupts ongoing group activity. S/He is also apt to hurt other children by not considering the repercussions of his actions.

Low: The child's behavior shows consideration of consequences and control of impulses. S/He has control over what s/he wants to do and carries out his plans to completion. S/He gives the impression of being very conscious of what s/he is doing at all times, and is thereby not likely to cause an accident.

Pertinent Situations: A child should receive a high rating who throws toys and blocks without considering the possible harm to others, who grabs for the juice before it is firmly put down by the teacher or when another child has already secured it, or who pushes children out of his way on the jungle gym.

Differentiations: The behavior focused on here is apt to cause trouble or damage to peers but is due to lack of control and is not necessarily deliberately destructive. Purposive destructive behavior is better rated by items 35, Helps other children carry out their activities (purposely disrupts plans of other children); 67, Hits only in self-defense or doesn't hit at all (hits aggressively); and 72, Thoughtless of other children's productions (takes care not to destroy another child's work.

Item 34. Slow-moving and phlegmatic (alert and vivacious).

High: The child is apathetic. S/He is probably unaware of the nuances of a situation because of his general lack of involvement in the activity. A child rated high on this item may appear to have a cognitive deficit which may be more a manifestation of his unwillingness to express himself than of a low IQ. S/He moves slowly and without enthusiasm.

Low: The child is wide awake, at least fairly active, and exceedingly alert to what is going on. Little that happens escapes his notice, and s/he is easily excited to active participation.

Item 35. Helps other children carry out their activities (purposely disrupts activities of other children).

High: The child is helpful to other children. If s/he perceives that a nearby child is in need of assistance in order to complete a project or to do it better, s/he will offer to help (very high). If asked to help, s/he does not hesitate to give assistance.

Low: The child is destructive of other children's activities. S/He may force himself/herself into an ongoing activity in such a manner as to disrupt the activity. S/He will not get out of the way when asked. S/He won't follow the rules of a game and may insist on more turns than the other players. S/He may refuse to share, and take from, rather than ask for, thereby frustrating the goal of another child.

Differentiations: The focus of this item is on purposive helpful vs. destructive behavior. Completely passive children should not receive high ratings nor should impulsive children (Item 33, Destructively impetuous and impulsive [self-controlled and thoughtful]) necessarily receive low ratings.

Item 36. Does not question adult authority (can question adult authority when s/he has a good reason).

High: The child always does what s/he is told to do by an adult. S/He does not contest the adult's right to effect his/her ongoing activity regardless of the difficulty it may cause him. S/He behaves as though s/he perceives a vast power differential between himself/herself and an adult.

Low: The child may or may not generally be obedient to adults but should an occasion arise, when, from his/her point of view, the adult is unreasonable, s/he does not hesitate to question the adult's authority. If s/he is asked by one teacher to stop an activity previously sanctioned by another, s/he will mention this quickly. If s/he is asked to stop some activity that s/he is enjoying, s/he will generally request a reason before stopping. S/He is not intimidated by adults and behaves as though the differen in power between himself/herself and adults were not great.

Pertinent Situations: Note outdoor play, particularly in a parent cooperative nursery school where procedures and rules regarding safety tend to vary from one participating mother to the next. The child who refuses to accept a 'no' from one teacher by going to another teacher or to the head teacher for permission to pursue an activity would receive a low rating on this item.

Item 37. Expresses preferences for one kind of activity over another (does not express preferences).

High: The child rated very high has a good grasp of what is possible and available at nursery school and will express preferences for activities which require the cooperation of staff as well as peers, e.g., he will request that he be allowed to work with paper maché. He may get other children with like interests to support him or actually to begin the activity with him. He is well aware of his ability to shape the ongoing activity at nursery school. A child rated less high expresses preferences among the activities available to him and manages to be included in those he chooses The best index of a high rating is a verbal request for a particular activity.

Low: The child rated low expresses little activity preference, engaging in whatever activity a teacher assigns to him. Rather than express a particular choice, he goes on to another activity at the suggestion of a teacher or child.

Pertinent Situations: Note child's behavior during structured play activities when the participation of adults and peers is required. A child who is assigned to one activity but manages to change to another is a good candidate for a high rating. The child who always pursues the activity first suggested by an adult should be rated low.

Differentiations: This item stresses activities which require adult supervision or consent, in contrast to Item 47, Plans activities for other children (seeks direction from other children or teacher), which stresses the child's directiveness in relation to initiating an activity.

Item 38. Communicates well verbally (rambling, inarticulate).

High: A child rated high shows an exceptional ability to use words to accurately express thoughts and feelings.

Low: The child is unable to express a coherent thought, either because of a tendency to lose himself in words or because he chooses a mode of expression inappropriate to his age. Typically there does not exist a correspondence between the words expressed and obvious intent or appropriateness of his vocalizations.

Pertinent Situations: One indication of a low rating is a blocking of expression when called upon to give an answer after volunteering to respond.

Item 39. Requires a great deal of adult supervision (does not require supervision).

High: The child's behavior is such as to require frequent adult supervision on a one-to-one basis. The child cannot be trusted on his own because of the general destructiveness of his behavior. The destructiveness can be directed toward other children, equipment, or to himself.

Low: The child's behavior is such as to require little, if any, adult supervision. He could be left alone for long periods of time without the teacher fearing that he would hurt himself or other.

Pertinent Situations: Note the child who requires contant supervision because he frequently assaults other children with little or no provocation. Note also the child who attempts dangerous tricks on apparatus or is prone to leave the nursery school grounds.

Differentiations: This item focuses on the gross amount of supervision required by a child while item 32, Obedient (disobedient), is concerned with the gross amount of disobedience. Keep ratings of these two items as independent as possible. The present item is general and may include specific characteristics rated by the following items: 27, Tries to evade adult authority (accepts adult guidance); 32, Obedient (disobedient); 44, Actively facilitates nursery school routine (undependable); 52, Can be trusted (sneaky, cannot be trusted); 68, Provocative with adults (does not challenge adult authority); and 69, Responsible about following standard operating procedure at school (shows little concern about rules and regime). A timid child may not require much adult supervision, but this probably is not a salient fact about him.

Item 40. Likes to compete with other children in performance of activities (avoids competitive situations).

High: The child enjoys competitive effort in activities emphasizing physical and/or cognitive abilities. On apparatus, he attempts to climb the highest and to jump the farthest, or to perform a more difficult trick. In a teaching situation he quickly perceives the possibility for competition in answering questions and responds positively to it.

Low: The child characteristically avoids all competition and withdraws his interests and/or physical presence from activities which take on a competitive flavor.

Pertinent Situations: Note all aspects of the nursery school program which are relevant.

Differentiations: Make sure that ratings are made independent of the child's propensity for winning or losing in competition with others. The emphasis is upon the willingness to compete.

Item 41. Concerned about adult disapproval (not concerned about adult disapproval).

High: The child will not risk adult disapproval. S/He stops an activity if it requires behavior which s/he is not sure is sanctioned. In a new activity s/he shows hesitation where others explore all possibilities. S/He looks for and welcomes adult supervision and approval. The child always checks with the teacher before doing almost anything.

Low: The child will risk adult disapproval when a rule might interfere with an ongoing, pleasurable activity. S/He is apt to think of something new to do and pursue it without concern for adult sanction, even though it may require behaviors which are close to those forbidden previously, e.g., the child will climb a different fence after being told not to climb a particular one.

Pertinent Situations: Note the child who chooses to slide down the slide or to swing in a forbidden fashion because of the pleasure s/he gains from it, and the child who uses a forbidden object, e.g., an ice pick, to further his/her endeavors.

Differentiations: The low end of this item should not be reserved for chronically rebellious children. A child rated low may be well-behaved, generally, but not at all afraid to risk adult disapproval on occasion.

Item 42. Sets goals which expand his/her abilities, e.g., learning to pump on swings, trying difficult puzzles (likes to do only what is easiest for him/her).

High: The child goes beyond just active participation, adding to it a component of involvement to the extent of pushing his/her abilities even when not called upon to do so by the teacher. S/He is self-motivated to build complicated structures with blocks or other play materials. S/He may try balancing high structures or painting meticulously to obtain carefully thought-out effects.

Low: The child may play a lot and even do most things well, but s/he does not push him/herself beyond what is easy for him/her to do. S/He chooses easy puzzles, books and games.

Differentiations: This item is differentiated from Item 12, Gives his/her best to work and play (puts little effort into what he does), in that at the high end, Item 42 is concerned with the child's interest in expanding his/her best; and, at the low end, this item is concerned not directly with effort, but rather with difficulty. It is differentiated from Item 6, Likes to learn new cognitive skills (does not actively seek new learning experiences), in that Item 42 measures active, willful effort, and Item 6 measures willingness to accept instructions. A high score on Item 42 probably will be accompanied by a relatively high score on Item 6.

Item 43. Gets other children in trouble with teacher (protects other children from adult disapproval and punishment).

High: The child frequently tells a teacher when s/he sees another child misbehave. S/He does so even when the misbehavior does not affect him/her or only indirectly affects him/her. His/her behavior indicates that s/he harbors some resentment against one or more of his/her peers whom s/he would like to see punished.

Low: The child is not interested in being an instrument for another child's punishment. S/He will only ask a teacher to interfere with another child's behavior in order to stop that behavior because of its potentially direct harm to him/herself or others, not in order to have the child punished. An extreme rating should go to the child who will seek to protect a child from punishment, e.g., the child who gives the teacher a good reason for another child's misbehavior or who tells the misbehaving child that the teacher is coming.

Item 44. Actively facilitates nursery school routine (undependable).

High: The child can be counted on to cooperate and to help when activities are initiated by adults. When asked to help the teacher, s/he complies. S/He is eager to go on field trips. S/He changes activities easily when asked to do so by an adult and perceives the appropriate mode of behavior to follow in a new situation. S/He does not disrupt routine activities; on the contrary, s/he is a helper, as though helping the routine of the nursery school were likely to enhance his/her own enjoyment.

Low: The child cannot be counted on to participate in the planned activities or to show interest in some new activity. S/He may not want to change activities when asked to do so. S/He is not likely to help a teacher if asked and, when placed in a new situation, is not likely to fall into an appropriate mode of behavior. S/He may demand attention from a teacher who is trying to help the group. S/He may disrupt the juice period by intentionally spilling his/her or another child's drink. S/He may talk when silence is needed, as during a story or movie. In general, s/he is disruptive of the routine.

Pertinent Situations: On field trips, if the child is assigned to a group, note if s/he stays with it. When told to hold a child's hand to keep the group together, note whether or not s/he complies. During a movie, contrast the child who gets the others to sit down with the child who flicks the lights off and on while the teacher is working on the projector.

Differentiations: This item focuses on facilitating the nursery school routine vs. disrupting it while item 69, Responsible about following standard operating procedure at school (shows little concern about rules and regime), focuses more on the day-to-day observance of set rules and procedure.

Item 45. Seeks company of other children (avoids company of other children).

High: The child is sociable and gregarious. He enjoys the company of other children and is eager to join groups. He will actively seek out others for play. Nursery school provides access to other children as a major source of his pleasure.

Low: The child does not seek the company of other children, particularly in groups. There may be one or two other children with whom he will play occasionally, or he may seek the companionship of a teacher; but, in general, he rejects sociability and does not gain much pleasure from the companionship of others.

Differentiations: This item focuses on the child's acceptance of others, particularly groups. Item 9, Lacks ability to get along with other children (interacts smoothly with other children), is concerned with his acceptance by others.

tem 46. Avoids peer interaction by techniques such as seeking adult attention (comfortable and secure in interaction with peers).

High: The child is uncomfortable in his interaction with peers. He tends to orient his activity toward the teacher near where he plays. He is apt to prefer structured activities where the teacher directs and helps, and he may participate fully under these circumstances; in contrast, he tends to be somewhat aloof or apart during free play. He may or may not show fear of, or timidity toward, other children, but, in general, his peer interactions bring as much anxiety as pleasure. He feels more comfortable with adults.

Low: The child gains much pleasure from peer interactions and is not hesitant to join already-functioning play groups or to initiate an interaction with one other child. Peer interactions are a major source of the pleasure he gains from nursery school.

Differentiations: As noted under 'high', keep ratings independent of general timidity with other children (Item 13, Timid with other children [bold with other children]). It is possible for a child characteristically to hold his ground when physically assaulted and to be rated high on this item. The focus of Item 25, Dependent upon any one adult, especially mother (self-reliant in relating to adults), is on the lack of the normal independence from maternal protection achieved by children of nursery school age, whereas the present item is focused on the lack of integration into peer society.

Item 47. Plans activities for other children (seeks direction from other children or teacher).

High: The child is willing to extend her/himself in order to get other children together to engage in some activity of his/her choosing. S/He frequently desires to do something requiring peer participation and has at least moderate success in bringing it off.

Low: The child does not exercise the possibility of broadening his/her play experience by organizing other children, and hence participates only as directed or invited by other children or the teacher.

Pertinent Situations: Note the girl who organizes a house playing session, or the child who organizes a game.

Differentiations: The focus is on directiveness in relation to initiating an activity and not so much on overall leadership throughout the activity which is better rated by Item 21, Peer leader (follower). Once the activity has begun a child rated high may or may not take a leadership role.

Item 48. Resists domination by other children (submits to demands of other children).

High: The child is unwilling to have her/his desires or goals subsumed by those of another child, either by force or by manipulation. S/He enters each activity for his/her own ends and persists as long as these goals are being fulfilled. If another child seeks to change the situation so as to frustrate her/his plans, S/he does not hesitate to defend his/her position. S/He is most willing to fight for what s/he sees as his/her rights, either directly or indirectly, and thereby, to risk physical attacks.

Low: The child easily relinquishes his/her rights or goals to a forceful demand made by another child. S/He assumes a passive, submissive posture or regresses when a divergence arises which frustrates her/his own plans. S/He manages in one way or another to leave the field to the other more dominant individual.

Pertinent Situations: A child who typically gets what s/he wants is a good candidate for a high rating, and the opposite, for a child who usually doesn't get what s/he wants.

Item 49. Has strong sense of self as a positive force (seems willing to fade into the background).

High: From the rater's point of view, the child immediately attracts interest because of his/her outstanding positive characteristics, such as maturity, intelligence, competence, creativity, or complicated mode of interaction.

Low: The child calls little attention to her/himself because of outstanding behavior or ability. S/He is not easily differentiated from the other children.

Pertinent Situations: The child noticed first in the nursery school is a good candidate for a high rating provided that s/he has not drawn notice by disruptive behavior.

Differentiations: The emphasis is on positive characteristics of an individualistic nature where the child expresses a strong sense of self. Pathological characteristics, or gross abnormalities, or mere attention-getting behavior should not be the sole indices for high ratings.

tem 50. Socially withdrawn (outgoing).

High: The child plays mostly alone, or parallel to or perfunctorily with others. S/He talks little with other children and meets their demands by withdrawal or perfunctory compliance and then withdrawal. S/He looks inward rather than outward and seems only at ease, if then, when alone.

Low: The child relates easily and frequently to others (both peers and teachers) and faces encounters with other children positively. S/He enjoys his/her interactions with others and actively seeks companionship.

Pertinent Situations: This is a general item rating the totality of the child's interpersonal contacts and behavior.

Differentiations: A high rating does not imply equally high ratings on inactivity or submissiveness. It is quite possible for a child to be withdrawn and not submissive; however, it is improbable that the child will be dominant.

Item 51. Physically courageous with playground apparatus (fearful).

High: The child needs little urging by a teacher to extend her/himself physically. S/He plays frequently on apparatus where there is some chance of physical harm and/or courts danger by using safe apparatus in an unusual manner.

Low: The child rated low likes to keep both feet on the ground. S/He will not risk danger by extending her/himself physically. On large apparatus s/he stays close to the ground and keeps a firm hold with muscles taut. S/He generally does not climb as high as the others.

Pertinent Situations: Limit observations for this item to situations involving some threat of physical harm. The use of large apparatus, like jungle gyms, is an ideal situation, as is tree climbing, tricks on the horizontal bar or swings, and unusual modes of sliding down slides, or riding on trikes or in wagons.

Differentiations: Keep ratings free of quality of performance (item 3, Well-coordinated and agile [poorly coordinated and clumsy]) and of frequency of use, which may be difficult to do when rating some girls. Fearfulness with other children is rated by item 16, Confident (lacks confidence), and general anxiety by item 30, Apprehensive (not anxious). Limit the rating on this item to situations involving the child's confrontation with the physical environment.

Item 52. Can be trusted (sneaky, cannot be trusted).

High: The child can be depended upon to complete what s/he has agreed to do without supervision. S/He is true to his/her word. If s/he agrees not to continue a dangerous mode of behavior, s/he can be counted on not to resume it. If s/he agrees to clean up an area, s/he can be counted on to pursue this goal.

Low: The child cannot be counted on to fulfill his/her commitment. When s/he is assigned a task, s/he requires constant supervision even though s/he agrees to do it. S/He cannot be counted on to refrain from a behavior that s/he has agreed not to pursue. Once the teacher leaves, s/he is apt to resume misbehaving if s/he figures s/he can get away with it.

Differentiations: Keep ratings as independent as possible of amount of disobedience (item 32, Obedient [disobedient]). The focus of the present item is on the degree to which the child holds to his/her word. It is possible for a child to be testing continually the limits of every situation (misbehaving, requiring supervision) and to be quite trustworthy once s/he has agreed to adhere to a certain mode of behavior.

Item 53. Stretches to meet the situation when much is demanded of him (retreats when much is demanded of him).

High: A child rated high is not frustrated when he is pushed by a teacher to perform well on cognitive or physical tasks, or by the IQ tester during testing, or when socially mature behavior is demanded of him. In such situations, the quality of his performance does not diminish but rather increases.

Low: A very low rating indicates an almost immediate negative orientation to being pushed in a testing situation. The child retreats quickly from such situations, whether or not they appear difficult or frustrating.

Differentiations: This item focuses upon the child's reactions when demands are made upon him by the teacher or tester. It should be differentiated from Item 6, Likes to learn new cognitive skills (does not actively seek new learning experiences), which measures positive orientation towards being taught; and Items 8, Does not persevere when he encounters frustration (perseveres), and 26, Easily frustrated or upset when an obstacle to task performance is encountered (has high tolerance for frustration), which measure willingness to overcome frustrating obstacles in learning situations.

Item 54. Bullies other children (is not a bully).

High: The child frequently abuses smaller or weaker children. He is likely to gain satisfaction from hurting them and/or inciting anxiety or fear. He may take what he wants by force. He is likely to be harmless when in the company of a child as strong or stronger than he or when a teacher is watching.

Low: The child does not pick on other children. He asks for what he wants rather than taking it forcibly. He does not present himself as physically dangerous and does not threaten physical violence.

Item 55. Understands other children's position in interaction or altercation (nonempathic).

High: The child exhibits behavior that indicates s/he understands and considers the other child's position even if the other child's position is at odds with his/her own. If another child grabs his/her toy or tool, s/he may demand it back; however, s/he may also point out to the child how s/he might get one of his/her own. S/He may offer help when s/he observes a child in some difficulty. When s/he wants something from another child, s/he may go after it in a manner s/he thinks will take care of the child's wishes as well as his/her own. S/He behaves as though s/he considers other children's desires important to them, just as his/hers are to him/her.

Low: The child rated in the extreme behaves as though other children did not exist as thinking, feeling individuals. S/He does not consider another child's desires or needs and may even display some enjoyment at frustrating another, particularly if another has caused him/her any trouble. Any behavior on the part of another child which interferes with him/her may bring a reaction as though it were an unprovoked attack. A child rated low is not likely to extend aid to another child s/he observes in difficulty.

Item 56. Content, cheerful attitude (discontent).

High: The child is seldom distraught. S/He smiles frequently and, in general, possesses a pleasant, even disposition and a cheerful countenance. S/He brings few complaints to teacher and somehow avoids frequent quarrels. S/He neither fusses nor cries often.

Low: The child complains frequently about other children's behavior. S/He fusses a lot and thereby requires a disproportionate amount of the teacher's time. Things are never quite right for her/him which is likely to lead to quarrels with his/her peers.

<u>Item 57. Withdraws when faced with excitement or a great deal of activity (enjoys excitement)</u>.

<u>High</u>: A child rated high on this item withdraws or visibly shows signs of anxiety when s/he encounters groups of excited children. S/He is apt to withdraw from a group which becomes excited and animated. Excitement and animation threaten the child because of the more unpredictable and less self-controlled behavior of the other children.

<u>Low</u>: The child rated low enjoys excitement and is drawn to any group where it is in evidence.

<u>Pertinent Situations</u>: Focus upon group activities. Note the child's behavior when a group of excited children run by where he is playing. Note behavior in those situations perceived by a teacher as getting out of hand.

<u>Differentiations</u>: This item pertains specifically to group-oriented behavior. Do not rate this item by reference to the child's willingness to engage one other playmate in silly, more or less uncontrolled, behavior. Also keep ratings independent of his/her timidity with other children under normal conditions which is rated by item 13, <u>Timid with other children (bold with other children)</u>.

<u>Item 58. Friendly attitude towards staff (hostile toward staff)</u>.

<u>High</u>: The child is approach-oriented toward the nursery school staff. S/He does not hesitate to ask teacher for help. His/her initial impulse is to cooperate when asked to help by a teacher, unless s/he is deeply engrossed. S/He chats from time-to-time with the teachers and responds easily when asked a question or greeted. S/He enjoys the presence of an adult and sees no threat to his/her own freedom when a teacher is near.

<u>Low</u>: The child does not seek contacts with the teachers. If one approaches his/her group, s/he either ignores the teacher or stops playing. S/He does not respond easily when greeted by adults, and if hurt, s/he may not accept help or comfort from the teachers (unless it is his/her own mother). S/He is not likely to initiate conversation with a teacher, and his/her initial response to a request by a teacher is likely to be 'no'. S/He may just stare at the teacher when s/he talks to him/her. S/He may also withdraw when touched by a teacher. S/He behaves as though the staff were not to be trusted.

Item 59. Samples activities aimlessly, lacks goals (purposive).

High: The child is engaged primarily in non-goal-directed behavior, seemingly engendered by low drive or possibly a previous history of play so divergent from the nursery school situation as to keep him from full participation.

Low: The child is purposive with regard to all his activities, participating in any activity until his goals are achieved then moving off to something new.

Pertinent Situations: All free play periods are pertinent. Note the conditions under which the child changes activities.

Differentiations: Aimless behavior which is motivated by anxiety aroused by some aspect of the activity is rated by Item 15, Vacillates and oscillates (knows what actions he wants to take and with whom). The present item is differentiated from Item 19, Disoriented in his environment (well-oriented in his environment), in that the latter is more general.

Item 60. Typically in the role of a listener (full participant in group talks).

High: In a group participation situation, the child contributes very little to any discussion which takes place. He prefers listening to talking or loses interest in what is going on if there is a lot of conversation. He does not volunteer answers to questions in a teaching situation.

Low: The child is at ease in discussions. He shares his ideas with others, eagerly answers questions from adults, and contributes to group discussions. He is apt to volunteer answers to questions in the teaching situation.

Differentiations: Item 38, Communicates well verbally (rambling, inarticulate), is focused more on the child's ability to express himself in contrast to the present item which is more concerned with the child's willingness to extend himself verbally.

Item 61. Tries to manipulate adults (relates straightforwardly to adults).

High: The child is indirect in his interactions with adults. He may pit one teacher against another in order to get what he wants. He may request the aid of an adult in an altercation with another child in order to neutralize the other child's position rather than because he needs adult help. He may tell only half-truths to an adult in order to gain sanction for a behavior he knows would otherwise be refused. He is not above feigning injury to get adult attention or sympathy for his cause.

Low: The child sees the teachers as resources for his enjoyment at nursery school and treats them accordingly. He asks directly for what he wants. He handles his problems with other children without resort to unnecessary adult intervention, i.e., he does not cry unless really hurt, or tell half-truths to the teacher in order to gain the advantage over a peer. His requests for help are warranted.

Item 62. Excludes other children from pair or group play (accepts and includes other children easily into play).

High: The child is possessive in his interpersonal relationships. When he is playing with another child, he is apt to attempt to exclude others from the situation as though he feared losing the full attention of his playmate. Once he has a play situation set up, he resists the inclusion of others; he may attempt to persuade a child to keep playing with him when the other is obviously attracted to something or someone else.

Low: The child is free and easy about other children entering or leaving his sphere of activities. He can easily make adjustments in his play so as to include others, and the presence or absence of particular children is not crucial to his enjoyment of an activity.

Item 63. Selfish (altruistic, shares his possessions willingly).

High: The child is not free with his possessions or with nursery school equipment which is temporarily in his possession. He does not like to share tools or materials in structured arts and crafts situations. He may pay more attention to possessing an object than to using or to enjoying it.

Low: If he brings his own playthings to nursery school, he shares them with others. He may exclude a certain individual from sharing with him, but this is because he has good reason to distrust the child. He does not treat the nursery school equipment as private property.

Item 64. Individualistic (complies to the group).

High: This is a general item. The child has style. He is apt to do things a little differently from others and extend the possibilities of a situation into new directions. He may mix play media, such as paint with clay, without being encouraged to do so. He may put together a particularly unique costume or suggest a new activity. His behavior in a situation is minimally determined by the group around him.

Low: The child does not exert his individuality. His behavior in a group is patterned in the same way as the majority of the children; he seldom does anything unusual or unexpected. In structured play he limits his activity pretty much to that which has been outlined or exemplified by the teacher. He wants to look like the other children in costumes and to do the same things.

Item 65. Blame-avoidant (accepts responsibility for wrongdoing).

High: When confronted by a teacher or another child, or faced with possible confrontation with the fact of his misbehavior, the child denies the behavior or blames his/her actions on someone else. Even when he has blatantly abused another, he treats the situation as though it were caused by forces external to himself.

Low: The child accepts blame for what is clearly misbehavior on his part. He also accepts responsibility for any harm to another or damage to nursery school property which he has caused accidentally.

Pertinent Situations: Note behavior following misbehavior or accidents in which the child is closely involved.

Differentiations: Careful attention must be given to children who infrequently misbehave and to differentiate ratings on this item from frequency of misbehavior.

Item 66. Stereotyped in his thinking (original).

High: The child gives mostly the simple, concrete answers to questions in the IQ testing and in teaching situations calling for ideational content. The child gives little indication of imagination when called upon to tell a story. The child who does only what he is shown how to do with play materials is a likely candidate for a high rating.

Low: In the IQ testing he gives more than the simple, obvious answers to information and vocabulary items. The use of simile, analogy, and metaphor, without pure hyperbole are good indicators of originality.

Pertinent Situations: Note teaching, IQ testing, and storytelling situations.

Differentiations: Keep ratings independent of the amount of verbalization. However, the child who makes very limited responses should be regarded as high. The contents of an answer should be well formulated if not exactly correct. Therefore, a child who makes elaborate but consistently incorrect responses is apt to be rated high--unless the incorrect responses are very well formulated. In general the focus of the item is on the quality of correct responses.

Item 67. Hits only in self-defense or doesn't hit at all (hits aggressively).

High: The child is not physically aggressive. S/He never strikes out at a peer when unprovoked. If s/he hits at all, it is only to avoid being bullied and/or to show that s/he is not afraid.

Low: The child frequently strikes other children. The child rated at the extreme, when even slightly frustrated, strikes out at another child as his first recourse. S/He may also hit when there is no evidence of any frustration or provocation. A child rated less extreme is one who uses physical aggression as a central mode of play and hence finds himself frequently in altercations with the children s/he plays with.

Differentiations: Do not give low ratings to children who hit back as a means of holding their ground when another child resorts to physical aggression; nor should high ratings be reserved for the physically timid. A child can be very hard to provoke to fighting and yet be quite competent at defending himself once provoked.

Item 68. Provocative with adults (does not challenge adult authority).

High: In general, the child rated high on this item is a 'limit tester'. S/He wants to know just what 'no' means in every situation. The fact that something is forbidden is apt to increase its attractiveness. Although s/he may stop one behavior when told to do so, s/he quickly initiates another which s/he should know is equally frowned upon, in order to bring about the same result--that is, s/he is apt to interpret restrictions on his behavior as literally as possible without accepting the purpose for which the restrictions are designed. S/He is a frustrating child for the nursery school teacher to supervise not because of the gross amount of misbehavior but because of the borderline aspect of his behavior, the treading of the fine line between the acceptable and the unacceptable.

Low: The child accepts the intent of adult restrictions. S/He guides his behavior so as to avoid behavior forbidden by adults in its broadest interpretation. S/He may overgeneralize. When told not to do something in one setting, e.g., play with water indoors, s/he is apt to hesitate to engage in such behavior where it would appear to be appropriate, e.g., playing with water outdoors.

Differentiations: The extremely low rating on this item measures a high degree of conformity to adult authority. A very independent child is not likely to receive a low rating.

Item 69. Responsible about following standard operating procedure at school (shows little concern about rules and regime).

High: The child knows the general procedures at nursery school and follows them without the need for supervision. S/He knows what can be done indoors vs. outdoors, respects the privacy of another child's locker, differentiates between private possessions and those provided by the nursery school, and does not leave the school unaccompanied by an adult. If it is standard to wash hands before juice, s/he does so without being told. S/He puts away puzzles which s/he takes out, and helps clean up without undue complaint.

Low: The child does not seem to accept the general set of rules governing children's behavior at his/her nursery school. The distinction between group and private possessions, the privacy of a child's locker, and the concept of 'sharing' must be reintroduced continually in order to control his/her behavior. S/He may continually refuse to clean up or to take responsibility for his/her own mess. S/He is apt to make life difficult for the other children as well as for adults by not following those rules which are basic for the functioning of the nursery school.

Item 70. Insulting (does not assault another child's ego).

High: The child is quick to call another child abusive names or to make fun of another's failure to perform a trick or to complete a puzzle. S/He may ridicule another child to gain dominance over him/her; s/he uses verbal assaults much the same way as the physically aggressive child uses his/her fists. The child rated in the extreme directs his/her insults with force and lack of ambiguity at the intended recipient. A less high rating would go to the child who is quick to call names but does it in a less forceful, almost abstract, way.

Low: The child does not assault another child's ego. S/He does not ridicule or call attention to another's failures or inadequacies.

Item 71. Nonintrusive (domineering attitude).

High: The child is not bossy. S/He does not need to control the behavior of others in order to gain satisfaction from the ongoing activities. S/He asks to be included in activities and awaits his/her turn during games. S/He does not require that s/he be the center of attention. S/He may behave as though s/he has been brought up to be polite.

Low: The child likes to be the center of attention and gains it by controlling the behavior of others. S/He will seek to gain his/her way by the force of his/her presence, e.g., by talking faster or louder. S/He likes to give orders and does so as though s/he expects to have them followed. S/He is not very receptive to suggestions from other children and will make attempts to overrule them. If his/her domination is threatened in one activity, s/he may try to change the direction of the activity or to change activities.

Differentiations: The behavior rated here, like Item 5, Forcefully goes after what s/he wants (hesitates or is easily put off), and item 24, Paid attention to by other children (goes unnoticed by other children), is self-assertive; but, in addition, it is also destructive.

Item 72. Thoughtless of other children's productions (takes care not to destroy another child's work).

High: The child does not give any consideration to the art work or constructions produced by another child. S/He may knock them over or put them to his/her own use without asking the creator.

Low: The child takes care to avoid damaging another child's work when they work side by side and avoids playing near where art work or constructions are stored, i.e., s/he realizes and respects the importance the work may have to another child.

Differentiations: This item is specifically related to the production of other children. Interference with other types of activity is rated by Item 35, Helps other children carry out their activities (purposely disrupts plans of other children).

APPENDIX C

PARENTAL AUTHORITY QUESTIONNAIRE PERTAINING TO MOTHERS

Parental Authority Questionnaire Pertaining to Mothers

Instructions: For each of the following statements, circle the number on the 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) that best indicates how that statement applies to you and your mother. Try to read and think about each statement as it applies to you and your mother during your years of growing up at home. There are no right or wrong answers, so don't spend a lot of time on any one item. We are looking for your overall impression regarding each statement. Be sure not to omit any items.

1. While I was growing up my mother felt that in a well-run home the children should have their way in the family as often as the parents do. 1 2 3 4 5
2. Even if his children didn't agree with her, my mother felt that it was for our own good if we were forced to conform to what she thought was right. 1 2 3 4 5
3. Whenever my mother told me to do something as I was growing up, she expected me to do it immediately without asking any questions. 1 2 3 4 5
4. As I was growing up, once family policy had been established, my mother discussed the reasoning behind the policy with the children in the family. 1 2 3 4 5
5. My mother has always encouraged verbal give-and-take whenever I have felt that family rules and restrictions were unreasonable. 1 2 3 4 5
6. My mother has always felt that what children need is to be free to make up their own minds and to do what they want to do, even if this does not agree with what their parents might want. 1 2 3 4 5
7. As I was g rowing up, my mother did not allow me to question any decision that she had made. 1 2 3 4 5
8. As I was growing up, my mother directed the activities and decisions of the children in the family through reasoning and discipline. 1 2 3 4 5
9. My mother has always felt that more force should be used by parents in order to get their children to behave the way they are supposed to. 1 2 3 4 5
10. As I was growing up my mother did <u>not</u> feel that I needed to obey rules and regulations of behavior simply because someone in authority had established them. 1 2 3 4 5
11. As I was growing up I knew what my mother expected of me in my family, but I also felt free to discus those expectations with my mother when I felt that they were unreasonable. 1 2 3 4 5
12. My mother felt that wise parents should teach their children early just who is boss in the family. 1 2 3 4 5
13. As I was growing up, my mother seldom gave me expectations and guidelines for my behavior. 1 2 3 4 5
14. Most of the time as I was growing up my mother did what the children in the family wanted when making family decisions. 1 2 3 4 5
15. As the children in my family were growing up, my mother consistently gave us direction and guidance in rational and objective ways. 1 2 3 4 5
16. As I was growing up my mother would get very upset if I tried to disagree with her.
17. My mother feels that most problems in society would be solved if parents would <u>not</u> restrict their children's activities, decisions, and desires as they are growing up. 1 2 3 4 5
18. As I was growing up my mother let me know what behavior she expected of me, and if I didn't meet those expectations, she punished me. 1 2 3 4 5
19. As I was growing up my mother allowed me to decide most things for myself without a lot of direction from her. 1 2 3 4 5
20. As I was growing up my mother took the children's opinions into consideration when making family decisions, but she would not decide for something simply because the children wanted it. 1 2 3 4 5
21. My mother did <u>not</u> view herself as responsible for directing and guiding my behavior as I was growing up. 1 2 3 4 5
22. My mother had clear standards of behavior for the children in our home as I was growing up, but she was willing to adjust those standards to the needs of each of the individual children in the family. 1 2 3 4 5
23. My mother gave me direction for my behavior and activities as I was growing up and she expected me to follow his direction, but she was always willing to listen to my concerns and to discuss that direction with me. 1 2 3 4 5
24. As I was growing up my mother allowed me to form my own point of view on family matters and she generally allowed me to decide for myself what I was going to do. 1 2 3 4 5
25. My mother has always felt that most problems in society would be solved if we could get parents to strictly and forcibly deal with their children when they don't do what they are supposed to as they are growing up.1 2 3 4 5
26. As I was growing up my mother often told me exactly what she wanted me to do and how she expected me to do it. 1 2 3 4 5
27. As I was growing up my mother gave me clear direction for my behaviors and activities, but she was also understanding when I disagreed with her. 1 2 3 4 5
28. As I was growing up my mother did <u>not</u> direct the behaviors, activities, and desires of the children in the family. 1 2 3 4 5
29. As I was growing up I knew what my mother expected of me in the family and she insisted that I conform to those expectations simply out of respect for his authority. 1 2 3 4 5
30. As I was growing up, if my mother made a decision in the family that hurt me, she was willing to discuss that decision with me and to admit it if she had made a mistake. 1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTING-STYLE RESEARCH PROJECT

Consent Form for Parenting-Style Research Project

When researchers work with human participants on their research interests, there is an ethical requirement to secure the written, informed consent of the participants. Please look over the information below and sign the bottom of this form, if you are willing to participate in this study. Please note, however, that you are free to participate or not participate in this study, without prejudice.

I am a doctoral student at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and am studying human development and creativity. I am particularly interested in the relationship between people's experiences, values, and parenting styles, and what implications these have for children's development.

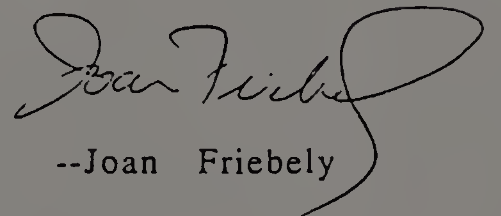
To explore these relationships, I will need help from people willing to complete a questionnaire that includes information on parenting style and demographics. This will probably take about 5 minutes.

For the second part of my work, I will need additional information about some of these families. I will be asking parents and nursery school teachers to complete an activity that will give me a sense of how they perceive these children. This will probably take each person about one-half hour. I will also be asking parents to complete an additional questionnaire, which will take each one about one-half hour, and to participate in an interview concerning his or her child-rearing vlaues, attitudes, and experience. Each of these interviews will take about one hour.

If, for any reason, you decide to withdraw from the project, or withdraw some part of it at any time, you are free to do so. I do not, however, anticipate any ill effects to you or your child from any of the activities. The group participating in the second part of the study will include approximately ten families. Although all names and identifying data will be kept confidential, some risk of identification is connected with the small sample size. There are, however, no activities or inferences that are expected to be damaging to any participants. Rather, it is expected that you will find participating in the project both interesting and helpful.

In addition to using the data collected for my dissertation, this research will be used for professional purposes, such as articles, conferences, or other educational products. Pseudonyms will be used to protect confidentiality.

Thank you very much for your help. If you have any questions or concerns about this project at any time, feel free to phone me at 617- 547-6136.



--Joan Friebely

1. I will participate in Part I of the project (completion of a parenting-style questionnaire, which includes demographic information):

Signed ________________________________ this ____ day of _______ 1995.

2. I will consider participating in Part II of the project (perceptions of child, additional questionnaire, and interview with parents).

Signed ________________________________ this _____ day of _______ 1995.

APPENDIX E

FAMILY DATA SHEET

Family Data Sheet

Previous research indicates that beliefs and practices associated with child-rearing are in a state of flux. Other researchers in the past have found that attitudes towards child-rearing are related to such factors as sex and birth order of the child, parents' education and occupations, ethnic background, and religion. It is important to understand each person's attitudes and beliefs in the framework of these factors. For that reason we request that you answer the following questions in these areas. Responses are kept in strict confidence. The general results of the study will be brought to the attention of your nursery school, and in this manner can be made available to you.

Please print

Name: ______________________ Date of birth: __________

Address: ______________________________________

Name of child in the study: ______________________________

Age of child in the study: _____ Birth date: ______________ Sex: _______

Education of parents (cross out highest grade completed)

	Father	Mother
Grade school:	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
High school:	9 10 11 12	9 10 11 12
College:	Fr. Soph. Jr. Sr.	Fr. Soph. Jr. Sr.

Postgraduate: Specify: ______________ Specify: ______________

Occupation of Father: ______________ Mother: ______________

What percentage of time does each parent work outside the home?

Mother: ________ Father: ________

What was the approximate income of each parent last year?

Mother: <$10K; $10K-$25K; $25K-$40K; $40K-$55K; >$55K

Father: <$10K; $10K-$25K; $25K-$40K; $40K-$55K; >$55K

Ethnic background of Father: ______________ Mother: ______________

Do both parents live in home? Yes ____ No ____

Number of children in family: ____ Family religion: ______________

Please list the birthday and sex of each child in the family, including the one attending nursery school: ______________________________

____

____

APPENDIX F

PARENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PARENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Revised May 1, 1968

Instructions to observers: Please be sure that all questions are asked. When you know the schedule thoroughly, it is possible to use the schedule flexibly, rather than following the exact order. Always probe a "yes" or "no" or noninformative answer using such questions as *"Can you tell me more about it?"* or *"Could you give me an example of how you do that?"* Or you can say, *"I don't think I understand yet"*. Pace the interview so that it lasts under an hour wherever possible. At some point in the interview, inquire about the age of the parent at the birth of each child.

1. *"You have given us the opportunity to see your family together in your home".*

   a. *"Did you feel that the presence of the observer made a difference?"* if so, *"How?"*

   b. *"Every day is always a little different. Aside from the presence of the observer, were the evenings in which we visited typical of the way in which you do things in your house?"*

2. *"Can you describe _____ to me? In what way is he different from his sisters or brothers?"*

   Purpose here is to note kinds of discriminations parent is able to make about child and the subtlety of her knowledge concerning his feelings and needs. Encourage parent to compare and contrast children.

3. *"Would you say that _____ has been a difficult child to raise?* Probe.

   a. *"Does he tend to be strong-willed or is he easy to manage?"*

   b. *"How do you feel when he disobeys? Does he ever downright refuse to obey?"*

   c. *"Does he have temper tantrums?"* If so, *"How do you handle them?"*

   d. *"Do you try to reason with him? Can you give me an example?"*

"Do you ever tell _____ that you're going to have to punish him and then for some reason you don't follow through?" Probe.

   a. *"What kinds of things might keep you from following through?"*

   b. *"If he doesn't do something you ask him to do, perhaps not put his toys away, what do you do then?*

Do you think that a child of _____'s age should learn to take care of *[h]imself and to help around the house?"* Probe.

   Probe for age when child is expected to dress self.

   Probe for age when child is expected to do some chores.

   Probe for age when child is expected to put his own toys away.

   _____ *have any regular tasks to do?"*

   [H]ow is he about doing them?".

   difficulty is mentioned, *"How do you go about getting him to do them?"*

PARENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

7. *"Is _____ a child who likes to do things for himself or does he still like to be helped a good deal? Does he dress himself? How does _____ act when he gets hurt? Can you tell me how you might handle such a situation?"*

8. *"Is _____ toilet trained during the day? At night?"*

   a. If so, *"At what age was he trained during the day? during the night?"* Be sure to ascertain whether or not child was trained by 2 1/2 during the day.

   b. If no, probe for parent's concerns,
      i. *"Do you believe a child should train himself? Why?"*
      ii. *"Does it bother you at all that _____ is still not toilet trained? "How come?"*

9. *"Does _____ have a bottle at night? Does _____ use a pacifier?"*

   a. If so, probe for parent's concerns, *"Do you believe _____ should be allowed to use a bottle or pacifier as long as he wants? Does it bother you at all that _____ still uses (bottle, pacifier) ?"*

   b. If not, *"When did he stop using a: bottle? pacifier?* If parent says that child gave up bottle or pacifier himself, or rejected pacifier from the first, *"How do you feel about using a pacifier? Suppose he had not given up the (bottle, pacifier) himself, would you have wanted to do anything about it?"*

10. *"Does _____ mind when you go out and leave him with a sitter? How do you feel about mothers of preschool children working? Have you worked since you had your family?"* Probe for effect on child.

11. a. *"Are there any adults _____ is especially fond of besides his parents?"* Probe.

    b. *"How did _____ first react when you left him at nursery school?* Probe for subsequent behavior.

12A. *"Do you believe that in general parents know what is best for their children? Do you know what's best for your child? Do you think that children should obey their parents? Why?"*

   Ask all probes. Probe for examples and elaboration.

   a. *"What do you think about respect for parents as a reason for obedience?"*

   b. *"Do you have religious beliefs which regard disobedience as wrong?"*

   c. *"What do you think about parents' rights and conveniences as a reason for obedience?"*

   d. *"Do you think that children should learn to conform to what is expected of them by parents or teachers?"*

   e. *"Do you think that it is to the child's best interests in the long run that he learn to obey?"*

PARENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

12B. *"Many parents want their children to do what they are told sometimes, and at other times to make their own decisions. I would like to ask you some questions about how this works in your family."*

a. *"When should the child have the right to make his own decisions?"*

b. *"Do you often feel uncertain as to what is right and wrong for your child? Can you tell me a little bit more about that?"*

c. *"Does it bother you when you have to force him to do what you want him to do?"* Probe.

d. *"What kind of care do you think a child should take of his clothes and toys? Are they his to do with as he pleases?"*

e. *"Some parents believe children should learn as much as possible on their own, that is, by trial and error, even in areas concerning health and safety. Can you tell me your feelings about this?"*

13. *"We would like to get some idea of the sort of rules you have for _____, the sort of things he is allowed to do and the sort of things he is not allowed to do. What are some of the rules?"* Probe responses to following questions by asking for examples.

a. *"What time should _____ be in bed? Are you strict or lenient about variations in the time?"*

b. *"How do you feel about it when _____ makes noise in the house?"*

c. *"Do you have any restrictions about _____ eating sweets? Are there special kinds of foods you believe children should have? Would you say that you are fairly strict about _____'s eating habits?"*

d. *"Do you have any limits on the amount of time _____ may spend listening to radio or watching TV?"*

e. *"Do you have any rules about marking on walls or jumping on furniture?"*

f. *"Do you allow your children to quarrel?"*

g. *"Do you have any rules about _____ fighting with other children?"*

h. *"How do you feel about giving the child a reason every time you tell him what to do?"*

i. *"Are there some things you do at the same time every day, i.e., routines you follow regularly?"* Probe for examples.

j. criticize parents or other adults   k. okay for child to break rules (home, nursery sch.)

14. *"Do you yell at _____? Do you smack or spank him?"* Probe for feelings about expression of anger.

15. *"What sorts of things do you most enjoy doing with _____?"* Probes:

a. *"Do you like to read to him? What books?"*

b. *"Do you like to play outside with him? What games?"*

c. *"Do you like to just chat with him? What kinds of things do you talk about?"*

16. a. *"What kind of person would you like _____ to become?"*

    b. *"Would you say that you had a position about childraising, a way of bringing up children which helps to guide you?* After S answers:

       i. *"Is this how you were brought up?"*

       ii. *"Would you say that you have a broader philosophical or religious position?"*

       iii. *"On a continuum from permissiveness to directiveness, would you say you were more at the permissive end or the directive end?"*

       iv. *"Is self-determination an important idea to you in bringing up your children?"*

       v. *"How important is it to you that your child be intellectually stimulated as much as possible? How do you go about that? Is academic excellence an important future goal for your child in your mind?"*

Reminders:

Offer parent an opportunity to discuss her feelings during the home visit, especially the way in which the home visitor managed herself.

If the PAI's have not been done, explore why not. Explain need for them.

Give parent an opportunity to comment or inquire further about study.

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