

A REVIEW OF SELECTED RESEARCH ON CHARACTERISTICS
OF FATHERS AND FATHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Professional educators, writers, and researchers in the field of family and child development are showing more interest in and concern about the role of the father in the family. A number of recent studies has emphasized the necessity of taking the father into consideration when exploring the behavior and personality development of children (Bronfenbrenner, 1961).

Bronson, Katten, and Livson (1959) pointed to a shift over the years in the pattern of parental roles in the family. The father role appeared to be changing the most, becoming increasingly more affectionate and less authoritarian. The direction of the change pointed toward greater participation of the man in all tasks of the household. Paternal authority of the traditional type seemed to be diminishing in magnitude. There has been a tendency to recognize the equalitarian family based on participation (Mogey, 1957).

Layman (1961) stated that it was necessary to do more direct studies of fathers themselves, because at that point the answers were not known and a prescription of good fatherhood could not be given. The concept of what shifting family patterns were doing to children was beginning to clarify, and areas that needed to be researched were being pointed out.

Josselyn (1956) emphasized the importance of relationships between mothers, fathers, and their children.

Motherliness cannot be expressed readily and healthily except as the mother's relationship to the father is integrated into her motherliness and his fatherliness. Fulfillment of motherliness in the family is most readily achieved if the role is complemented by the comparable role of the husband as a father.

Current attitudes toward the man in the home tend in many instances to stultify any fatherliness.... In an attempt to make the father a less fearful person, the discipline more closely related to the act, and the mother a more respected member of the family, the threat of father's punishment and the implication that only fathers granted wishes have been deleted from acceptable child-rearing philosophies, thus depriving him of a significant definition of himself as a father.

The study of the meaning of the mother-child relationship should continue and even more intensively so, both for the sake of the child and the mother. For the sake of the child and the father we should learn a great deal more of the deeper, subtler meanings of the potentialities in the father-child relationship. Only as we understand both the mother's and the father's needs, urges and potential patterns of gratification can we achieve a true family in which the child can grow to emotional maturity.

Eron (1961) reviewed the literature from 1929 to 1956 and found only eleven publications dealing with father-child relationships, while 160 were found concerning mother-child relationships. He stated that more studies were being done on the impact of father-child relationships, but the father himself was not usually interviewed or tested. The mother of the child gave the information about the father.

Layman (1961) investigated the Psychological Abstracts from 1955 through 1959 and found 202 titles listed under "mothers" and forty-two listed under "fathers." More than half of the forty-two were either theoretical essays or limited exploratory presentation of clinical material.

A great deal of research has been done on the mother-child relationship, but much of this is of such a nature to give the impression that the father does not exist, that he does not matter, or that his role will be studied and discussed by someone else at some other time. Many studies purporting to present data on parental roles actually have either equated parental role with the role of the mother or have depicted the father as such a vague figure that few conclusions may be drawn concerning his role in the family. (Layman, 1961)

The purpose of this study was to review research published during the last ten years (1954-1964) concerning father-child relationships and children's perceptions of their fathers. Studies that explored father roles entirely from information received from mothers were omitted.

The publications concerning children's perceptions of their fathers included the following explorations: roles, discipline, participation in family activities, impact on social development, influence on career choice, identification, and effects of the father-mother relationship on the child.

Studies that utilized fathers as subjects dealt with father's relationship to the emotional health of his child; roles; job satisfaction and its impact on the family; father-mother relationship; IQ and educational level; father's perception of his child; childrearing practices and attitudes; and relationships with deviant children, including those with behavior problems, emotional and educational problems, along with asthmatic children and schizophrenic children.

The specific objectives of this paper were (1) to review research concerning fathers that was published during 1954 to 1964; (2) to set forth general conclusions wherever possible; and (3) to point up areas in which information seemed to be contradictory, inconclusive, or lacking.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In order to review and summarize the research published during the past ten years that was concerned with fathers, it was necessary to choose a scheme for categorizing the studies. Since Duvall (1962) defined the stages of the family life cycle in terms of ages of children, this method was selected. As a father, or another family member, moves from one stage to the next, his developmental tasks take on new dimensions. A father of a teenager is indeed a different person than he was as a father of a preschooler or an elementary school child. In line with this general method, the following categories were utilized: (1) fathers of preschool children, (2) fathers of elementary school children, (3) fathers of junior and senior high school children, (4) fathers of college students, and (5) fathers of children of unspecified age. A brief description of research completed on unmarried fathers and the effects of father absence on children was included.

Fathers of Preschool Children

Lansky (1964) and Heller (1959) studied the sex-role identification of preschool children. Lansky used as subjects ninety-nine preschool and kindergarten children and their parents from middle-middle class and upper-middle-class homes. The data were derived from a questionnaire mailed to parents. Included in the questionnaire were the Gough Brief Femininity Scale, true-false answers coded male or female (Gough, 1952), and the Franck

Drawing Completion Test (Franck and Rosen, 1949). The only statistically significant finding was that fathers in families with boys only were more feminine than fathers in families of girls only. The paucity of significant results was not surprising, when the complexity of sex-role identification and complex differences between family structures were considered.

Heller (1959) investigated the relationship between sex-appropriate behavior of young children and like-sexed parents. The subjects were twenty-five mothers and their daughters and twenty-five fathers and their sons. The children were four to five years of age from middle-class homes. Parents were given the sex-identification scale and Work Interest Inventory Scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Hathaway and McKinley, 1951) for overt sex-identification and the Rorschach as a test of covert sex-identification. Children were also given a sex-identification test. Children of four to five years of age were aware of their sex roles. Mothers who accepted their sex roles were more likely to have daughters who demonstrated more sex-appropriate behavior, but this was not true of the father-son relationship.

Medinnus (1961, 1963a, 1963b, 1963c) utilized a Q-sort, the Parent Attitude Research Inventory (Shaefer and Bell, 1958), and an Attitude Toward Education Scale in studying seventy-six parents of five-year-olds. His purposes were to evaluate the Q-sort, study parental attitudes, determine parental ability to predict first grade adjustment of their children, and to investigate inter-parent agreement of attitudes in relation to acceptance of their children. The Q-sort consisted of two sets of items, one which contained only positive traits or characteristics and the other only negative

aspects of behavior. Parents sorted the cards into piles ranging from "most characteristic of my child" to "least characteristic of my child." Each parent also sorted the cards for an "ideal" five-year-old. Acceptance was based on the likeness of the two sorts. The Attitude Toward Education Scale developed by Medinnus contained three items: (1) parents' attitudes toward their own education; (2) willingness of parents to support the school in matters of discipline, policy, financial matters, and administration; and (3) parents' evaluation of the importance of education. The children were administered an IQ test and rated by teachers on a first grade adjustment scale (Medinnus, 1963c). Parents seemed to be poor predictors of adjustment of their children to first grade whether or not they were accepting of their children. There was no relationship between the reading ability of the child and acceptance by parents. Democratic attitudes of the father were positively related to child acceptance. Results pointed to a lack of consistency in the extent to which any one set of parents agreed with regard to childrearing, education, or goals set for their children.

Hoffman (1960, 1963) studied the effects of discipline on nursery school children of ten lower-class families and twelve middle-class families. The parents were interviewed in the home with intensive probing into the parent-child interaction concerning ways in which parents tried to influence their child's action and reactions. The children were observed in the nursery school for three half-hour observations, and their behavior was coded for hostility, power assertiveness, and resistance to influence. Lower-class fathers were found to use more power assertion than middle-class fathers. Frequent use of unqualified power assertion contributed to development of hostility, power needs, and heightened autonomy strivings,

which the child displayed toward his peers, and to a lesser extent, toward permissive authority figures. Hoffman further analyzed data for the relationship of parental power needs and the use of power assertion. In middle-class mothers and lower-class fathers authoritarian and power needs were positively related to frequent use of power assertion, frequent attempts to control the behavior of the child, and frequent use of power assertion in response to noncompliance of the child to a prior technique.

The effects of parental attitudes of dominance on child behavior were investigated by Trapp and Kausler (1958). Parents of sixteen nursery school children were administered the USC Parent Attitude Survey (Shoben, 1949). Each child was observed at five-minute time intervals, once every ten days through a period of fifteen weeks. The observer noted the nature of adult contacts made by the child. Children, with parents scoring either high or low on the dominance scale or with parents who had a large difference on their scores, displayed the most adult avoidance behavior. The dominant attitude of either mother or father seemed to effect the child about the same, irrespective of the sex of the child.

Blum (1959) investigated the transmission of rigidity and flexibility from parents to their children. Preschool children were given a pretest of abstraction ability, a simplification of the Weigl-Goldstein-Scheerer Test (Goldstein and Scheerer, 1941), and seventeen were selected who were able to perform the tasks satisfactorily. The rigidity measure for the child was the Child Transition Test, a dog-to-cat transition series of five cards devised by the researcher for this study. Rigidity was measured by the number of the card on which the child made the transition.

Parents were measured in the same manner. Results showed that relative rigidity-flexibility of the child was positively related to combined scores of the parents, but not to separate scores of either parent. This supported the idea that further investigation must be done to understand and measure the influence and effect of both parents upon the growth and development of the child.

Hetherington and Brackbill (1963) studied causes of and relationships of obstinacy, orderliness, and parsimony in young children. Subjects were thirty-five kindergarten children and their parents. The children performed ten tasks which measured the above variables. A questionnaire was administered to the parents which was designed to measure frequency of parental behaviors judged as indices of parsimony, orderliness, obstinacy, dominance in regard to spouse and child, and severity of initial as well as current toilet training practices (the latter was included on questionnaires of mothers only). Results increased the tenability of the theory that identification with parents was a principal determiner of the personality structure of the child. Some specific results were (1) a close relationship was found between mothers and daughters in obstinacy and parsimony, but no relationship was shown between fathers and sons; (2) personality trait scores of the girl were predictable if the scores of her mother were known, but they were not predictable from scores of the father; and (3) if the mother were dominant, identification was interfered with and the personality of the boy was more like that of his mother. Boys with dominant fathers were more likely to be like their fathers.

Four studies dealt with the perceptions of preschool children of their fathers and mothers. Finch (1955), in a study of twenty preschool

children, utilized both a series of pictures showing males and females in various roles, and dolls in a play session in the home and in the laboratory. Children were more likely to see both father and mother in most roles, rather than one parent only. Children perceived their mothers as housekeepers and contributors to the species, while they perceived their fathers as economic providers.

Emmerich (1959a) used the Hunter Card Master with thirty-three nursery school children to see how they perceived their parents. The Hunter Card Master consisted of four pairs of figures: mother-father, father-boy, mother-daughter, and boy-girl. Each child was presented the cards in the same sequence and asked who said "I want it" and who said "Stop doing that." Facilitating behavior was allocated to the mother role and interfering behavior to the father role.

In a later study, Emmerich (1959b) explained parental identification using the same subjects, ages three years and seven months to five years and one month. Children were interviewed and presented twenty-four items in a fifteen to twenty minute period. The items were dolls that represented parents and children. Doll play that resulted measured the child's concept of his parent's nurturance-control attitudes. In the second part of the interview, the parent dolls were removed and the child was given a baby doll. Reactions to eight different situations were used as an index of identification of child with his parent. Conflict was measured by various aspects of behavior believed to signify that the child was avoiding an appropriate response to an item. A questionnaire containing questions of the open-end type and worded in the same form as that

presented to the child in the first doll interview was sent to the parents. Children tended to identify with the same-sex parent rather than the opposite-sex parent, but only in boys was the difference a significant one. Whereas both sexes perceived mother as more nurturant and less controlling than the father, this discrimination was significant for boys only. With increasing age, boys increasingly exaggerated in their behavior the controlling attitude that they associated with the father role. There was no age trend in girls.

Kagan and Lamkin (1960) investigated the age at which children's perceptions of their parents began to develop. They questioned sixty-seven boys and girls (median age of five years and six months) by an indirect method (pictures of a make-believe family) and a direct method (same pictures were used, but the questions were related to child's own father and mother). Father was seen as more punitive and mother as more nurturant by both boys and girls. Girls labeled father as both more punitive and more affectionate than mother. More evasive answers were given in direct questioning, so the researchers suggested the indirect method as more reliable, especially when the content of the question was anxiety-arousing or related to the wishes of the child.

Peterson, Becker, Shoemaker, and Luria (1961) attempted to clarify certain associations between parental characteristics and behavior tendencies (personality problems and conduct problems) of children. Parents of fifty-three "normal" kindergarten children and twenty-four kindergarten children who had been referred to a child guidance clinic were interviewed. The structured interview, which was adapted from Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) included information on these variables: strictness, adjustment,

warmth, responsibility, and aggression. Evaluations of child behavior were obtained from parents and teachers, using a problem checklist developed for this study. The problem checklist focused on conduct problems and personality problems. The hypothesis, that the attitudes of father are at least as intimately related to maladjustment tendencies of children as the attitudes of mother, was clearly supported. The most conspicuous elements were strictness, lack of warmth, and aggressive attitudes of fathers of children with behavioral problems; however, the investigators were unable to link conclusively particular parental traits with a particular type of disorder as they had expected to do.

Becker, Peterson, Luria, Shoemaker, and Hellmer (1962) measured the following variables in parent behavior which might be critical in the development of the child: hostility, childrearing anxiety, use of physical punishment, sex anxiety, and strictness. The same seventy-one sets of parents (Peterson *et al.*, 1961) served as subjects. If one parent was high in hostility, restrictiveness, or sex anxiety, the other parent tended to reveal similar attitudes. High hostility and use of physical punishment were related to aggressive behavior in the child. Anxiety on the part of the mother and strictness on the part of the father were also highly correlated with aggressive behavior of the child.

Becker (1960) investigated the relationship of factors in parental ratings of self and each other to the behavior of their children. Subjects were sixty-four kindergarten children and their parents and eleven families with kindergarten children who had come to a clinic for child behavior problems. Parents and two teachers of the children rated the children on a seventy-two bipolar, seven-point rating scale with adjectives defining the

extremes. Very little relationship was found between parent ratings and teacher ratings of the child. When the parent rated his behavior with his child, rather than with his spouse, many more significant associations with child behavior were found. The number of significant correlations between father and child behavior exceeded correlations between mother and child behavior. The hypothesis that children's conduct problems were related to general maladjustment, open venting of negative emotions, and arbitrary and inconsistent discipline on the part of both mothers and fathers, was given considerable support. Only partly supported was the hypothesis that the child's personality problems were related to paternal maladjustment and autocracy and were independent of maternal behavior. Maladjustment of the father was slightly associated with the child's personality problems. The investigation showed a strong indication that general positivism or negativism of parental attitudes was critical in child adjustment.

Fathers of Elementary School Children

Crandall, Dewey, Katkovsky, and Preston (1964) studied the relationship of parental attitudes and behaviors to academic achievement of children. Parents of forty grade school children were interviewed (concurrently, but separately) twice. The interviews were two-and-one-half to three hours long and were recorded. Data were analyzed for (1) parental attitudes and reported behavior toward everyday achievement of their children, and (2) general behaviors of parents. The first was rated by the following factors: (1) parental values of intellectual performance of the child, (2) evaluation of the intellectual competence of the child, (3) dissatisfaction or

satisfaction with the achievement of child, (4) instigation and participation in intellectual activities of child, and (5) positive and negative reactions. The second was analyzed for parental affection, rejection, nurturance, and dominance. The children were given IQ tests and achievement tests appropriate to their grade level. General parent behaviors that predicted child academic test performances concerned only mothers and daughters. Mothers of academically competent girls were less affectionate and less nurturant toward their daughters than mothers of less academically competent girls. Specific attitudes and behaviors were (1) parents' expressed values of intellectual experiences of their children; (2) evaluation by mother and her satisfaction with the general intellectual competence of her child were positively related to actual academic performance of her child; (3) evaluation by father and his satisfaction with general intellectual competence of his child were negatively related; (4) more proficient girls had fathers who praised often and criticized less their everyday intelligence-achievement attempts; and (5) many more significant relationships were obtained between parental attitudes and academic proficiency of their daughters than occurred between parental attitudes and behaviors and academic performances of boys.

Cassel (1964) compared ratings on a Child Behavior Rating Scale that were made by teachers and parents of 800 grade school pupils. The following guidance data were used: achievement test scores, IQ, age, and social quotient. The Children Behavior Rating Scale was designed for this study, the purpose of which was to provide an objective assessment of child behavior from teachers and parents. The Metropolitan Achievement Tests for

appropriate grades were administered to the children. The children were also given the full scale IQ form of the California Test of Mental Maturity and the Vineland Social Maturity Scale (Doll, 1947). A significant positive relationship among all teacher and parent ratings was found. The ratings by mothers and fathers were in excellent agreement. Teachers and mothers tended to view personality adjustment as highly related to language and grammar skills, to social maturity, but only slightly related to arithmetic skills. Fathers disagreed on only one point. They viewed personality adjustment as unrelated to arithmetic skills.

Katkovsky, Preston, and Crandall (1964a) used the same data as Crandall et al. (1964) and correlated parents' attitudes toward their own personal achievements and toward achievement of their children. Both parents held values for intellectual achievement of the child (especially girls) similar to their own. Mothers and fathers showed strong tendencies to apply their own values and success expectancies to their children in the artistic area. Values fathers placed on mechanical activities for their children (especially daughters) corresponded with their own desires for success. The success which fathers expected for their sons in the mechanical area corresponded with their own expectations of success.

Katkovsky et al. (1964b) explored that same data further and discovered that the higher the value placed on intellectual achievement for themselves, the more fathers participated in, instigated, and reacted to the intellectual activities of their children. Parents' own expectations of success were more often related to the extent of participation with their children in achievement activities than to the degree they instigated or encouraged their children to engage in such activities. Fathers who were

dissatisfied with their own physical skill prowess instigated physical activities for their sons more than fathers who were satisfied. The correspondence between parental attitudes regarding their own achievements and their attitudes toward their children's achievement varied considerably depending on the achievement area, the specific variable under consideration, and the sex of parents and children.

In a longitudinal study at Fels Institute, Kagan and Moss (1959) offered evidence on the correlation between parental IQ scores and those of their children, level of parental education and IQ of the child, and height prediction. IQ tests were given to fifty-nine boys and forty girls at the ages of three, six, and eleven. Parents were given the Otis IQ test. Level of formal education of parents was noted. Heights of parents and heights of children at birth, ages three, six, and eleven were kept. Correlation between the level of maternal education and IQ of the child was higher than correlation between paternal education and IQ of the child at all ages. Level of maternal education was more highly correlated with IQ scores of girls than with IQ scores of boys at all ages. Maternal educational level was a better predictor than maternal IQ scores. Paternal height was a better predictor than maternal height of both boys' and girls' heights at all ages.

A completely opposite finding was reported by Schmuck and Schmuck (1961) who investigated ninety children in the fourth grade in Dearborn, Michigan, to study the association between a child's IQ score and variables of the social milieu to which he was exposed. These variables were studied: social mobility of the family, occupation of father, and education of the parents. There was a definite association between IQ score of the child and

the occupational level of his father. A child with a father in a "hands" occupation scored the lowest. No relation was found between the IQ score of the child and the formal educational level of the mother. A significant relationship was found between occupational types of fathers and the amount of their formal education.

MacDonald (1963) compared the differences in attitudes of parents of successful and unsuccessful readers. Three groups were selected: parents of unsuccessful readers who had been referred to a child reading clinic, parents of unsuccessful readers in public schools, and parents of successful readers in public schools. The Parent Attitude Research Inventory (Shaefer and Bell, 1958) was given to all parents. Children were matched for IQ scores and reading ability. No statistically significant differences were found. Implications concerning fathers were (1) clinic fathers were less likely to suppress their children's curiosity about sex and less likely to feel that their children should never learn things outside the home to doubt ideals of their parents than were fathers of unsuccessful or successful readers in public schools; (2) the mean scores of clinic fathers were lowest of all parent scores.

Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) explored relationships between achievement motivation and certain childrearing practices of parents. Relationships between these practices and social class of the parents were also explored. Subjects were forty boys of nine, ten, and eleven years of age. They were matched by age, race, IQ, and social class of the parents. The boys were given The Thematic Apperception Test (Bellack, 1954). Responses to four pictures were scored for achievement motivation. Half of the boys chosen had high achievement scores, and the other half had low achievement

scores. In their own homes boys were asked to solve tasks (block stacking, anagrams, ring toss, and hatrack) in the presence of the parents, whose behavior was recorded and coded. Differences between fathers were not statistically significant, but fathers of boys with high achievement scores tended to score lower on rejection, were warmer, gave their boys more autonomy, gave less pushing, and gave more non-specific directions and less specific directions than fathers of boys with low achievement scores. When IQ and achievement motivation levels were controlled, social class membership was not a significant variable in determining performance.

Kohn (1959) and Kohn and Carroll (1960) investigated the relationship of social class to exercise of parental authority and allocation of parental responsibilities. Families from lower-class and middle-class tracts of Washington, D. C., were selected for subjects. In each family there was a child in the fifth grade. All mothers were interviewed, and in every fourth family the father and his child were interviewed. Parents were questioned in detail about three general aspects of authority: (1) the relative roles of mother and father in setting limits upon the child; (2) the relative roles of mother and father in making family decisions; and (3) the frequency with which mother and father resorted to physical punishment to enforce obedience. Two issues, support and constraint, were involved in assessing father-child relationship in comparison to mother-child relationship. Lower-class fathers were less likely to punish their sons physically for wild play than lower-class mothers. If the behavior of the child did not compel the attention of the lower-class father, he ignored it, but if it was disruptive, he resorted to physical punishment. Middle-class fathers were more likely to punish their sons physically for fighting with

siblings than middle-class mothers. Neither lower-class nor middle-class parents resorted to physical punishment as a first recourse. There was little difference between assessments of middle-class or lower-class parents as to how large a part father played in setting limits for his child. Lower-class fathers tended to be less involved in activities with their children than middle-class fathers. Most lower-class fathers were satisfied with their allocation of parental responsibilities. Middle-class fathers felt that parents needed to be more understanding, patient, and attentive to their sons. Mother and father roles were more sharply differentiated in lower-class families than in middle-class families.

Eron, Banta, Walder, and Laulicht (1961) and Eron, Walder, Toigo, and Lefkowitz (1963) studied child aggression and its relation to social class, parental punishment and parental attitudes. Eron *et al.* (1961) chose sixty children on the basis of results of an aggression rating. This was a Guess Who technique (Eron, 1961) in which every child in a class rated everyone else on a series of twenty-two specific aggression items and four aggression anxiety items. All mothers and fifty-eight fathers of these children were interviewed for one-and-one-half hours. The purpose of the interview was to study the sociocultural and psychological antecedents of aggression as they were mediated by parent-child interaction. Variables studied were rewards and punishments for aggressive behavior; standards of aggressive behavior, role models, and identification; presumed frustrating antecedents to such behavior. Mothers and fathers did not agree in rating their child's behavior or their interactions with their children. Results of parent aggression data, when data from both mother and father were considered jointly, indicated that an erroneous interpretation

would be drawn if only one parent was taken into consideration. The father was important as a role model for aggression, but it was only when father and mother both rated themselves low on aggression that the aggression score of their child was low.

Eron et al. (1963) utilized 206 third-grade girls and 245 third-grade boys and their parents as subjects. The aggression scores for the children were obtained from the Guess Who technique (Eron, 1961). Parent measures were from a 286-item interview containing a punishment scale which was concerned with parents' likely responses to four kinds of aggressive behavior. Increased punishment for aggression at home brought about increased aggression at school no matter which parent was chiefly responsible for the discipline of the child. With an increase in socioeconomic status, children were more aggressive in school (especially boys). Intensity of punishment by father showed no significant relationship to aggression of boys as rated by his peers. When socioeconomic status was controlled, a significant relationship emerged. Boys of high socioeconomic status, who were severely punished by their fathers, were highly aggressive. There was a tendency for boys punished moderately by their mothers to be less aggressive than those minimally punished. Boys severely punished by their mothers were the most aggressive. Children of all socioeconomic levels were punished equally severely for aggression against their parents. Upper-class girls tended to be punished less severely for aggression against peers than lower-class girls.

Lefkowitz, Walder, and Eron (1963) attempted to establish a relationship between parental punishment and children's aggression and identification. They used 875 children, around eight years of age, as

subjects. Parents were interviewed and responded to twenty-four precoded questions that dealt with punishment for specific acts. Questions were also asked about their child's "confession behavior." Children's aggression was measured by a Guess Who peer rating (Eron, 1961). Results showed that more punishment led to more aggression displayed by the child. Nonphysical punishment seemed more effective in the development of conscience and socialization. Data disputed the popular notion that fathers employed harsher disciplinary techniques. Data did not support Bronfenbrenner (1961) that lower-class parents used more physical punishment than middle-class parents. The mean confessing scores which measured identification decreased when there was more physical punishment. There was close agreement between scores of fathers and mothers who were interviewed separately. Nonphysical punishment was unrelated either to aggression or to identification.

Farber (1962) and Farber and McHale (1959) investigated the effects of marital integration on socialization and behavior of children. Farber (1962) held interviews with 109 families which had at least one normal sibling of a retarded child. Farber and McHale (1959) interviewed sixty-three families in which all children were of normal intelligence. Instruments utilized were (1) index of marital integration; (2) index of parental satisfaction with the performance of social-emotional activities of the child; (3) scale of parental satisfaction with performance of instrumental activities of the child; (4) index of perception of the child of parental satisfaction with his performance of social-emotional activities; and (5) scale of perception by the child of parental satisfaction with his performance of instrumental activities (conformity to conventional behavior, standing up for himself, taking things seriously, taking advice from teachers

and older people, helping around the house). The correlation between marital integration scores and parental satisfaction with the behavior of their children was small but in a positive direction. The marital role-tension score of the mother seemed to be more important, as far as the child's perception of parental satisfaction of his performance of activities was concerned, than the marital role-tension score of the father. This would suggest that, in families with high marital integration, the mother interceded between the father and the child. By an effective mediating role, the mother could reinforce the status of the father as a masculine role model for the son. Results of the consensus scores were much more able to predict boys' perception of parental satisfaction with their performance of instrumental activities than was true for girls. Assumption was made from this that, for boys, instrumental activities take priority over social-emotional activities. Parental agreement on domestic values became an important factor in transmission of values and norms to boys.

Findings suggested that the perception of the mother by the child was more a product of the quality of marital relationship than the actual feeling of the parent toward the performance of the child. In a high-integration marriage, the role model established by the spouse would be one which the parent found congenial, and this parent would then accept his cross-sex child in a similar role. Agreement between parents on domestic values was crucial to role performance of the girl, but it was not so important for the boy for his role performance (although this agreement was important to his perception of their satisfaction). The consensus

score was influential in determining the satisfaction score of the parents (especially for the father). When either values or roles were in conflict or a state of tension, the development of patterns of consistent child-rearing was inhibited.

Davidson, Sarson, Lighthall, Waite, and Sarnoff (1958) studied differences between rating of parents of high anxious and low anxious children. By matching low anxious children on grade, sex, and IQ, thirty-two pairs of children were obtained for subjects. Children were tested on a test-anxiety scale and a general anxiety scale, developed by Davidson (1958), to determine placement of children in the low anxious and high anxious groups. Parents of these children were interviewed twice in their homes. After the first interview parents completed an attitude scale on child rearing. During the second interview they rated their children on a personality check list of twenty-five items of six points each. Each parent compared his child to children of his child's own age. Generally, parents of low anxious children rated their children more favorably than parents of high anxious children. Low anxious sons were rated more favorably by their fathers than high anxious sons were rated by their fathers. High anxious and low anxious children tended to be discriminated against in the predicted direction by fathers, but not by mothers.

Davidson (1959) utilizing the same data analyzed the interviews with the parents. Mothers of high anxious boys tended to be more defensive than mothers of low anxious boys. Findings suggested that having sisters was less anxiety inducing, especially for boys, than having brothers. The fathers of low anxious children were away from their children more frequently than fathers of high anxious subjects. The mean level of education

of low anxious fathers was higher than that of fathers of high anxious children. Low anxious children received higher marks at school, and found more to tell about school when at home. This was especially true of boys. The results of this study explained in part one finding in the previous study. The fact that mothers of high anxious children were more defensive, less verbal, and more dependent on the interviewer suggested that significant relationships between certain mother attitudes and behaviors and high anxious behaviors of children were masked or covered up by the greater defensiveness of high anxious mothers. Significant results were obtained repeatedly for boys but not for girls, although anxiety scores of girls were higher than anxiety scores of boys. This may be explained by the fact that our culture seems to make it easier for girls to reveal anxiety than for boys.

Emmerich (1961, 1962) investigated the development of concepts of sex and age in children. Assessment was made by a modified paired-comparison procedure of 225 middle-class six- to ten-year-old children. They were given the Hunter Master Card Test (Emmerich, 1959a) with special attention given to nurturance-restriction and power. All children assigned high power action to adults and low power action to children. The father sex role was seen as more powerful than the mother sex role. There was a curvilinear relation between the ages of the children and the extent to which fathers were perceived as more powerful.

Kagan, Hosken and Watson (1961) studied the child's conception of mother, father and self. Three interviews were held with ninety-eight children who were six to eight years of age. At the first session, the child was questioned about his conceptualization of his father; at the

second session, he was questioned about his conceptualization of his mother; at the third session, he was questioned about concept of self and his concept of "bad." A picture completion test of symbolic (rabbit, boat, dog) conceptions of father, mother and himself was given to each child. Each pair of pictures had opposite meanings, as strong-weak, big-little. He was asked, "Which is bad?" and "Who is missing, mommy or daddy?" Boys and girls both conceptualized father as stronger, larger, darker, dirtier, more angular, and more dangerous. Mother was labeled more nurturant, but less punitive and less potent than father. Self was conceptualized as being more similar to the same-sex than to the opposite-sex parent. Young girls labeled fathers as more hostile and punitive than boys did. Kagan suggested that this may be because boys are beginning to identify with their fathers at this age.

Emmerich (1962) mailed questionnaires to parents of the 225 children in his previous research (Emmerich, 1961). There was sixty-eight per cent return. Questionnaires for fathers and mothers were identical except for demographic questions. They were rated for the frequency with which mother or father responded in a specific way to each of several hypothetical child behaviors. Mothers were rated more nurturant and less restrictive than fathers. Results did not support the belief that the parent role was relatively more restrictive or controlling in either the parent-son or parent-daughter social system. Parents tended to exert more power toward the same-sex than toward the opposite-sex child. Parental nurturance-restriction variable varied in a cyclical fashion as a function of age of the child (especially for the sons).

Kagan (1956) studied 217 children, ages six to ten, in regard to their perceptions of their parents. The children answered direct questions concerning their fathers and mothers as: who punishes you? who's boss? and who are you more scared of? Fathers were perceived as less friendly and more dominant, punitive, and threatening than mothers. The older child was more likely to view the same-sexed parent as more dominant and punitive.

Harris and Tseng (1957) investigated attitudes of children toward their peers and parents by a sentence completion test consisting of ten questions selected and evaluated in terms of positive, negative, or neutral effect of response. Sentences to be completed were (1) Most girls____; (2) Most boys____; (3) My father____; (4) My mother____. The test was given to 3,000 students from third grade through high school. Both boys and girls extended more favorable attitudes than unfavorable attitudes toward both father and mother. Attitudes were more neutral through the intermediate grades. Both sexes extended positive attitudes toward mothers more than toward fathers. Boys in high school showed a slight rise in positive attitudes toward each parent; girls showed a more pronounced increase in positive attitudes toward fathers than toward mothers in the high school years. A small proportion of boys showed negative attitudes decreasing steadily during childhood. Adolescent girls showed negative attitudes increasing steadily.

Gray (1959) investigated the relationship between perceived similarity to parents and indices of social and personal adjustment in 105 fifth to eighth grade children. They were given a test, modeled after Helper (1955), to assess parental identification, the Who Are They Test (Bowman, 1953) the children's form of The Manifest Anxiety Scale (Castaneda,

McCandless, and Palermo, 1956), and a masculinity-femininity scale (Gray, 1957). Results showed that it was important to reject perceived similarity to parents as the child went from the younger group to the older group of this study. Boys who perceived themselves as more like their fathers than their mothers were perceived more favorably by their peers. Identification with the father was positively associated with adjustment in the boy, but identification with mother was not positively associated with adjustment in the girl. The direction of identification was a more important factor for the boy than the girl with respect to adjustment.

Winder and Rau (1962) studied parental attitudes which are associated with social deviant preadolescent boys. The boys were in fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, and were selected by results of the Peer Nomination Inventory (Winder and Wiggins, 1960). Classroom groups rated each other on sixty-four items that yielded variables of aggression, dependency, withdrawal, depression, and likeability. Half of the sample represented the aggressive distribution and half represented the dependency distribution. Parents (108 fathers and 118 mothers) of these children were given the Stanford Parent Attitude Questionnaire (devised by the authors). Results included (1) fathers' punitive attitudes and frequent use of physical punishment were associated with all four deviancy variables; (2) strictness, rejection, aggression, and punitiveness of the father were associated with high aggression and higher dependency in children; (3) demonstrated high affection, deprivation of privileges, and high sex-role expectancies were associated only with high aggression; (4) low self-esteem

of the father was associated with high dependency of the child; and (5) low demands for aggression, low aggression and punitiveness, and high child mastery of the father were associated with likeability in the child.

In an interdisciplinary approach to accident patterns in children, Marcus, Wilson, Kraft, Swander, Southerland, Schillofter (1960) completed a longitudinal study on sixty-eight children, sixty-three mothers and forty-seven fathers. The children, ages six to eleven, were divided into three groups: (1) accident subjects who had had three major accidents; (2) enuretic group who had had symptoms of persistent enuresis and had had one major accident; and (3) a control group that had had no major accident and showed no signs of maladjustment. The mothers filled out a questionnaire about their children's developmental history and their feelings as to the present characteristics of their children. Both parents were interviewed and given a battery of tests. Less than half the fathers of accident children were seen. Fathers of accident children reported significantly more satisfaction with their own educational level. Control fathers reported a significant dissatisfaction with their educational level. Mothers of accident children checked more frequently on their children than any of the other mothers, but the reverse was true of fathers. More fathers of enuretic children and fewer fathers of accident children reported joint decisions in the expenditure of family income. More parents of the control group helped their children with their school work than the other two groups. More control parents participated in religious activities. Fathers of the accident group showed more "normal" and fewer "passive" traits, while fathers of enuretic group showed more "aggressive"

traits. Overall, the picture of parents of the accident group showed them more anxious, more insecure, and more nonassertive than the other two groups.

Esman, Kohn and Nyman (1959) wrote about results of interviews with parents of autistic children. Data were analyzed for marital relationship, role of the father in relation to the family, role of the father as provider, relationship of the mother to the child, sibling relationships and how they were influenced by parents, and how the child's relationship to reality was mediated by parents. They stated fathers tended to be more disturbed than mothers; family role patterns were fluid, unclear, or grossly deviant; there was poor communication between parents and between parents and their children; parents used their children for gratification of all sorts. Tentative findings indicated that few generalizations could be made. No basic pattern, no character types of parents, or no basic conflicts were found. In all cases a grossly disturbed intrafamilial adjustment pattern was indicated, but in almost all cases both parents were severely disturbed people.

In investigating interpersonal relationships in the family, Chance (1955) studied thirty-four intact families with children between the ages of six and thirteen. These children had been referred to a child guidance clinic for behavior and personality problems. Parents were interviewed and performed a Q-sort. Interviews were semi-structured and recorded. The Q-sort consisted of cards on a nine-point scale from "most descriptive" to "least descriptive" of himself and the child-patient. Variables studied were (1) pattern of roles of father, mother and child; (2) family

constellation which resulted from these role patterns; (3) conflict indicators; and (4) defense mechanisms. While the father was preoccupied with friendly relationships more than mother, the mother was more preoccupied with feelings of resentment, complaints, and accusations. Mother tended to reject the child more than the father. That marital relationships were insecure was suggested by the incongruity with acceptable cultural roles.

Becker, Peterson, Hellmer, Shoemaker, and Quay (1959) examined aspects of parental behavior to attempt to discover which ones were most closely related to behavior disorders in children. Two groups of families, one with a child not in need of clinical service (N=25) and the other with a child in need of clinical service (N=25), served as subjects. The children were six to twelve years of age. Parents were interviewed and given the Guilford-Martin Personnel Inventory (Guilford, 1959) and an IQ test. They were rated on the Fels Parent Behavior Scales (Baldwin, Kalhorn, and Breese, 1945). Results showed that parents of conduct problem children tended to be maladjusted, gave vent to unbridled emotions, and were arbitrary with their children. Mothers tended to be active, dictatorial, thwarting, and suggesting, whereas, fathers tended not to enforce regulations. On the other hand, a factor defined mainly by personality problems (shy, inferior) showed association only with father behavior ratings. The father was rated as maladjusted and thwarting of the child. The many important associations between father and child behavior led to the conclusion that future research should give more consideration to the role of the father in the development of his child.

Peterson, Becker, Hellmer, Shoemaker, and Quay (1959) compared differences between parental attitudes in two groups of families. Methodology and subjects used in this study were described above (Becker *et al.*, 1959). Results made it seem apparent that the paternal role was fully as important as the maternal role. Father seemed to play a slightly more crucial part than mother in determining not only whether children had problems or not, but the kinds of problems which were likely to develop. Personality problems seemed largely independent of maternal attitudes, but were related to dictatorial attitudes and a lack of genuine concern among fathers. Conduct problems were related to maladjustment of mothers and to democratic attitudes and heightened feelings of concern among fathers.

Coleman, Bornston, and Fox (1958) investigated the relationship of parental attitudes to reading disabilities in children. The experimental group consisted of parents of twenty male children enrolled in a clinical school for reading disability cases. The control group consisted of twenty boys attending the university elementary school. All parents took the USC Parent Attitude Survey (Shoben, 1949) and filled out an information sheet on ages, number and sex of their children, their own educational level, religious preference, and occupation. The factors measured were dominance, possessive, ignoring, and unclassified (sexual, religion, moral, and monetary behaviors) attitudes. Results pointed to a family background of a boy with reading disability that included a dominant mother who exerted pressure on the male child to develop "strength," often equating this "strength" with educational achievement. The father appeared as an

inadequate model for his child's behavior development that led to difficulties in making a masculine identification.

The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Hathaway and McKinley, 1951) was used to study differences between parents of disturbed and nondisturbed children by Liverant (1959). The scores of forty-nine sets of parents of clinically disturbed children were compared with the scores of forty-nine mothers and fathers of nondisturbed children. The children were from four to seventeen years of age. Results strongly supported the general clinical assumption that both fathers and mothers of disturbed children were themselves significantly more maladjusted than fathers and mothers of nondisturbed children.

Bronson (1959) attempted to distinguish between the effects of ego and infantile identification with the father upon masculine behaviors and attitudes of his son at the preadolescent stage. Subjects were forty-two fathers and their sons, ages nine to thirteen. Data on father-son relationships were obtained from descriptive codings of behavior made by the staff on half-yearly interviews with the son, mother, and/or father. The factors coded were (1) undemonstrative-demonstrative, and (2) straining relationships-easy relationships. Overt masculine behavior of the son was measured by Honzik's (1951) masculinity-femininity scale. Covert masculine behavior was measured by the Thematic Apperception Test (Bellack, 1954). Overt masculine behavior of the father was rated by two raters who had interviewed the father extensively and were familiar with case records. Ego identification with a nonstressful father led to (1) acceptance (on covert levels) of masculine attitudes and needs, (2) masculine overt behavior, and (3) moderate similarity between masculine behavior of the son

and masculine behavior of the father. Infantile identification with a stressful father led to (1) rejection of masculine attitudes and needs on the covert level, (2) extreme masculine or extreme non-masculine overt behavior, and (3) a high degree of similarity or dissimilarity between the masculine behavior of the son and his father.

Fathers of Junior and Senior High School Children

Adams and Sarason (1963) investigated the relationships among anxiety scale scores obtained from 132 high school students and their parents. Four scales were utilized: (1) a test anxiety scale, which measured the degree of anxiety experienced specifically in testing situations; (2) the Need for Achievement Scale, which measured anxiety over the need for achievement in both testing and non-testing situations; (3) the Lack of Protection Scale, which measured separation anxiety; and the Bendig's brief version of the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale (Taylor, 1953). The questionnaire was administered to the children at school and another was sent home with each child for the parents to fill out. Only in the case of girls and their mothers were there consistent, positive correlation on all four scales. Anxiety scores of both girls and boys were much more related to anxiety scores of mothers than to anxiety scores of fathers. The correlation between anxiety in parents and anxiety in children seemed to be influenced by socioeconomic factors, because children of professional fathers obtained lower test anxiety scores than did other children. The relationship between anxiety scores of children and their parents was a complex one and

was influenced by such factors as sex of child, sex of parent, and socio-economic status.

Briggs and Schulz (1955) studied real-life parental attitudes and opinions as compared with concepts of family life presented in current professional writing. Parents of twenty-five adolescent children were interviewed in their homes and checked a list of 100 statements concerning authority and discipline, family relationships, adolescent behavior and moral belief, and personality development. Definite trends were found toward parental understanding of adolescent development and recognizing the desire of the adolescent to be independent. Most fathers and mothers agreed that father should be head of the family; most agreed that father should not be the disciplinarian; more fathers agreed regarding sibling behavior, while more mothers agreed regarding peer relationships. The family seemed to be in the transition stage between authoritarian and democratic.

Zunich (1962) investigated the relationship between parental attitudes toward childrearing and problems of junior high school students. Parents of forty junior high school students were administered the Parent Attitude Research Inventory (Shaefer and Bell, 1958) separately on two different occasions. The students were given the Mooney Problem Check List (Mooney and Gordon, 1950) which dealt with 210 problems in the areas of health and physical development; school; home and family; money, work and the future; boy-girl relationships; relationships to people in general; and self-centered concerns. The most frequent relationships were found between attitudes of parents and problems of girls. There were thirty-eight significant relationships between attitudes of fathers and problems of their

daughters; twenty-nine significant relationships between attitudes of mothers and problems of their daughters. There were twenty-five significant relationships between parental attitudes and problems of boys; mother and son, eleven; father and son, fourteen. Girls' problems included school; home and family; money, work and future; boy-girl relationships; and relationship to people in general. The latter was the most frequently mentioned problem. Problems of boys included health and physical development, and self-centered concerns, with self-centered concerns being the most frequently mentioned problem.

Hays and Rothney (1961) attempted to answer questions about educational decisions of superior school students and intra-family relations involved in these decisions. Parents of 100 students in the ninety-seven to ninety-nine percentile range were interviewed. Each parent and each student answered the questionnaire on decision-making during an interview. Students preferred to make their own educational decisions, but parents (particularly fathers) would rather have made the choices. This suggested some difficulty in communication between parents and children.

Shaw and Dutton (1962) utilized the Parent Attitude Research Inventory (Shaeffer and Bell, 1958) in an attempt to determine if differences existed between attitudes of parents of achievers and attitudes of parents of under-achievers. The California Test of Mental Maturity was given to 850 tenth and eleventh grade students. Potential subjects were children who had an IQ of over 110. If the student had a grade point average of 2.7 or under, he was considered an under-achiever. Parents who were willing to cooperate were interviewed and took the Parent Attitude Research Inventory (Shaeffer and Bell, 1958). The parents of ninety

achievers and parents of sixty-one under-achievers participated. Fathers of female under-achievers tended to have more marital conflicts, higher suppression of sexuality, more avoidance of expression of affection, and higher change orientation than fathers of female achievers. Fathers of male under-achievers tended to have higher suppression of sexuality and higher irresponsibility scores than fathers of male achievers. The investigator stated that these results seemed to indicate that the fathers of under-achievers were dissatisfied with their roles as husband and father. The results did not indicate whether parental dissatisfaction with children was the result of the under-achievement or the cause of it.

Murphey, Silber, Coelho, Hamburg, and Greenberg (1963) did an exploratory study of ways in which competent adolescents mobilized resources to cope with a new situation, the transition from high school to college. Subjects were nineteen college-bound high school students who were chosen on the basis of high school records and personal interviews. Eleven interviews were held with the student during his senior year in high school and his freshman year in college. Parents of the students were interviewed three times over this period. All data on the student were assessed by a research team, and they were rated high or low on autonomy (ability to make separate, responsible choices) and relatedness (satisfaction of student in a positive relationship with his parents). The following three groups emerged: (1) high in both autonomy and relatedness; (2) low in both autonomy and relatedness; and (3) high in autonomy and low in relatedness. The parents of the first group were not completely child centered, had strong inner direction, were all able to communicate, placed

high value on independence and autonomy, and their behavior supported these values. The fathers of this group were satisfied with their jobs. Parents of the second group were less clear about who they were and what they stood for, had poor communication with each other and with the students, did not act in accordance with their stated beliefs, and lacked confidence in the students' ability to achieve autonomy. Fathers seemed to be living out unfulfilled ambitions through the sons and were trying to control the sons by suggestion. The six students in the third group became more autonomic, but the growth seemed to be accompanied by a sense of distance. They broke away from their assigned roles, so clashes with the mother and father occurred. Role assignment was less flexible and less adaptable to growing independence in this group.

Honzik (1963) was concerned with sex differences in the rate of increase in parent-child resemblance in ability during childhood. Subjects were 248 children born in 1928-1929 who had their first mental tests at twenty-one months of age. Children and their parents who came to a clinic were the guidance group. There was no intensive interview with the control group and their parents until the children were seventeen years of age. Over 100 cases of correlation of the mother's level of formal education and daughter's IQ at twenty-one months were found. The correlation was statistically significant at three-and-one-half years. The mother-son correlation was not significant until the son was five years of age. Level of education of fathers and IQ scores of daughters correlated significantly at the age of three, but not until five years of age was the IQ of the boy significantly related to the educational level of the father. Parent-son resemblance

increased until the boy reached the age of fourteen or fifteen. Paternal education correlated higher than maternal education with IQ scores of daughters at all ages.

Hess and Handel (1956) explored the relationship between patterns of aggression in children and such patterns in parents. Ten families with two to three children between the ages of six and eighteen were subjects. All were interviewed, and all were administered the Thematic Apperception Test (Bellack, 1954) and a Sentence Completion Test. Findings suggested that the influence of the personality of parents did not generally lead to a high degree of homogeneity in their children. The personality of the parents appeared to be operating to create differences between siblings comparable to differences in non-related children. Patterns of aggression that were transmitted from parent to child were more cultural especially for boys. The similarity between father and son was high, but low between father and daughter. The mother seemed to transmit more individual features of aggressive behavior than father did. Aggression in children may be related to other aspects of parental personality than aggression.

Payne and Mussen (1956) investigated father-son similarities as a measure of identification. Three scales of the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1951) were administered to 182 junior and high school boys. The tolerance scale, social participation scale, and the masculinity-femininity scale were utilized. Copies of the questionnaire were sent to the parents, and seventy-two sets of parents returned the questionnaire. From this list forty boys (half that were "least" identified with father

and half that were "most" identified with father) were given five incomplete stories dealing with parent-son relationships. Teachers rated each boy on nine traits presumably related to social and emotional adjustment. Boys were more likely to identify with fathers whom they perceived as rewarding, gratifying, understanding, and warm than with fathers not perceived in this manner. Strong identification with father was associated with a perception of relationship with parents (considered together) as highly rewarding and warm. The degree of identification was highly correlated with masculinity of attitudes. Relatively masculine mothers tended to inhibit strong father-identification in their sons. According to teacher ratings, boys who were strongly father-identified were significantly more calm and friendly than their less highly father-identified peers.

Henderson (1958) explored the objective evidence concerning the impact of fathers on interests of their sons. The subjects were ninth and twelfth grade boys and their fathers. They were administered selected questions of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Strong, 1943) which was designed to determine vocational interests. The factors examined were identification, vicarious and actual experiences of the son that dealt with the job held by his father, attitudes of father toward his job, and perception of father of the resemblance of his son to himself. The degree of similarity of interests of father and son covaried with the degree to which son identified with his father. Interests of boys seemed to resemble interests of fathers more at the ninth grade level than at the twelfth grade level. Maturation might have been the factor involved in this

difference or it may have been due to a change in objects of identification during adolescence.

Sex differences in aggression and its correlates were studied by Lansky, Crandall, Kagan, and Baker (1961). Subjects were fifty-four children between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. The first session with each child explored achievement, dependency, affiliation, self-esteem, aggression toward parents and authority figures, attitudinal differences with parents, anxiety over heterosexual relationships, and identification with parents and parental models. They were also given a modified Rorschach Test. At the second session these group tests were administered: (1) the Gough Brief Masculinity-Femininity Scale (Gough, 1952); (2) the Franck Drawing Completion Test (Franck and Rosen, 1949); (3) the French Insight Test (French, 1958), which measured the child's preoccupation with several needs or goals, such as achievement, affiliation, dependency, and autonomy; (4) a story completion test, which was coded for the presence or absence of defenses against guilt and the severity of moral standards; and (5) a self-rating inventory on aggression, desire for acceptance, and identification with mother or father. Fewer sex differences in aggression were found than were predicted. Boys, according to popular conception, were more aggressive during adolescence, but results showed more significant associations for girls than boys on aggression variables and association between aggression and other variables. For boys, both aggression toward father and Rorschach aggression were related to a self-rated need for acceptance and dependency. Expressed criticism of father by girls was negatively related to a desire to be similar to mother and conformity to authority.

Henry (1957) reported findings that perception by children of the disciplinary role structure within the family varies with the birth order. He questioned 1335 high school students in Massachusetts and 617 high school and college students in Tennessee. Questions asked were: "Who is the main disciplinarian in your family?" and "Do you have an older brother, older sister, a younger brother, or a younger sister?" The eldest child tended to perceive fathers as the principal disciplinarians, while the youngest child viewed mothers as the principal disciplinarians. Perception was related to the order of birth and reflected a shift in the discipline of an older child from mother to father as family size increased.

Elder (1963) studied the effects of permissive and autocratic parents on adolescent personality. Subjects were seventh through twelfth grade adolescents who were given a structured questionnaire. Democratic and permissive parents were from two to four times more likely to explain their rules and expectations frequently than were autocratic parents. Mothers were more likely to explain to younger than older adolescents and to girls rather than boys. Fathers were inconsistent and followed no pattern in the frequency of explaining rules or expectations.

Ellis and Nye (1959) administered a questionnaire concerned with parental nagging to 780 high school students in three Washington towns. Results showed that mothers tended to nag more than fathers. Girls were nagged more than boys and older adolescents were nagged more than younger children. Nagging seemed to run in families. If father nagged, the mother did, also. If marital adjustment of the father was perceived as happy, only eight per cent of the children felt that they were nagged. If marital

adjustment of the mother was perceived as happy, twenty-five per cent of the children felt that they were nagged. The dominant parent was the nagging one. Nagging was related to frequent severe punishment, and was more frequently done by rejecting or indifferent parents. Children who were nagged tended to reject the parent who nagged. There was no relationship between nagging and socioeconomic status, size of family, geographic mobility, employment of mother, church attendance, or the amount of help mother received with the housework.

Helper (1955) developed an instrument to measure two self-evaluations, labeled self-favorability and self-acceptance. Parents of fifty-one eighth and ninth-grade children participated in development of this instrument. It contained forty-two rating items of self and ideal-self based on Cattell (1950) and Osgood and Suci (1955). Each parent rated his child (actual concept) and his ideal child-concept. Sociometric information was available on all the children. The degree of correlation between parental evaluation of the child and the child's self-evaluation and the degree of correlation between self-evaluation of the child and acceptability to peers were considered. There was a slight but real tendency toward similarity between parental evaluation of the child and self-evaluation of the child. When the relationship between parent-child acceptability was compared to the two self-evaluation variables, the only significant difference was that children with low acceptance from the mother had lower self-acceptance than those receiving high acceptance from the mother. A relatively high degree of self-concept modeling of boys after fathers was associated with high peer-status.

Johannis (1957a, 1957b, 1958a, 1958b) and Johannis and Rollins (1959) studied perceptions of adolescents of family members in various family activities. A structured questionnaire was administered to 1027 high school sophomores. In general, participation in household tasks followed the traditional sex division of labor of yesteryear. Decision-making was shared by father and mother in one half or more families for only seven of forty-three decision-making activities studied. The general level of participation in social activities by father and mother was relatively high in all activities, except belonging to clubs and visiting friends of the child. In family activities, fathers were income providers for ninety-eight per cent of the homes, but they were assisted by two mothers out of five. Father was the main provider for spending money for the child. More sharing of economic decisions was done between father and mother than between parents and children. Mother was found to be actively participating in all areas of child care and child control, but participation of father varied widely from activity to activity and seemed to be on the increase. His activities were concerned more with the later socialization of the child rather than with early training of the child. Father and mother were a joint-decision making team in sixty-three per cent of the homes.

In studying role conception in relation to family recreation, Connor, Johannis, and Walters (1955) questioned fifty tenth-grade students and their parents about family participation in recreational activities. Data were from a larger study of parent-adolescent relationships. Each person completed the following statement: "Of the things my (mother, father,

child) and I do together, I especially enjoy _____." Family member roles were ascertained by use of a checklist. Amount of family member recreational activities was also ascertained. Families were judged traditional or developmental by conceptions of the subjects of a good child, a good father, and a good mother. There was no significant difference between responses of developmental families and traditional families. Recreation was primarily centered away from the home. Less than five per cent of the parents stated that they did few or no things with their children. There was sixty-eight per cent agreement between mothers and adolescents, and sixty per cent agreement between fathers and adolescents. The authors suggested that perception of family members varied with reference to the specific activity.

Maxwell, Connor, and Walters (1961) studied family member perceptions of the parental role. Parents of fifty adolescents and their children responded to selected questions concerning parental role performance. Parallel items were presented to parents and their children, e.g., "I nag my child" and "My father (or mother) nags me." These were answered on a five-point continuum. Father ratings indicated they were more interested in their children than the adolescents perceived their fathers to be. Adolescents indicated their parents were more generous than parents felt themselves to be. Mothers tended to nag more than fathers. There was greater agreement between the scores of mother and adolescent than between scores of father and adolescent.

Walters (1957) investigated the family inter-relationships and childrearing practices which contributed to development of aggressive, anti-social behavior in adolescent boys. Subjects were fifty-two

adolescents and their parents. Twenty-six of the boys with a history of aggressive-destructive behavior served as the experimental group. The other twenty-six boys were the control group. Data were obtained from semi-structured interviews that were recorded. Areas explored were aggression, dependency, and sex behavior, and parental handling of such behavior; parental demands and restrictions; interpersonal relationships in the family. Fathers of the experimental group tended to show less warmth toward sons, to spend less time with their sons in early years, and to use more physical punishment than fathers of the control group. There seemed to be less warmth in the marital relationship of parents of the experimental group, and they had less affection and esteem for each other than parents of the control group. Walters concluded that anti-social behavior of an adolescent boy was derived primarily from a conflict in the area of dependency, especially related to lack of acceptance and warmth of the father.

Bandure and Walters (1958) investigated dependency conflicts in aggressive delinquents. The subjects and methodology used were described above (Walters, 1957). Neither mother ratings nor father ratings taken alone yielded any significant differences between the control and experimental groups. The experimental boys sought help and company of parents to a lesser degree than the control boys (especially with father). Aggressive boys felt more rejected by both father and mother than control boys. The groups differed very little in the amount of warmth and esteem shown for mothers, but the experimental group showed significantly less warmth and esteem for father than the control group did. A poor relation

between father and son seemed to hinder development of conscience control, and the experimental group identified with their fathers less than the control group identified with their fathers.

Platt, Jurgenson, Sherwood, and Chorost (1962) compared child-rearing attitudes of mothers and fathers of emotionally disturbed adolescents. A single composite attitude instrument of twenty-three scales was constructed for use with mothers, fathers, and adolescents. This questionnaire was mailed to parents of 680 adolescent children. There was a return of 616 questionnaires, and out of this number there were 129 mothers and 132 fathers of adolescents who had behavioral or educational adjustment problems. Two attitudinal factors were identified, authoritarian control and parental warmth. There was a significant difference between mothers' scores and fathers' scores on twelve of the twenty-three scales. Fathers were significantly more authoritarian than mothers, but there was no significant difference between the parental warmth scores of fathers and mothers. This was in variance with the popular concept that mothers were warmer than fathers.

Fathers of College-age Children

Itkin (1955) investigated the relationship of college students' attitudes toward each parent with attitudes of their parents toward children. Five attitude scales were constructed and given to 400 students in psychology and sociology classes. The attitude scales were mailed to parents of these students. For both male and female students, attitudes toward fathers were significantly related to attitudes of acceptance or

rejection of children. Attitudes of male students toward their fathers appeared to be related to their fathers' attitudes toward children and toward control of children, but not to their fathers' attitudes toward them in particular. Male students who had negative attitudes toward their fathers tended to disapprove of the control exercised by their fathers. Female students' attitudes toward their fathers were related to their fathers' attitudes toward children and their fathers' attitudes toward them, but did not appear related to their fathers' attitudes toward the control of children. Female students who had negative attitudes toward fathers considered fathers' control dominant; when attitudes toward fathers were favorable, they approved of the discipline exercised by them. If the students had favorable attitudes toward parents, they approved of the supervision whether parents had dominant or submissive attitudes. If students had negative attitudes toward their parents, they disapproved and judged supervision as dominant regardless of the parental attitudes toward control.

Sopchak (1958) investigated the relationship between Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Hathaway et al., 1951) scores of college students and their parents. Parents of twenty-five men and twenty-five women who had taken the MMPI in elementary psychology classes volunteered to take the MMPI. Scores of fathers and mothers were more similar to each other than to scores of their children. Fathers of women were more variable than fathers of men; mothers of men were more variable than mothers of women. There were more significant correlations between scores of males and their fathers and scores of females and their mothers than between scores of males and their mothers or females and their fathers. Scores

of fathers and mothers of males corresponded significantly on five MMPI scales, but scores of fathers and mothers of females did not correlate significantly on any scale.

Gray and Klaus (1956) assessed parental identification of sixty-two college students. Both parents and students were given a sentence completion test patterned after Rotter (1947) and the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey (1951) study of values that measured general attitudinal characteristics. Results showed that each sex resembled and perceived that he resembled his same-sex parent more closely than the cross-sex parent. The women had a greater tendency to identify than men.

The relationships between authoritarian attitudes of college students, estimation of parental attitudes by students, and actual parental attitudes were investigated by Williams and Williams (1963). Students in introductory psychology classes were given the California F-scale (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, 1950). The questionnaire was then mailed to their parents. Students of these parents were asked to fill out the questionnaire as they thought their mothers would, then as they thought their fathers would. Scores within each generation did not differ significantly. The college students displayed significantly less authoritarianism than their parents. Male scores correlated significantly with mother scores, but not father scores; female scores correlated significantly with father scores, but not mother scores. Students in this study were poor judges of authoritarian-equalitarian attitudes of their parents. They tended to judge mother more restrictive and authoritarian than she reported herself. Females were more aware of parental attitudes than males.

Rose (1959) investigated family relationships and their effects on young adults' acceptance of responsible adult roles. A questionnaire was given to 183 male and 206 female students whose fathers and mothers were alive and willing to complete a questionnaire. Results showed that closeness of family life was more clearly associated with fondness for mother than for father, especially on the part of sons. Closeness of family life was strongly associated with life-satisfaction of mothers. Students with close family life were more likely than the more separated students to assume responsible adult roles or to have attitudes conducive to the assumption of responsible adult roles. All data showed that a close family attachment was beneficial to an acceptance of the adult role.

Jackson (1956) studied concepts of parents of their parental roles, and their basic attitudes toward the use of authority, and attitudes toward the nature of their children. One hundred and five freshmen and sophomore college students and their parents answered a questionnaire type instrument, which was devised by the investigator. Subjects wrote free responses to eleven real-life situations that had to do with childrearing. Mothers suggested methods of control more coercive than fathers did. This seemed to be at variance with the popular stereotype of the punitive male and the permissive female. In responding to parent-child situations, mothers vacillated more between mild and severe methods of control than did fathers.

Connor, Johannis, and Walters (1954) studied the intra-familial conceptions of a good father, a good mother, and a good child. Subjects were twenty-six families whose daughters were in college. They answered a questionnaire with the following questions: "What are five good things father does?" "What are five good things mother does?" and "What are five

good things a child does?" The traditional type of a good father (providing for the family financially, advising the children, and setting a good example) was described generally. Fathers and mothers responded that a good father participated in religious activities, but the girls did not consider this important. Concepts of a good father tended to be more developmental generally than the concepts of a good mother.

Epstein and Westley (1960) investigated parental interaction as related to emotional health of children. Families of nine emotionally healthy adolescents were asked to cooperate in an intensive study. These nine students were chosen from a group of first year college students who had been rated by a psychologist on a twelve-point scale, based on whether they showed structured psychological symptoms, their degree of social and occupational adaptation, and the extent of their dynamic integration. Parents were rated on sexual adjustment; level of unresolved, infantile dependency needs; and the degree to which father used his wife for ego support or substitute for this adaptive function. All these parental factors were related to emotional health of their children, although no firm relationship was established between the level of parental sexual adjustment and the average level of emotional health among their children. A clear and unvarying relationship appeared between the degree of dependency needs in the father and the level of emotional health of his child. When the father had a low degree of dependency needs, the emotional health level of his child was high; when the father had a higher degree of unresolved dependency needs than the mother, the emotional health level of his child was lower than in the above mentioned instances. A close

relationship was found between the degree to which father used his wife as ego support and the level of emotional health of his child.

Heilbrun (1964) investigated the social values and social behavior of adolescents as related to parental identification and degree of parental nurturance. Subjects were 132 students in college psychology classes. They were administered the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (1959), a social desirability and model ratings test, a role-consistency measure, and a parent-child interaction scale. Model attributes of parents were judged by students. Descriptions of behavior traits which defined traits measured by personality inventories were taken from Edwards (1959). Subjects were rated for masculinity-femininity. The degree of nurturance was measured by a parent-child interaction rating scale developed for this study. Areas measuring nurturance were (1) degree of affection felt for the child, (2) degree of affection physically expressed toward the child, (3) parental approval of child and his behavior, (4) sharing of personal feelings and experiences with the child, (5) concrete giving, (6) sense of security child felt for the parent. Role consistency was measured by an instrument employed by Block (1961) consisting of twenty self-descriptive adjectives ranked by the subject from "most" to "least" descriptive of eight interpersonal situations. More masculine fathers were perceived as less nurturant by both males and females. Males who attributed high nurturance to their fathers showed significantly higher role-consistency than those who perceived their fathers as less nurturant. Paternal nurturance was positively related to social-values and social behavior consistency in adolescents with more masculine father models.

Landis (1962a) examined the role of father in relationship to family integration. Three thousand college students in sociology classes rated their feelings of closeness to or distance from each parent as they remembered the relationship at the age of fifteen and at the time of the study. These feelings of closeness or distance were related to a series of variables; students' perceptions of marital happiness of their parents, divorce or non-divorce of their parents, and a series of self appraisals. Closeness of children to either father or mother was associated with positive values, behaviors, and self-evaluations. A father-close relationship seemed to be more predictive of positive family values than a mother-close relationship. A mother-distant relationship was more predictive of negative family values than a father-distant relationship. A close relationship to father was reported only in perceived happy marriages. A father-distant relationship did not indicate a mother-distant relationship, but a mother-distant relationship usually indicated father-distant relationship, too. Socialization of the child appeared to be dependent upon a relationship involving both parents and their child, not between one parent and the child.

Landis (1962b) compared the above mentioned questionnaires to study the effects of divorce, non-divorced happy marriages, and non-divorced unhappy marriages on the students. Both male and female students reported a much more distant relationship with a divorced father than with a non-divorced unhappy father. Females from a divorced home reported a closer relationship to mothers at the age of fifteen and at the time of the study than girls from unhappy non-divorced marriages. On all variables, students from happy marriages differed significantly.

King and Henry (1955) examined relationships between the degree to which child behavior was required to conform to parental expectations, the direction of expression of aggression, and cardiovascular reactions during experimentally induced stress. College students were asked three questions relevant to discipline: "Who was the principal disciplinarian in your family?" "In disciplinary matters was father stern or mild?" "In disciplinary matters was mother stern or mild?" Students who described father as strict had non-epinephrine-like reactions (response of anger directed outward). Students who reported fathers as the non-dominant disciplinarian had epinephrine-like reactions (anger directed toward self). Questions raised by these results were (1) Is control by father still operative in the external world? (2) What is the relationship between perceptions of childhood discipline and the actual amount of discipline? and (3) Would the same results be found for females?

Dreger and Sweetland (1960) studied traits of fatherhood that were revealed by 350 students in elementary psychology classes. A Characterization of Parent Test (Jourard, 1957) was administered to the students. Only the scales calling for attitudes toward fathers were employed. The test was devised to measure the attitudes of students toward their parents. These seven factors emerged from analysis of the data: (1) ideal American fatherhood, (2) secular non-punitiveness, (3) ideal non-ecclesiastical father, (4) ecclesiastical righteousness, (5) church going religiosity, (6) puritanism, and (7) lovingkindness. The following significant attitudes were found: (1) separation was made of two ideal fatherhood factors, a secular American ideal and a religious one; and (2) distinction was made between being religious and being a churchgoer.

Poffenberger (1959) investigated students who disliked mathematics in an attempt to determine factors that were involved in formation of this attitude. A 140-item questionnaire was given to all incoming freshmen. Students who had a strong like for mathematics, and students who had a strong dislike for mathematics were asked to rate their fathers' attitudes toward mathematics. The "like group" consisted of sixty-eight students, and the "dislike group" consisted of seventy-five students. Students who reported a close relationship with their fathers did not differ significantly from the total population in their rating of attitudes of their fathers toward mathematics. Students who reported a distant relationship with their fathers perceived their fathers as negatively oriented toward mathematics. Results suggested that children who see themselves as negatively perceived by a parent may perceive their parents as being negatively oriented to other aspects of life.

Steimel (1963) studied the relationship between perceived parental influences and inventoried interests of 198 freshman and sophomore college male students. Students were given a simple instrument developed by Steimel (1960) adapted for the purpose of appraising the perceived influence of both parents. There were ten questions concerning father-influence and ten questions concerning mother-influence. On the basis of responses to the questions, two groups were selected. One group had extreme ratios in favor of father, and the other group had extreme ratios in favor of mother. These groups were administered the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Strong, 1943), which was scored for forty-three occupations. The father-group scored higher on interests more typically and decidedly masculine. The father-group elected more often the exact sciences and the

mother-group elected more often liberal arts. Fathers of the father-group were more often employed at professional levels, and the average of the educational level of these fathers was 14.38 years. Fathers of the mother-group had an average educational level of 11.84 years. Conclusions were that fathers with higher level occupations and with superior educations had more active part in molding the vocational interests of their sons. They may exert more indirect influence by virtue of greater respect and a firmer identification with their sons.

Cooper and Blair (1959) investigated evaluations of students of their parents as determiners of ideology. A thirty-item E-F scale (Gough, 1951), utilized for the purpose of assessing ideology, and a 150-item parent evaluation scale (Krech and Crutchfield, 1948) were administered to 179 college students. The E-F scale was answered in three ways by each student: (1) as he responded, (2) as he believed his father would respond, and (3) as he believed his mother would respond. There was a strong tendency for students who evaluated parents favorably to be close to their parents ideologically. There was no evidence to support the proposition that predilections of opposite sex-parents were responsible for establishment of parent preference. When students scored parents on the parent-evaluation scale, father was preferred as frequently as mother, but scores on the E-F scale, based on declarations of parent preferences, showed mother to be preponderantly preferred.

Fathers of Children of Unspecified Ages

Block (1955) reported on personality characteristics that differentiated between fathers expressing restrictive and controlling methods of childrearing and fathers favoring a permissive environment for childrearing. A group of military officers underwent an intensive three-day assessment of personality characteristics. Twenty items of an attitude scale similar to the USC Parent Attitude Survey (Shoben, 1949) designated the fathers as permissive or restrictive. Subjects were twenty men who had the highest scores (restrictive group) and twenty men who had the lowest scores (permissive group). These forty men were given the University of California Public Opinion Survey, which measured ethnocentrism and fascist tendencies, a test using a procedure that typed independence of judgment, and the Terman Concept Mastery Test (Terman, 1926). Restrictive fathers were more submissive, suggestible, conforming, indecisive, ineffectual, and over-controlled. Permissive fathers were self-reliant, ascendent, rebellious toward authority figures, persuasive, counteractive, and sarcastic. Permissive fathers were the more intelligent group. Restrictive fathers scored higher on the fascism scale and the ethnocentrism scale.

Putney and Middleton (1960) investigated the effects of marital interaction on strictness of attitudes toward childrearing. Ten couples were in each of the following groups: middle-class whites, middle-class Negroes, lower-class whites, and lower-class Negroes. The couples were brought together and each person completed a questionnaire on childrearing. A choice was offered between strict and permissive answers. The

questionnaire was answered the second time as a family. There was a strong general tendency to take a strict position on the questions, but there were no significant differences between males or females, white or Negroes, professional or workers. The questionnaires that were completed jointly tended to be even stricter than questionnaires completed individually. This held true for all four groups. Differences in opinions between fathers and mothers tended to be resolved by agreeing on the stricter position. The cause of this was not investigated by the researchers, but the implication for further research was discussed.

Dyer (1956a, 1956b) completed a study of attitudes toward the jobs of fathers in families of high and low job satisfaction. Subjects for one study were eighty-seven families selected from two occupational levels. Subjects for the other study were forty-five "blue-collar" workers' families. Father, mother, and every child over the age of ten filled out a questionnaire adapted from Bullock's scale (Bullock, 1952). The questionnaire for the father determined his job satisfaction plus his perceptions of how his wife and his children felt about his job. The scale for the mother and the child determined their degree of satisfaction with the job of father and the reasons for the satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The father correctly perceived the family definition of his role, and he was aware of the feelings of his wife and children toward his job. This perception was highly associated with his own feelings about his job. If the father was not satisfied with his job, his work was often a cause of family disagreement. Neither father or mother wanted their children to follow the father's line of work in families where job satisfaction of the father was low.

Mormon families were investigated by Christopherson (1956) to ascertain the nature of concepts held by these families regarding patriarchal authority. Subjects were thirty Mormon families who had at least two children and whose parents were or had been Mormons. The families were interviewed together, and areas discussed were family decisions, recreation, childrearing and discipline, religious activities, finances, resolution of family conflicts, and data about the previous generation. There was little indication that any consistent father-controlled, dictatorial type of authority pattern existed in Mormon families any more than in other families. There was a slight decrease of patriarchal authority from the previous generation to this one, but it was not to the extent reflected by American society as a whole. When asked the question, ninety-three per cent of fathers and seventy-three per cent of mothers agreed that fathers were still head of the family in both religious and non-religious matters. The majority (seventy-eight per cent) thought it was as necessary now as in former times that father be head of the household, and that the Mormon father had duties and obligations to his family that were different from those of non-Mormon fathers.

Tasch (1955) investigated interpersonal perceptions of fathers and mothers concerning satisfactions and problems of childrearing. Some 544 mothers and eighty-five fathers answered a questionnaire developed by Jersild (1949) exploring childrearing satisfactions and childrearing problems. In both satisfaction and problem areas, the father took a more personalized view, while the mother was concerned with socialization processes. Fathers defined their roles by way of comparison with mothers. Mothers (in expressing satisfaction or dissatisfaction of performances of fathers)

revealed their role expectations of fathers. Fathers were more critical and derogatory of mothers than mothers were of fathers. Concept of self and role expectations did not coincide. The investigator stated that this might show how conflict situations come about. If parental goals for the child were brought into harmony, one point of tension and friction could be reduced.

O'Rourke (1963) compared decision-making behavior of family groups in the home and in the laboratory. Each of twenty-four three-person family groups was observed. Both the quantity and quality of interactive behavior changed as groups moved from home to laboratory. The positiveness of fathers and their children decreased as they moved from home to laboratory, whereas the positiveness of mothers increased. The positiveness of fathers of female children was higher than that of fathers of male children, but the opposite was true of mothers. As the groups moved from home to laboratory, there was a general increase in instrumental and negative social-emotional behaviors. The nature of the change depended on the structure of the group. Data indicated that the nature of the situation had a determinate effect on the interaction patterns of the groups. Groups seen in a laboratory experienced more disagreement among the members and were more active but less efficient at decision-making. The investigator concluded that the laboratory seemed to work a definite distortion on the experimental outcome.

Littman and Pierce-Jonas (1957) interviewed fathers and mothers in an attempt to obtain a view of what parents did and felt in regard to needs for help in childrearing. Subjects were 200 families with both father and mother being interviewed. The interview was semi-structured; questions were asked concerning whether the parent had ever felt the need for help; if he

had, where had he gone for help, and was the help satisfactory. Only thirty per cent of mothers considered themselves self-sufficient, while sixty per cent of the fathers stated they had never felt the need for help in child-rearing. The researchers stated that either fathers appeared to feel a good deal more self-reliant in dealing with children or were less disposed to reveal their doubts and anxieties to strangers. Doctors were the most often mentioned group of people that parents turned to for help. Psychologically trained workers and religious leaders were the group parents turned to the least for help. Teachers and nurses were unrecognized sources of help.

Koutrelakos (1958) studied 100 young men to investigate the difference between the authoritarian person's perception of his relationship with his father and the non-authoritarian person's perception of his father. The men were given the authoritarian F-scale (Adorno et al., 1950), 100 items on Edward's Personal Preference Schedule (Edwards, 1959), an authoritarian father questionnaire, and an information blank. Each subject answered the EPPS items for himself; as he thought his father would answer it; and in relation to the ideal self. The authoritarian person perceived his father as authoritarian, and as one who was distant, conventional, punitive, and dominating. He was found to perceive his father as more like his ideal self. He perceived both himself and his father as adhering to conventional values more than the non-authoritarian person did. The conclusion made was that due to self dislike of the authoritarian person and distance perceived between himself and his father, he perceived himself as not achieving the idealized level of his father.

Zuckerman and Barrett (1960) investigated the relationship between parental attitude scores and five variables: diagnosis of child, age of parent, socioeconomic status, family constellation, and cooperativeness with the clinic. Subjects were 165 mothers and 140 fathers of child patients evaluated in two child guidance clinics and 181 mothers and 36 fathers from a normative sample. The normative sample was tested at group meetings. The Parent Attitude Research Inventory (Schafer and Bell, 1958) was mailed to parents after they had applied at child guidance clinics. Three factors were investigated from the PARI: authoritarian-control, hostility-rejection, and democratic attitudes. Psychologists at the clinics culled the case histories for data on diagnosis, general symptom types, education of mother, occupation of father, age and sex of child, number of children in the family, age of mother, birth position of child, presence or absence of father, parental defects, and whether parents accepted or refused treatment. Clinic fathers scored lower on marital conflict and forcing independence than normative fathers. Clinic mothers were more permissive and less rejecting than mothers from the normative sample. They scored lower on deification, avoidance of communication, acceleration of development, and rejection of the homemaking role. Parental scores did not predict parents' cooperation with the clinic, nor did they distinguish a group of defectors. Major determinant of maternal attitudes was socioeconomic status. Lower-class mothers were more authoritarian. Within the clinic group, fathers of schizophrenics scored high on non-punishment scale; mothers of schizophrenics scored highest on rejection of the homemaking role. Sex of the children was related to parental attitudes,

but this appeared to be a function in relation to the educational level of mothers.

Peck and Stephens (1960) studied parental attitudes and the extent to which parental attitudes are reflected in attitudes of their mentally defective children. Subjects were ten mentally defective boys and their parents. Fels Child Behavior Rating Scale, Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scale (Baldwin et al., 1949), and the Rating Scale for Child-Concept (Worchel and Worchel, 1959) were administered to the parents. Over half (sixty per cent) of the homes lacked emotional security. Generally the parents were less sociable, and the parents gave the child only perfunctory interest. Affection, understanding, and rapport between the parents and child was reflected in the ability of the child to relate successfully with other adults. A high correlation was found between the acceptance or rejection by the father of his defective child and the amount of acceptance or rejection recorded in the home situation. The researchers offered the following two explanations: acceptance or rejection by father set the pattern of acceptance or rejection, or father was able to express his real feelings subjectively and mother tended to conceal her feelings of rejection.

Parental emotional adjustment, background and occupations of parents of leukemic children were compared to these variables in parents of non-leukemic children in an investigation by Murstein (1960). Parents of ten leukemic children and parents of ten non-leukemic children suffering from other neoplastic diseases took a battery of tests. The Thematic Apperception Test (Bellack, 1954) was filled out by one parent while the other filled out the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Test (Taylor, 1953), and the Texas Religious

Attitude Scale. Two pediatricians rated parents on information given about the disease; discussion of prognosis; emotional adjustment to child's illness; and intellectual "understanding of the disease." They also rated the physical progress of the child. Nurses rated parents on relationship to the child relationship to spouse and adjustment to hospital routine. Very few differences were found between fathers and mothers. A significant relationship was found between emotional adjustment and the variables of education, intellectual understanding, and occupation. The higher the occupational level, the more the fathers were apt to cooperate in taking tests. Mothers were more dependent on the health of the children in their expectation of happiness and were more pro-religious than fathers. The only clear psychological difference between parents of leukemic children and parents of non-leukemic children was that non-leukemic parents told fewer unhappy stories than leukemic parents on the TAT. Non-leukemic parents were better able to relate to their child, to their spouses, and to hospital routine. Emotional adjustment of parents was a function of education and socioeconomic status.

McCord and McCord (1958) studied the effects of parental role models on criminality. Boys who were observed in Cabot's project (Power and Witmer, 1951) were subjects of this study. Running records were kept on 255 boys who were designated as pre-delinquent in 1935 at the age of seven. In 1955, case records and recorded data were investigated by McCord and McCord. Names of subjects and their parents were sent through the board of probation, and by this method the researchers learned which subjects or parents had acquired criminal records. Of this number, forty-five boys had been raised by criminal fathers and of these fifty-six per cent had

been convicted of crimes. Boys who had alcoholic or sexually promiscuous fathers numbered sixty-nine and of these forty-three per cent had been convicted of crimes. Of the remainder, only thirty-five per cent had received criminal convictions. The effects of a criminal father on criminality in the son was largely dependent upon other factors. If paternal rejection, absence of maternal warmth, or maternal deviance was coupled with a criminal role model, the son was extremely likely to become a criminal. Consistent discipline in combination with love from at least one of the parents seemed to offset the influence of a criminal father. The conscious values, even among criminals, seemed to support the non-criminal norms of society, and these were transmitted through consistent discipline.

Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory Profiles (Hathaway and McKinley, 1951) of parents of child psychiatric patients were compared by Hanvik and Byrum (1959). This study involved profiles of all parents whose children had been referred to a child guidance clinic in a two-year period. Subjects were 158 mothers and 104 fathers. Mothers numbered more than fathers, either because there was no father in the home or the father did not participate. Deviations from the normal appeared in profiles of these parents. No strong relationships were seen between profiles of fathers and problems of the children. Both mothers and fathers tended to score above average on five scales.

Goodstein (1960a, 1960b) reported the differences between the level of adjustment of parents of children with cleft palates and the adjustment level of parents of physically normal children. Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventories (Hathaway and McKinley, 1951) were completed by 170

mothers and 150 fathers with a child having a cleft lip or palate or both. Case histories were gathered by experienced speech pathologists through interviews with parents and by observation of the children. Parents of older children had poorer adjustment. Fathers of oldest children were rated more poorly adjusted than fathers of youngest children. Differences of mothers were not statistically significant, but the direction of the differences was the same. Results showed no relationship between parental adjustment and the rated social adjustment of the child or rated adequacy of parents' handling of the child. There was no difference in any important way on the scores of parents of children with cleft palates and scores of parents of children who were physically normal.

Fitzelle (1959) studied personality factors and attitudes toward child rearing among parents of asthmatic children and compared these variables to personality factors and attitudes toward childrearing among parents of normal children. Mothers of 100 asthmatic children and 100 control mothers were personally interviewed. Parents of these children were asked to complete psychological tests. Seventy-nine per cent of mothers and fifty-nine per cent of fathers completed the questionnaires. Mothers of asthmatic children were found to reflect the same emotionally unstable attitudes toward childrearing that were characteristic of parents of problem children. No statistically significant differences were found in the total scores of parents of children suffering from asthma when compared with the whole group. The researcher stated that the results pointed to a need for individual study of families of asthmatic children and longitudinal studies of these families.

Conflict patterns in families of schizophrenics were explored by Baxter, Arthur, Flood, and Hedgepeth (1962). The parents of twelve male and six female patients were interviewed twice. In the first interview a life history and developmental information were obtained from the parents. At the second interview both parents and the patient were present and the focus was on interpersonal dominance and conflict. Instances of interpersonal conflicts were recorded and analyzed for differences in patterns of intrafamilial conflict as a function of the sex of the affected child. More interparental conflicts in families of males were found, and a greater degree of patient participation in conflictual behavior was found in families of females. Two thirds of the father-son conflicts centered around dissatisfaction of the son over not being allowed to do household repairs and yard work. This was interpreted to indicate that the son felt father competed with him. Father-daughter conflicts did not show any pattern, but covered a wide variety of areas. In both groups conflicts involving the entire family were centered in recreational and social activities.

Block, Patterson, Block, and Jackson (1958) completed a study of parents of schizophrenics and parents of neurotic children. Parents of twenty schizophrenics and parents of twenty neurotic children were given the Rorschach (Rorschach, 1921) test, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Hathaway and McKinley, 1951) and the Thematic Apperception Test (Bellack, 1954). The results were analyzed to determine whether a meaningful homogeneity could be said to characterize parents of schizophrenics. No personality characteristics were found to distinguish the two groups. Sub-types were found. Fathers of neurotic children tended to be more

conciliatory and had fewer conflicts about receiving from others. Fathers of schizophrenics expressed hostilities more directly and were more assertive. Mothers of neurotic children tended to be highly tentative persons, pervaded by guilt and worry and in constant need of reassurance. Mothers of schizophrenics tended to believe that people existed only to serve their own ends and were consequently manipulated, exploited or ignored. For the majority of cases, no psychogenic factors in parent-child relationships were found.

Eisenberg (1957) concentrated on fathers of autistic children in an attempt to contribute to a broader view of family dynamics that might be related to the personality development of children. Subjects were 100 fathers of autistic children who were being seen at a child guidance clinic. The researcher was personally well acquainted with and well informed about these fathers. The majority of these fathers (eighty-five) tended to be obsessive, detached and humorless individuals. They were not original thinkers, but they were intelligent. They tended to be perfectionistic to an extreme and to feel that children were an obligation. Conformity was demanded, work took precedence over marriage, and they seemed to have no empathy.

Krinsky (1962) investigated the relationship of personal beliefs of schizophrenics to the personal beliefs of their parents. Subjects were eighty schizophrenics and their parents. The subjects were administered the Cass (1950), the Dworin and Wyant (1957), and the Bassell (1955) questionnaires. The Cass questionnaire dealt with variables in the parent-child relationship; the Dworin and Wyant questionnaire dealt with social issues; and the Bassell questionnaire dealt with stereotypes of mental

illness. The parents took the tests twice; the first time they answered for themselves and the second time as they thought their child would answer the questions. Fathers had significantly higher identification and projection scores, whereas mothers exhibited greater awareness of beliefs held by their children. Parents of acutely ill patients were more generally identified with and more aware of their children's beliefs than parents of chronically ill patients. Results were inconsistent with concepts of parents of schizophrenics, especially for fathers, as presented in literature.

Lidz, Cornelison, Fleck, and Terry (1957) focused their attention on fathers of schizophrenic patients, because so much previous research had been focused on mothers. Subjects were fourteen families of schizophrenics that had been interviewed repeatedly for periods varying from six months to two years. The following conclusions were derived from these interviews: (1) fathers were frequently insecure in their masculinity and needed admiration and undue attention to bolster their masculine self-esteem; (2) many were paranoid or given to irrational behavior that dominated or seriously affected the whole family; (3) one characteristic (which epitomized best the mother) was imperviousness to the feelings and needs of others; and (4) fathers as well as mothers were so caught up in their own problems that they could rarely fill the essentials of the parental role.

Effects of Father Absence

Rouman (1956) investigated problems of children and the relationship of these problems to different parental factors. Subjects were 400 children, kindergarten through high school, who had been referred to the district

guidance department for academic failure, aggressive behavior, withdrawal, nervous tendencies, stealing, or sex problems. The parental factors involved were maternal employment, child living with a step-parent or guardian, and father absence. Academic failure was greatest in the group of children where the father was absent. The elementary school child was more affected by father absence than any other group. Girls were not affected as much as boys. The youngest child and the oldest child in families were equally affected by father absence. The greatest personality problem of children from father-absent homes was a lack of a sense of personal worth, but these children were strong in self-reliance and family relations.

McCord, McCord, and Thurber (1962) studied the effects of paternal absence on male children. Methodology used was the same as McCord and McCord (1958). Of the 255 boys in the original project, fifty-five were chosen for this study. They were children of fathers who had died (N-twenty-four), had deserted (N-eight), were in mental hospitals (N-four), were in prison (N-three), or whose parents were divorced (N-sixteen). The control groups consisted of 150 boys whose parents were still together. The variables studied were (1) reasons for absence of father, (2) age of child when father left, and (3) affection and warmth of the mother. Feminine non-aggressive behavior was negatively related to father absence, but it appeared to be produced if the boy was between the ages of six to twelve when father left or if the mother was deviant or rejecting. Father absence did not appear to be related to abnormal fears of the boy. Intense sexual anxiety was found, but among half of the boys it was due to unstable environment instead of father absence. Oral regression was related to father absence only if mother was deviant or rejecting. Gang delinquency was higher

among boys whose parents quarrelled, but remained together than among boys whose fathers were absent. The relationship of criminality and paternal absence was largely a result of general instability of broken homes than from the paternal absence itself.

Leichty (1960) studied the effects of father absence during early childhood on the Oedipal situation. Subjects were thirty-three male students whose fathers were overseas when the boys were between the ages of three to five. There were twenty-nine in the control group whose fathers were not absent at that age. Subjects were administered the Blacky Test (Blum, 1950) which measured psychosexual development and object relationships. Stories and responses to standardized questions for each of twelve drawings were obtained. More of the experimental males showed strong Oedipal intensity than the control males. Fewer of the experimental group felt a close identification with fathers than the control group. The experimental group tended to choose someone other than their fathers as their ego-ideal. Castration anxiety was not a relevant variable. Stolz (1954) revealed that the period after father returned was a difficult one, but that variable was not controlled in this experiment.

L 'Abate (1960) examined whether the presence or absence of father during a child's referral to a mental health clinic was a significant variable affecting the level of emotional disturbance in the mother or of maladjustment of the child. Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventories (Hathaway and McKinley, 1951) were given to twenty-one pairs of parents and twenty-seven mothers of boys referred to a mental health clinic. Parents of forty-nine boys served as the control group and they were given the same test. Experimental fathers differed from the control fathers in that they

left a greater number of items unanswered on the test. Experimental mothers as a group left more questions unanswered than the control mothers, but when mothers who came with their husbands were separated from the whole group of experimental mothers, their scores did not differ from the control mothers. Greater emotional disturbances were found in experimental mothers who came in without their husbands. Greater maladjustment of boys who came without their fathers was found than in the group who came with their fathers. They tended to have greater personal inferiority, social maladjustment, daydreaming and total maladjustment.

Gabower (1960) inquired into the question of why some navy children living under similar conditions developed behavior problems and why others did not. Subjects were fifteen children who displayed behavior problems and fifteen children who did not, and the parents of these children. Interviews were held with father, mother, and child, and the researcher personally visited the homes and observed family life of each of the families. Behavior was more closely related to the way in which the parents dealt with the child than the physical environment. Parents of the behavior-problem group were less active in preparing their children for a move and helping them after they moved. Parents of the behavior-problem group used corporal punishment infrequently, but severely. They were more likely to use deprivation of an allowance as punishment. More families of the behavior-problem group had difficulties in the areas of physical health, use of money, and differences between parents on childrearing. Children in the behavior-problem group displayed lack of spontaneity, fewer useful attributes gained from living in many places, lower than average grades,

difficulty in relating to other children, and more conscious difficulty in accepting father's absence. Fathers of the control group had been away from their children more than the fathers of the behavior-problem group.

Stolz (1954) studied the way in which fathers' patterns of adjustment to a stress situation (return after World War II) affected the developing personality of their first-born children. Subjects were nineteen families who were separated during the pregnancy of the mother and reunited after the first child was at least one year old. These families were compared with families in which there had been no separation from the father. Families were matched in socioeconomic status and age and sex of the children. A series of interviews was held with the fathers, and two semi-structured interviews were held with the mothers. The children were observed in social situations with their peers and adult leaders and in five projective-play situations. The child responded to his father by shy, withdrawing, unresponsive behavior, and the father's response was criticism of his child's behavior, especially in regard to dependence on his mother and his obedience of adults. The war-separated father was more concerned about the eating behavior, elimination behavior, and sleep routines of his child than the non-separated father. War-separated fathers had higher self-rejection scores than non-separated fathers, and they rejected their first born children, especially for traits about which in themselves they were ambivalent. The children of war-separated fathers had more fears of a serious nature and more overt expressions of tension than the children of non-separated fathers. Overtly, the children of war-separated fathers tended to be more aggressed against than aggressive. If the child was

aggressive, he was more hostile. Boys of war-separated fathers showed in projective tests that they felt emotionally more distant from fathers and were less conforming to father's standards. Girls of war-separated fathers were less distant and more conforming than the girls of non-separated fathers. Interpretations were (1) the child's refusal of his father's advances increased feelings of inadequacy in the young father; (2) harsh discipline was compensation for the father's sense of inadequacy; (3) because of an unusually close relationship with the mother, the child was less likely to accept his father and more likely to resent him as an interference in his relationship with his mother; (4) both father and child had high levels of anxiety, and both had developed hostile feelings of a passive, repressed nature; (5) according to Erikson's three basic personal tasks of infancy and early childhood (trust, autonomy, and initiative), these father-child relationships had interfered with the child's normal development.

Unmarried Fathers

Vincent (1960) investigated unmarried fathers and the mores. Data on 736 out-of-wedlock births were obtained through a Salvation Army Maternity Home, a county hospital, and physicians' private practices. The sample in this study was reduced to the sexual mates of 201 white unwed mothers who remained after several exclusions were made (no data on the father, mother married to another man, etc.). The data and interpretations were not held applicable to unmarried fathers who were non-white, or who impregnated Negro, divorced, widowed, married, or recidivous unwed mothers. The oldest males were found to be the sex partners mostly of older and college-educated unwed mothers; the youngest males were found to be sex

partners mostly of the youngest unwed mothers or of those who had not completed high school. Data failed to show any overwhelming or one-sided age and educational superiority of the unmarried fathers over the unmarried mothers. This tended to contradict the traditional view of the male as being somewhat superior or dominant in male-female relationships.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION

Many significant changes have occurred in the American family in the last thirty years. These changes include length of life, size and structure of the family, work and leisure activities, and social participation habits. The nature of these changes affected the roles of each member of the family (von Mering, 1959). The concept of fatherhood was the most rapidly changing aspect of modern family life (Mogey, 1957).

The present study was concerned with the changing role of the father, which is not as clearly defined now as in the past. In the past, besides loving his wife and children, he was expected to be the breadwinner, the disciplinarian, and the dominant voice in decision-making. Now he is expected to share all these functions with his wife and at the same time accept more responsibility for household tasks which formerly were the domain of the mother (Klineberg, 1957).

In one of the first studies done exclusively on fathers, Tasch (1952) reported that fathers were happy sharing responsibilities with their wives. The fathers regarded themselves as actively engaged in the daily care, discipline, and play of their children, but they found it difficult to find time to perform these new functions and activities. The main problem appeared to be in defining how much sharing was to be done and how it was to be accomplished (Klineberg, 1957).

The role of the father changes throughout the life cycle; therefore, the father, as well as the mother, must learn to shift his role as children grow older (von Mering, 1959). How well he does this depends on his capacity for integrating internal and external demands, and on his ability to satisfy the role that society requires of him as an adult and as a male (Milloy, 1957).

Perceptions of Roles

According to researchers, this role flux may have important and far-reaching effects on the development of children in the home. Klineberg (1957) stated that because of this change in the father role resulting in the lack of a precise definition of this role, it would appear that sons would have no clear model by which to pattern behavior. The expectation would seem to be that since fathers presently perform tasks which have been traditionally associated with women, their sons would not know what it is to be men. Ostrovsky (1959) believed that fathers were equally important to the healthy development of their daughters if they were to relate successfully to other people in society. Harris (1959) postulated that a positive father-daughter relationship represented the final point of the psycho-sexual maturation of the daughter. In the final stage of maturation, the daughter evidently repressed her sexual feelings toward her father, and these feelings were later transferred to another male at the time of dating, courtship, and marriage. Layman (1961) pointed out that research was lacking on the father-daughter relationship, and the effect of this relationship was considerably less clear than the effect of the father-son relationship.

Even at the preschool age boys and girls were aware of sex roles (Heller, 1959). Boys tended to identify with their fathers more than girls did with their mothers (Emmerich, 1959). Even though preschoolers perceived their parents as performing many tasks together, they labeled fathers as the economic provider (Finch, 1955), more powerful and more interfering (Emmerich, 1961), more punitive and hostile, and less nurturant than mother (Kagan et al., 1961). Hartley (1960) reported that children perceived their fathers, who were occupied with household tasks, as "helping" mothers, not supplanting them.

With increasing age, children used the power dimension to discriminate between parental roles, and assigned to the father the more powerful role (Emmerich, 1961). Fathers were still perceived as less nurturant, more dominant, and more punitive than mothers, but boys, six to eight years of age, were beginning to assign less punitiveness to fathers (Kagan et al., 1961). The researchers interpreted this as a sign of growing identification with fathers. Heilbrun (1964) reported children of college age still perceiving their mothers as more nurturant than fathers. The more masculine fathers were perceived as less nurturant.

Johannis (1957a, 1957b, 1958a, 1958b) and Johannis and Rollins (1959) investigated perception of roles by adolescents. Families seemed to be traditional with fathers making the majority of the decisions and the main income provider in nearly all the homes. A trend was seen in fathers doing more household tasks and being more concerned with the later socialization than with the early training of their children.

Perception of disciplinarian roles tended to be a function of order of birth, sex, and age of the child. Through most age levels, mother was

perceived to be the principal disciplinarian, but father was perceived as stricter and harsher (Aldous, 1961; Emmerich, 1961; Heilbrun, 1964; Kagan et al., 1961).

Data reported by Lefkowitz et al. (1963) and Jackson (1956) disputed the notion that fathers used harsher disciplinary techniques than mothers, although children perceived fathers as being the harsher disciplinarians. Both researchers interviewed parents instead of children, so the explanation for the dispute could be that the perception of fathers as harsher disciplinarians is a culturally derived notion or that parents tend to believe they are less harsh than they really are.

Not only was there conflict between children and their parents in perceptions of the parental role, but also between parents. When the self concept of the father did not coincide with the role expectancy of the mother, conflict resulted (Tasch, 1955). Mothers and their adolescent children had higher agreement on perceptions of parental roles than fathers and their adolescent children (Maxwell et al., 1961).

Most lower-class fathers were satisfied with their parental role, while middle-class fathers felt that parents needed to have greater understanding of and more patience with children, and to spend more time with their children. The role of the father was more sharply differentiated in the lower-class family than in the middle-class family (Kohn, 1959).

Briggs and Schulz (1955) reported that the majority of parents still agreed that fathers should be head of the household, but not that they be the main disciplinarian. Mormon families felt that fathers in their households were still head of the family (Christopherson, 1956).

One researcher, Dyer (1956a, 1956b) investigated perception of roles by studying job satisfaction of the father. Fathers correctly perceived the feelings of their wives and children concerning job satisfaction. Children, in turn, perceived whether their fathers were dissatisfied or satisfied with their jobs. Dissatisfaction of the fathers with their jobs tended to cause inter-familial conflicts.

Covert masculine identification appeared to be important for pre-adolescent boys, although it seemed necessary to reject identification with fathers overtly (Bronson, 1959). Children were more likely to identify with their like-sexed parents, if those parents accepted fully their own roles (Gray, 1959).

Successful identification of sons with their fathers seemed to depend upon (1) warmth of the father (Hoffman, 1961; Payne and Mussen, 1956), (2) the extent of participation of the father in childrearing activities (Payne and Mussen, 1956), (3) the closeness of the marital relationship (Hoffman, 1961; Farber, 1962), (4) the approval of fathers of sex-typed or sex-appropriate behavior (Heller, 1959).

Factors that seemed to block successful identification of sons with their fathers were (1) frequent use of physical punishment by the father (Hoffman, 1961; Lefkowitz *et al.*, 1963), (2) lack of warmth or acceptance by the father (Hoffman, 1961; Payne and Mussen, 1956), (3) absence of the father (Stolz, 1954; Leichy, 1960), (4) strain in the marital relationship (Hoffman, 1961; Farber, 1962), (5) dominant mothers (Hetherington *et al.*, 1963).

Identification of sons with their fathers tended to lead to (1) acceptance of masculine attitudes and needs (Bronson, 1959; Payne and

Mussen, 1956), (2) better peer adjustment (Gray, 1959; Payne and Mussen, 1956; Heller, 1955), (3) a choice of similar interests (Henderson, 1958), (4) indirect influence by the father on the choice of a career by the son (Steimel, 1963).

Perception of the parental role by the child changed as he grew older. As von Mering (1959) pointed out, parents must learn to shift their roles in order to meet new and changing functions and activities in family life. Consequently, the child will perceive the parental role differently as it changes. Conflict appeared when there was disagreement in perceptions of roles. This might occur when parents have not accepted fully their roles or successfully shifted their roles to meet the changing needs of their children.

Parental Personality Characteristics and Behaviors and Their Relationship to Child Characteristics and Behavior

Parental attitudes and personality traits and their relationship to child behavior are of great concern among researchers and professional persons in the field of child development. MacDonald (1963) pointed out the need for more research focused on the father, as very little had been devoted to the relationships between attitudes of the father toward child-rearing, personality traits of the father, and child behavior.

Anxiety

Anxiety scores of both boys and girls related more closely to anxiety scores of mothers than to scores of fathers. Consistent, positive relationships between anxiety scores of daughters and their mothers were

reported by Adams et al. (1963). Davidson et al. (1958) reported similar results, and postulated that this may be due to the fact that fathers spend less time with their children and tended to be less emotionally involved with their children. Our culture also makes it easier for girls to reveal their anxieties. Marcus et al. (1960) reported that fathers as well as mothers, of "accident prone" children tended to be more anxious, insecure, and nonassertive than parents of "normal" children.

Fathers who had been separated from their children during war time had high levels of anxiety, and their children exhibited more anxiety than children who had not been separated from their fathers. Both fathers and children appeared to have developed hostile feelings of a passive, repressed nature (Stolz, 1954).

Aggression

Two types of aggressive behavior, socially acceptable aggression and antisocial aggression, were studied by investigators. Their concern was attempting to determine what family interrelationships and child-rearing practices contribute to aggressive behavior.

Frequent use of punishment was related to power needs, development of hostility, and heightened autonomy striving in preschoolers. No direct relationship was found between discipline by the father and these child variables; therefore, Hoffman (1960) suggested that father might have an indirect effect through his interaction with the mother. Preschool children, both boys and girls, displayed more adult avoidance behavior when their parents had either high or low dominance attitude scores (Trapp, 1958).

Frequent punishment, both physical and nonphysical, led to more aggression displayed by elementary school children both at home and at school, no matter which parent was principally responsible for the punishment (Lefkowitz et al., 1963; Eron et al., 1963; Peterson et al., 1961). Other investigators (Hoffman, 1961; King and Henry, 1955) found that preadolescent and adolescent boys, who associated discipline more with fathers than with mothers, felt more anger toward their peers and authority figures at school and engaged in more outward display of this anger.

Walters (1957) found fathers of aggressive boys more rejecting of their sons, displaying less warmth, using more physical punishment, and being less warm in their marital relationships than fathers of boys who exhibited no anti-social aggressive behavior. This behavior appeared to derive primarily from a conflict in the area of dependency, that was especially related to the rejection and lack of warmth of the father (Lansky et al., 1961; Walters, 1957). Winder and Rau (1962) reported, in addition, that aggression of boys was associated with fathers who demonstrated affection, used high deprivation of privileges, and held high sex-role expectations.

In mother-dominant homes, boys tended to be more aggressive, impulsive, and unfriendly (Hoffman, 1961). Nagging was usually related to frequent severe punishment, and was used by rejecting parents. This resulted in the child rejecting the nagging parent (Ellis and Nye, 1959).

Hess et al. (1956) suggested further study to determine whether aggression patterns of children might be specifically related to aspects of parental personality other than parental aggression and discipline.

They reported that patterns of aggression, especially for boys, appeared to stem more from cultural patterns than from the influence of parental personality traits.

Using a different instrument on college students, research done by Itkin (1955) on dominant and submissive parental attitudes toward control of children showed only a slight relationship with attitudes of the students toward their parents. Children with favorable attitudes toward their parents tended to approve the supervision whether parents were dominant or submissive. Students who had unfavorable attitudes toward parents disapproved of the supervision and their parents and tended to label it dominant in every case. Research in this vein points up the greater importance of relationships and communication between parents and children over specific child-rearing techniques or labeled parental attitudes.

Achievement

Rosen (1959) studied the psychosocial origins of achievement motivation. He used boys only in his research, and reported fathers of high achieving boys were less rejecting, gave the sons more autonomy, and tended to be warmer than fathers of low achieving boys. Mothers of high achieving boys were more rejecting and gave the boys less autonomy than mothers of low achieving boys. When both boys and girls were used for subjects, Crandall et al. (1964) found many more significant relationships between attitudes and behaviors of parents and academic achievements of their daughters than between their attitudes and academic performances of their sons. Boys appeared to be more independent of adult reactions

than girls. High achieving girls were praised more by their fathers than low achieving girls.

Shaw and Dutton (1962) studied under-achievers, and found that parents were dissatisfied with children who were under-achievers. The results failed to point out whether they were dissatisfied because the child was an under-achiever or the dissatisfaction was the cause of the under-achievement.

Coleman (1958) reported in the family background of boys with reading disabilities dominant mothers who exerted pressure on boys to develop "strength," equating "strength" with academic achievement. Fathers in these homes seemed to be inadequate models for their children. On the other hand, MacDonald (1963) found no statistically significant differences in attitudes of parents of successful readers and parents of unsuccessful readers who took their children to a reading clinic. Fathers of unsuccessful readers in the clinic group differed from fathers of unsuccessful readers in the public schools in being more willing to allow children to express curiosity and to engage in outside experiences.

In longitudinal research on IQ scores of children and the correlation to parental educational levels, Kagan and Moss (1959) reported higher correlation between maternal level of education and the IQ scores of children than between paternal level of education and IQ scores of children. Honzik (1963) reported that the level of parental education correlated highly with the IQ score of the daughter at the age of three, but was not significantly related to the IQ score of the son until the age of five. Resemblance between parents and sons increased until the boys were

fourteen or fifteen years of age. Schmuck and Schmuck (1961) reported no relationship between the IQ score of the child and the level of education of the mother in their study of "upward mobile" families. Fathers with more than twelve years of formal education tended to have children with higher IQ scores.

Although there seemed to be no highly significant results in these studies concerning fathers, the trend indicated that fathers were important to achievement motivation and achievement patterns of their children. Rouman's (1956) results tended to bear this out. Academic failure was greatest in a group of children whose fathers were absent from the home. Rejection, whether the cause or result of under-achievement certainly plays a part.

Conduct and Personality Problems of Children

Peterson et al. (1961) and Becker et al. (1962) did extensive research on preschool children and their parents attempting to clarify certain associations between parental characteristics and personality and conduct problems of children. Their findings were (1) attitudes of fathers were as related to maladjustment tendencies of children as attitudes of mother, (2) parents tended to reveal similar attitudes, (3) general positivism or negativism of parental attitudes was critical in child adjustment.

When the same investigators (Peterson et al., 1961; Becker et al., 1962) used elementary school children as subjects, the same results were reported. In addition, fathers seemed to play a crucial part not only in

determining whether the children had problems or not, but also in determining the type of problems likely to develop. Personality problems were related to dictatorial attitudes and lack of concern among fathers and were largely independent of maternal attitudes. Conduct problems were related to maladjustment of mothers along with democratic attitudes and heightened feelings of concern among fathers.

Chence (1955) reported that children who had behavioral or personality problems tended to be rejected more by the mother than the father. Platt et al. (1962) stated that fathers of children with these problems tended to be more authoritarian than mothers, but they found no significant differences in the parental warmth scores. Liverant (1959) found fathers and mothers of disturbed children to be significantly more maladjusted than parents of non-disturbed children.

High dependency in children was associated with strictness, rejection, aggression or low self-esteem of fathers (Winder and Rau, 1960). Adolescents with autocratic parents who frequently explained their rules exhibited high dependency; infrequent explanation of rules by autocratic parents led to low self-confidence in the decision-making ability of the adolescents. (Elder, 1963).

Few significant differences were reported in attitudes of parents of asthmatic children and parents of non-asthmatic children (Fitzelle, 1959), parents of children with cleft palates and parents of children who were physically normal (Goodstein, 1960a, 1960b), or parents of leukemic children and parents of non-leukemic children (Murstein, 1960).

No clear picture emerged from the research on fathers of autistic or schizophrenic children. Descriptions included: (1) weak, immature, and

passive (Siegel, 1956); (2) perfectionistic, obsessive, and humorless (Eisenberg, 1957); (3) more disturbed than mothers; poor communication with children (Esman, 1959); (4) more direct expression of hostilities and more assertive (Block et al., 1958); and (5) insecure, paranoid, impervious to feelings and needs of others (Lidz et al., 1957).

Researchers agreed that fathers were important members of the family, both by direct influence on the children and indirectly through mothers. Many associations were found between personality traits, attitudes, and behaviors of the father and child behavior, so future research should give more consideration to the role of the father in child development.

Personality Traits Reflected in Children

Research was done to determine if personality traits are transmitted from parents to their children and to what extent. Hetherington and Brockbill (1963) studied the traits of obstinacy, orderliness, and parsimony. These personality trait scores of girls were predictable if the trait scores of mothers were known, but this did not hold true concerning scores of fathers. If mothers were dominant, boys were more likely to have personality traits like their mothers. If fathers were dominant, boys were more likely to be like the fathers. Bronson (1959) reported a high degree of similarity between the masculine behavior of fathers and sons. Relative flexibility-rigidity of children was positively related to this variable in their parents, but only to the combined scores of parents (Blum, 1959).

Father-Mother Relationships

The relationship between husband and wife was an important variable in the effects on the development of children in the family. A poor relationship inhibited the development of patterns of consistent child-rearing (Farber, 1962), affected peer group behavior of the children, interfered with identification of the child with the same-sex parent (Hoffman, 1961), affected academic achievement in that fathers of under-achievers tended to have more marital conflicts than fathers of achievers (Shaw and Dutton, 1962). Tasch (1955) found that parental goals for their children were often in dispute, and if these goals could be brought into harmony, some tension and friction could be reduced.

Boys with a history of aggressive-destructive behavior came from homes where there was less warmth in the marital relationships than boys who had no record of antisocial behavior (Walters, 1957). Higher gang delinquency was found among boys whose parents quarrelled, but remained together, than among boys whose fathers were absent (McCord and McCord, 1962).

A good father-mother relationship (high consensus and low role tension) indicated a good climate for consistent childrearing. The concept of the child of his own sense of self-worth seemed to be more a function of the quality of husband-wife interaction than parent-child interaction (Farber, 1959, 1962). Landis (1962) demonstrated that it takes two parents who have a good working relationship to best meet the needs of children. In questioning college students, he found that a close relationship with the father usually indicated a high type of family life, but a

close relationship with father was reported in happy marriages only. The socialization of the child appeared to be dependent upon a relationship involving three, not two people. Scores of parent-child relationships should be based on how the child feels toward both parents, rather than how he feels toward either parent separately.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Summary

This study was undertaken to review research published during the ten years from 1954 to 1964 concerning characteristics of fathers and father-child relationships. Writers in the field pointed to the changes which have occurred in the role of the father in the last thirty years. Presently, fathers seem to be more involved in the activities of children and in household tasks. They are less strict and more likely to share decision-making with other family members. The research reviewed suggested a trend in this direction, but underscored the stage as a transitional one in which families were moving away from traditional and toward more developmental structure and interaction.

Many father-child relationships that were concerned with the correlations of personality traits, behaviors, and attitudes of fathers to child behavior were reported. Due to the number of father-child relationships and to the fact that exploration in this area is a comparatively new emphasis in investigation, more research is necessary to evaluate the impact of these relationships upon child development. Research has pointed to the subtle influence of the husband-wife relationship and the total parent-child relationship on the interaction of fathers and children. The nature and extent of these influences must be further explored.

Warm and accepting fathers, who had good communication with their wives and their children, seemed to exert the most influence on the healthy development of children in the family. Boys were more likely to identify with this type of father, displayed more acceptable behavior, had better peer relationships, and had higher achievement motivation.

Personality and behavior problems of children were related to attitudes and behaviors of both fathers and mothers. Fathers were a direct influence on children as well as an indirect influence through interaction with mothers. Some researchers went so far as to state that fathers determined the type of problems that would develop in children. Personality problems were related to a dictatorial, rejecting father and were largely independent of maternal attitudes. Conduct problems were related to maladjusted mothers along with democratic, interested fathers.

Studies on fathers of mentally ill children failed to indicate any specific personality trait, attitude or behavior of fathers that would predict any certain trait, behavior, or attitude which contributed to the mental illness of the child. This research in addition to studies of parents of asthmatic children and handicapped children pointed out a need for a closer look at the specific role of each family member, the interactions of family members with each other, the community, and peer groups.

A well integrated marriage was considered important to normal development of children. A good relationship between the husband and wife tended to help the child have a greater sense of self-worth, better academic achievement, higher identification with same-sex parent, better peer group adjustment, and a closer relationship with the father.

Researchers pointed to the importance of investigations which dealt with the effect of parental personality characteristics and the effect of the marriage relationship upon the development of the child. Also underscored was the importance of the perception of the child of his parents as individuals and as a father-mother team.

Implications for Research

During the last decade there has been a tendency toward more research that focused on fathers, their attitudes, behaviors, and personality traits and their effects on child behavior. Each researcher pointed out the necessity for further research, because each study brought up new questions concerning the father-child relationship.

Blum's (1959) results on transmission of rigidity-flexibility traits from parents to children pointed up the need for further investigations to understand the effect of the father-mother pair on the growth and development of the child. His findings indicated this was a more important consideration than the influence of either parent alone. Hoffman (1960) concluded that studies should be designed to explain the antecedents of parent behavior stemming from the husband-wife interaction pattern.

Longitudinal research is needed on parent-child relations, shifting parental roles, and the impact of such shifts on children (Emmerich, 1961). Lansky (1964), after studying sex-role identification, stated that longitudinal approaches were needed that would elucidate the mutually interactive effects of parent-child relations in the development of identity.

King and Henry (1955) suggested that more research should be undertaken on the relationship between perception of discipline by children

and the actual amount and kind of discipline, and on how much the control of the father is still operative in the external world.

Further research is needed to clear up the specific role of the family in mental illness. The community and peer groups of the family members might be studied in an attempt to answer questions about causes of mental illness (Lantz,1958). Why does one child in a family become mentally ill while the rest of the children appear "normal?"

Much of the research concerning fathers has been based on information obtained from wives and children. A greater attempt should be made to obtain information from fathers first-hand. Does the father share more in his child's activities today than he did ten years ago when Tasch (1955) completed her study? How does he perceive himself as a father? How does the father really feel about his role?

Research on unmarried fathers is almost completely lacking. Vincent (1961) stated that although biologically the unmarried father is half the cause of illegitimacy, the ratio of studies of the unmarried father to studies of the unwed mothers is approximately one to twenty-five. This was partially explained by the mores which make the unmarried father a less important research subject. Too, unwed mothers were much easier to find as subjects. Pannor (1963) stated that studies on fathers of illegitimate children should parallel research on unmarried mothers. Studies should include (1) the extent to which the father is available for casework interviews; (2) the effect of casework on the mother and himself; and (3) the profile of the unmarried father indicating who he is, what he is like, and what his problems are.

Effects of father absence could be examined more fully. What about the families where the father is absent during the week and home on week-ends? Does this interfere with the healthy development of the child? Or is the quality of the interaction between parents and between parents and children more important than the quantity of the interaction? Some writers postulated that father absence caused by death of the father had greater effects upon the family than father absence caused by other factors. Research must be designed to point out the nature of these differences. Is father-absence a more healthy situation for the child than the presence of an "emotionally absent" father, or the preservation of a state of family conflict, subtle or overt?

More research needs to be done on the father-daughter relationship and the effects of this relationship on the attitudes and behavior of the daughter (Layman, 1961). What part does the father play in the successful identification of the daughter with the mother? Does over-identification with the father by the daughter affect her later relationships with other males and to what extent?

It seems to this writer that there is room for a great deal of investigation before there can be full understanding of the relationship between attitudes, behaviors, and personality traits of father to the growth and development of the child.

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A REVIEW OF SELECTED RESEARCH ON CHARACTERISTICS
OF FATHERS AND FATHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S REPORT

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This study was undertaken to review research published during the ten years from 1954 to 1964 concerning characteristics of fathers and father-child relationships. Writers in the field pointed to the changes which have occurred in the role of the father in the last thirty years. Presently, fathers seem to be more involved in the activities of children and in household tasks. They are less strict and are more likely to share decision-making with other family members. The research reviewed suggested a trend in this direction, but underscored the stage as a transitional one in which families were moving away from traditional and toward more developmental structure and interaction.

Warm and accepting fathers, who had good communication with their wives and their children, seemed to exert the most influence on the healthy development of children in the family. Boys were more likely to identify with this type of father, which led to more acceptable behavior, better peer relationships, and higher achievement motivation.

Personality and behavior problems of children were related to attitudes and behaviors of both fathers and mothers. Fathers were a direct influence on children as well as an indirect influence through interaction with mothers. Some researchers stated that fathers determined the type of problems that would develop in children. Personality problems were related to a dictatorial, rejecting father and were largely independent of maternal attitudes. Conduct problems were related to maladjusted mothers along with democratic, interested fathers.

Studies of fathers of mentally ill children failed to indicate any specific personality trait, attitude or behavior of fathers that would

predict any certain trait, behavior, or attitude which contributed to the mental illness of the child. This research pointed out a need for a closer look at the specific role of each family member, the interactions of family members with each other, the community, and peer groups.

A well integrated marriage was considered important to normal development of children. A good relationship between husband and wife tended to help the child have a greater sense of self-worth, better academic achievement, higher identification with the same-sex parent, better peer group adjustment, and a closer relationship with the father.

Researchers pointed to the importance of further investigation which would deal with the effect of paternal personality characteristics and the effect of the marriage relationship upon the development of the child. Also underscored was the importance of the child's perception of his parents as individuals and as a father-mother team.