

A STUDY OF AUTHORITY PATTERNS
IN PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS

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By

MARTHA SHARP SHARROCK

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THESIS AND ABSTRACT APPROVED:

Hazel L. Ingersoll
Thesis Adviser

James Hatters
Faculty Representative

Virginia Messenger Stapley
Head of Department

W. C. McIntosh
Dean of the Graduate School

283533

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Introductory Statement

Recent research done in Authority Patterns in the family,¹ and an interest in parent-child relationships prompted this study. It is assumed that various patterns in control relationships exist in families, and that the psychological atmospheres related to and resulting from these patterns are of great significance in the development of attitudes and behavioristic differences in personalities.² For the purpose of adding to existing descriptions of interpersonal authority relationships which describe actual family situations, a study of this kind seemed justified.

B. The Purposes of the Study

The purposes of the study were considered by the investigator to be those listed as follows:

1. To analyze and describe specific aspects of parent-child relations of thirty-one college freshmen girls.
 - a) To describe the control relationship of parent and child.
 - b) To describe the feeling tone that accompanies the control pattern..
 - c) To present the student's evaluation of the interpersonal relationship.

1 Hazel L. Ingersoll, "A Study of the Transmission of Authority Patterns in the Family," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 38 (1948), pp. 225-302.

2. Marian J. Radke, The Relation of Parental Authority to Children's Behavior and Attitudes, p. 1.

2. To describe the interaction between the various aspects of the interpersonal relationship in the families.
3. To indicate the relation of this interaction to the authority pattern.

C. Definition of Concepts and Terms Used in This Study

The term authority pattern¹ is one that needs definition and explanation so that its use in this study will be clear. The concept as it is used in this study is defined by Ingersoll.²

An authority pattern may be defined as (1) leadership or control relative to family activity, and (2) accomodation of interpersonal relationships involving dominance and submission.

Thus the authority of a family member is the control which he exercises over other family members or over spheres of family activity. He may exercise this control in a variety of ways, ranging from forceful or repressive means to control based on "respect, love, reverence, or some emotional acceptance by other members of the family of the dominant member's claim to power."³ This authority becomes a pattern when responses of family members to the person in control become organized in a fairly consistent manner.

1 H. B. Richardson, in Patients Have Families, p. 322, describes the authority relationships in the family in the following way: "The distribution of dominance or authority in the family can be viewed as a pattern (*italics mine*); dominance may be concentrated in one individual or distributed among several. Such distribution may take place in a variety of ways; through competition, through delegation of authority or by sharing of responsibility. The pattern of family authority may thus show analogies to government forms of autocracy, federation, democracy, or laissez-faire. The authority may be distributed among different persons according to the field in which it is exercised; economic support, household affairs, schooling, or specialization and division of labor."

2. Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 229.

3. Mirra Komarovsky, The Unemployed Man and His Family, pp. 9-10.

D. Basic Assumptions¹

1. That authority in the family takes various forms, ranging from auto-
cracy, through democracy, to laissez-faire.
2. That parent-child control relationships in a representative sample
would range from that of extreme parental dominance to that in which
little control exists.
3. That control may be exercised either overtly or covertly, and there-
fore must be studied in its psychological context as well as in its
behavioral manifestations.
4. That freshmen students in a family relationships class are able to
describe and evaluate the control patterns in their respective fami-
lies with sufficient reliability to provide data for this investigat-
ion.
5. That the data are valid inasmuch as they present the family relation-
ships as they appear to the student, this conception of the situation
forming the basis for behavior regardless of personal bias.
6. That it is possible through descriptive analysis of personal documents
to reach some generalizations with regard to the characteristics of
control patterns.

¹ These assumptions are similar to those made by Ingersoll, op. cit.,
p. 232.

CHAPTER II

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

A. Sources of Data

The data used in this study were obtained from personal documents written by college freshmen girls in the Home Life area of a Home Economics course at Oklahoma A. & M. College at Stillwater, Oklahoma. They were written as autobiographies according to a questionnaire-guide prepared by the investigator. The questionnaire-guide attempted to bring out background factors affecting the family, a retrospective account of interpersonal control relationships existing in the families from childhood, and both a description and an evaluation of the present parent-child relations.

The students wrote the autobiographies parallel to course work given over a period of one semester. The course was an introductory course in the study of personality, personal adjustment, and family relationships in which functional training is given for the purpose of developing insight into personal and family relationships.

Two sections of the course, consisting of a total of thirty-eight girls, participated in the study. One of these sections was taught by the investigator and the other by a fellow teacher. Although the students were allowed an opportunity to choose whether or not to participate in the study, all thirty-eight girls did so willingly. Seven cases, being incomplete or for other reasons not usable, were discarded leaving a total of thirty-one cases whose autobiographical material make up the sample used in this study.¹

1 In one case the grandmother assumed the mother role in the child's life in the absence of a working mother and the resulting relationship was atypical. In another case the confusion of the student regarding conflicting situations in her home and school life was sufficient that her autobiography was considered unreliable. In the third case the autobiography was incomplete.

B. Description of the Sample

No effort was made to select a representative sample. This was not considered necessary for a study which had as its purpose the analysis and description of whatever interpersonal relationships which could be depicted in the authority patterns in these families. The chief limitation used in the choice of autobiographies was that the student must have come from a family in which both parents are at present in the home. Four cases were eliminated because of this factor. Three additional cases were not used either because the information was not complete or because of unusual circumstances existing in the homes.¹

The sample necessarily consists of college freshmen girls, the majority of whom come from Oklahoma families. The ages of the parents range from 37 to 62, and the students ages range from 17 to 19, with a total of twenty-three students falling into the 18 year old group. The group appears to be a socially mobile one with the majority coming from middle class homes. Those few who come from the lower class homes appear to be striving for middle-class standards if we are to judge by the parents desire to educate their daughters.

Tables 1 and 2 show the educational achievement and the occupations of both the fathers and mothers.

It will be noted from the tables that the occupations of the fathers range from that of the day laborer to that of the professional. The education of the parents ranges from grade school through advanced college degrees, with approximately half the group having had a year or more college education. Eighteen parents have college degrees.

Twenty families live in rural communities or in small towns. The remain-

¹ See footnote on preceding page.

ing eleven families live in small or large cities. The majority of them own their own homes and have no adults other than the parents living in the homes. Most of the families are active in community affairs. They value their children and a happy home life, and want their children to be successful in school and to receive a college education. They also place high value on moral and religious behavior which is acceptable in their social group.

TABLE 1
FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION

	Grade School	High School	College	Total
	N	N	N	N
Professional			2	2
Business	2	2	4	8
White collar		5	3	8
Farmer and rancher	3	2	4	9
Skilled laborer			3	3
Day laborer		1		1

TABLE 2
MOTHER'S OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION

	Grade School	High School	College	Total
	N	N	N	N
Housewife	2	11	10	23
Professional			6	6
Business		1	1	2

C. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to a study of the authority patterns in the parent-

child relations of thirty-one college freshmen girls. The data include only the information given by these students in a family relationships class who wrote documents called autobiographies about the interpersonal relationships which centered around the authority pattern in their parent-child relations. (See Chapter II, A., Sources of Data) The classifications and descriptions of authority patterns produced from the autobiographical material may or may not be applicable to a like sample of American families in the present generation.

The limitations of the study are those which are common to all research using personal documents. Much of the information of necessity must be given through retrospect, and the possibility exists that it may reflect personal bias. The method makes complete objectivity difficult to achieve, as the results obtained depend largely on the interpretation of the investigator and the frame of reference within which he is working.

D. Reliability and Validity of the Data

The establishment of reliability and validity of research using personal documents is difficult to achieve. The attempts made by this investigator to overcome these difficulties and to justify the use of the method are explained in the following pages.

The validity of the method is questioned by some investigators on the basis of personal bias. This is not considered a limitation by Gordon Allport¹, Robert Angell, and others² who believe that one's "own story" exhibits his true attitudes which in function determine his response to a situation. Thus

1 Gordon W. Allport, "The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science", Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 49, 1942.

2 L. Gottschalk, C. Kluckhohn, and R. Angell, "The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology", Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 53, 1945.

the important consideration is not whether a situation as it is described exists in reality, but that we know to what conception of the situation the writer is reacting. Thus, if a student describes her parents as her "bosses" who make all decisions for her, she may or may not be describing the situation as it really is. However, when she adds that she fears her parent's displeasure and that she does not feel free to make a decision without their approval, it can be assumed that in function the situation is as she describes it.

Only one measure of the validity of the documental material was deemed possible for this study. A standardized test¹ of self-reliance was given. A comparison was made between the girls' self-evaluation of her emancipation from her parents and the score she received on the segment of the test which measures independent action. The comparison indicates that the students whose test scores fall in the upper quartile consider themselves both capable and free to make major decisions² for themselves. Of all the cases, the three in which independence is most marked throughout the autobiographies fall in this group. Comparisons of scores falling in the lower quartile with the girl's self evaluation of her emancipation show a similar consistency. For the six students who have the lowest scores of the sample all show marked dependence on parents. The other two cases in the lower quartile have scores on the borderline adjoining the second quartile. These students say that they feel

1 Leland Stott, "Every-Day Life", published by Sherridon Supply Co., Beverly Hills, Calif. (1941)

2 One student (No. 12) from the Autocratic group feels free to decide all things for herself except to leave school or to change churches. Over these two spheres of activity her father still holds control. The other (No. 33) comes from the Benevolent Autocratic group. She feels that she is capable of deciding for herself, but she will consult her parents. (In the investigator's opinion this is true inasmuch as she has accepted her parental expectations and can act accordingly).

capable of making decisions.¹ If we assume that because there is a positive relation between the scores on a standardized test of self-reliance and the documental reports, then we may assume some degree of validity and reliability for the students statements on the personal documents.

Two checks on the reliability of the data used in this study were made. First, the autobiography was written in four separate sections. Each section was completed and returned before another was assigned. A comparison between the information given in each of the four sections revealed consistency in what the students had said. Second, many questions were reworded and repeated in the different sections of the questionnaire-guide. Information given to all these likewise was consistent.

The chief justification for the use of the method lies in its applicability to the specific problems in family life research, problems which arise out of the complexity of family relationships. Thurrow and Ingersoll, recognizing these difficulties, justify the use of the method specifically in family life research on the basis of its applicability and productivity. Thurrow² writes:

It is not only methodologically possible but from a practical standpoint profitable to explore autobiographical material in an attempt to describe and explain some of the complex relationships in family life.

¹ Both these cases (No. 17 and No. 23) fall in the segment described in the Benevolent Autocratic group who experienced a sudden withdrawal of parental supervision at college age. Their parents expect them now to be capable of decision making. Although they say they feel capable of independent action, Case no. 17 writes that she experiences guilt feelings when she does things of which her parents disapprove and Case no. 23 writes that when she is at home she continues to accept parental limitations.

² Mildred B. Thurrow, A Study of Selected Factors in Family Life as Described in Autobiographies. p. 47.

Ingersoll writes:¹

... The method can be justified in terms of its productiveness. If the process leads to a useful analysis ... it is, in a sense, validated.

Allport² further justifies the use of personal documents on the basis that they yield insights, or tentative hypothesis. He writes:

But the value of personal documents does not stop here ... even from the nomothetic point of view the investigator can on the basis of multiple documents derive generalizations in a relatively inductive manner.

... Certain statements of tendency in human nature seem approximately true for every mortal, or for large groups of mortals. There is no reason why these tendencies cannot be traced through a comparative study of documents ...

In this study generalizations were drawn through the process of induction as the investigator sought to trace the common tendencies through the autobiographies. The reliability of this process may be questioned in that another reader may not arrive at the same outcomes as the investigator. To partially safeguard this, two checks of reliability were used. First, the advisor reading the autobiographies independently of the investigator agreed on the classifications with the exception of one case. Second, much of the data is included in the body of the manuscript. This provides opportunities for the reader to check the generalizations made by the investigator against the materials on which the basis of verification is claimed.³

The induction process for the purpose of classification of authority patterns and descriptions of the interpersonal relationships centering in these authority patterns yielded logical and consistent results. To this extent the

1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 234.

2 Allport, op. cit., p. 147.

3 L. Gottschalk, C. Kluckhahn, and R. Angell, op. cit., p. 228.

method can be justified. The results are considered valid, presumedly, if they meet the six criteria presented by the Social Science Research Council in 1938.¹

1. The investigator senses subjective certainty with regard to his results.
2. The cases present evidence which is in conformity with known facts.
3. The application of interpretative thinking, and mental problem-solving by the investigator results in logical or consistent generalizations.
4. The interpretation aids in making successful predictions.
5. Experts accept the conceptualization as valid; competent investigators come independently to the same conceptualization.
6. The parts of the interpretation are internally consistent.

Validity for the results of this study may be claimed on five of the six items. First, the investigator ends the experience convinced that the parent-child control relationship can be analyzed and described despite its complexity. Second, the results conform to well established concepts of authority relations, for example, the existence of various intrafamily authority patterns which can be differentiated and described.² Further it is known that various psychological atmospheres exist in intrafamily relations.³ This study has reaffirmed their presence. Further, it is accepted that certain reactions are associated with specific control patterns.⁴ The findings of this study confirm this.

1 Reviewed from Allport, op. cit., p. 170.

2 A.A. Baldwin, J. Kalhorn, and F.H. Breeze, "Patterns of Parent Behavior", Psychological Monographs, Vol. 58, No. 3 (1945) pp. 1-75.
 Bossard and Boll, op. cit. Ingersoll, op. cit.
 P. Symonds, The Psychology of Parent-Child Relations.

3 Baldwin, Kalhorn, and Breeze, op. cit. Bossard and Boll, op. cit.
 Radke, op. cit. P. Symonds, Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships.

4 Baldwin, Kalhorn, and Breeze, op. cit.
 R. G. Foster, "Types of Farm Families" (Thesis, Cornell Univ. 1929)
 Karen Horney, The Neurotic Personality of Our Time. Ingersoll, op. cit.

Third, the inductive approach used in this study resulted in both logical and consistent descriptions of interpersonal relationships which exist in the families studied. In relation to the fourth criterion, that of prediction, no claims are made. Since the sample is not representative and the procedure one of assessing and defining existing factors it is not considered that the degree of accuracy and precision necessary for prediction has been achieved.

Relative to the fifth criterion, the findings of this study are consistent with those found by Ingersoll.¹ There is consistency too, with the findings of Lippett and White² in that the majority of the classifications of authority used in this study and many of the descriptive characteristics of these patterns are like those they describe. Likewise the results are consistent in many specific instances with findings of other research workers. Consistency in the parts of the interpretation is also believed to exist.

The use of personal documents is also criticized for possible incompleteness of the data obtained. This objection was partially overcome in this study by the use of the questionnaire-guide. "The purpose of guides", according to Allport,³ "is to insure that omission from the document be based upon the subject's own judgement rather than upon his forgetfulness or negligence ...". The student was encouraged to use the guide as an aid so that it would not limit her account to questions and answers, but rather that it would serve the purpose discussed by Allport. Further, the use of the guide made for more efficient handling of the data.

1 Ingersoll, op. cit.

2 R. Lippett and R.K. White, "The 'Social Climate' of Children's Groups," Child Behavior and Development (ed. by Barker, Kounin, and Wright).

3 Allport, op. cit., p. 88.

E. Treatment of the Data

The classification and description of the data proceeded according to the following plan:

Each autobiography was read and the detailed material tabulated. The tabulation consisted of excerpts copied from the original manuscript. These were organized in columns under the following headings:

- a. Affectional relations.
- b. Control practices.
- c. Work responsibility.
- d. Family values.
- e. Student's reaction to and evaluation of the interpersonal relationships.
- f. Miscellaneous, including husband-wife relationship, and other aspects of the family interaction pattern not included elsewhere.

Each case was then considered as a whole. A brief summary of each case was made, after which an assessment of the degree of dominance evident in each case was made by the investigator.

The cases were then placed on a continuum ranging from the most extremely dominated case to the one considered to be least dominated.

The cases with like characteristics were then grouped together. Six such groupings resulted for which the following names were selected: Autocratic, "Pseudo"-Autocratic, Benevolent Autocratic, Democratic, Indulgent, and Laissez-faire.

A description of the various aspects of each authority pattern was written, including only the information which was considered significantly related to the authority pattern. An ideal-typical case selected from each group was included as an illustration of each pattern, and a summary of each classification was made.

The body of the thesis was complete with the classification, description, illustration and summary of each authority pattern. The findings were summarized and conclusions were made regarding their relation to the original purposes. Finally, implications for further study were suggested.

CHAPTER III

BODY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Classification and Naming of the Authority Patterns

Research and publications of Bossard and Boll,¹ and Ingersoll² were relied on chiefly in the first attempt to name and classify each individual case. Bossard and Boll present the following classification of affectional and control relationship in family situations under the headings, affectional relationships and subjectual relationships.³

"I. Affectional relationships

A. Excess of Affection

1. The Possessive Home
2. The Over-Solicitous Home
3. The Over-Indulgent Home

B. Normal Affection

1. The Companionable Home

C. Discrimination in Affection

1. The Divided Home
2. The Favored-Child Home
3. The "Impartial" Home

D. Inconsistency of Affection

1. The Bickering Home
2. The Unreliable Home

E. Displacement of Affection

1. The Home with a New Member

F. Lack of Affection

1. The Nagging Home
2. The Frigid Home
3. The Neglectful Home

G. Frank Rejection

1. The Home of the Unwanted Child

1 J.S. Bossard, and Eleanor S. Boll, Family Situations.

2 Ingersoll, op. cit.

3 Bossard and Boll, op. cit., p. lll.

II. Subjectual Relationships

A. Repression

1. The Mother-Controlled Home
2. The Father-Dominated Home
3. The Overly-Demanding Home

B. Anarchy

1. The Child-Dictated Home

C. Confusion

1. The Home with Too Many Bosses

D. Approaching Balance

1. The Democratic Home"

Ingersoll¹ contributed descriptive analysis of five classifications of parent-child relations. These were Democratic, Autocratic, Inconsistent, Indulgent, and Laissez-faire. Working within this frame of reference the investigator classified each case separately both in affectional and subjectual relationships. Following this classification, the cases were placed on a continuum, which ranged from the case most dominated to the case considered to be least submissive to parents. (See p. 20.)

The grouping of cases with like characteristics resulted in six classifications which are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SAMPLE

Classification	No.
A. Autocratic	6
B. "Pseudo"-Autocratic	4
C. Benevolent Autocratic	13
D. Democratic	4
E. Indulgent	3
F. <u>Laissez-faire</u>	1
Total	31

1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 239.

In detecting and naming the democratic families of the sample, concepts presented by Bossard and Boll, Folsom and Ingersoll were used. The former say:¹

Many ... family situations show a subjectual relationship which is neither parent-dominated nor child-dictated. Their's is a relationship of continuous adjustment and readjustment of dominance and submission which results in some families in a near-equality of authority.

Folsom presents the following discussion concerning the operation of democracy in parent-child relationships:²

Democracy does not mean laissez-faire. It does not mean the absence of all discipline and all punishment. It means that obedience is valued only when a necessary means, and not as an end. It means that parents --- are not to impose ends or values by authority, except the value of freedom itself. A democratic group must have social control within itself in order to preserve its democracy, for laissez-faire or anarchy eventually lead to the seizing of power by the strong and the imposition of an authoritarian regime.

This social control may make use of explanation, suggestion, rewards, or even punishments where other means do not avail. But these controls are used for the aim of freedom ... The parent must, of course, do some of the thinking for younger children, but in so doing the democratic parent will represent, in a sense, their future mature selves, and also their present conscious interests so far as not clearly incompatible with their future welfare.

Ingersoll,³ in classifying the democratic families in her sample, considered the following:

If there were evidence of consideration for the children's interests together with (1) allowance for the child's increasing self-direction and responsibility for family work, (2) liberty for him to mature and to become independent of the family, (3) acceptance of, and provision for, his participation in family planning and decision-making, and (4) adherence to a policy of justice with regard to discipline, the family was classified as Democratic.

In grouping and naming cases falling below the point on the continuum

1 Bossard and Boll, op. cit., p. 150

2 J.K. Folsom, The Family and Democratic Society, p. 350.

3 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 237.

which separated the democratic cases from those considered parent dominated, concepts presented by Ingersoll, and Lippett and White¹ were used. In addition to the group of cases recognized as Autocratic, two other groups appeared. One of these appeared to fit the description of the Benevolent Autocrat, described thus by Bradford and Lippett, thus:²

The benevolent autocrat ... trades benevolence for loyalty. The crux of his autocracy lies in the technique by which he secures dependence upon himself. He says, with a pat on the back, "That's the way I like it ... I am glad you did it that way ... that's the way I want it done," or "That isn't the way I told you to do it ... you are not doing it the way I want it." In this way he dominates employees by making himself the source of all standards of production. Any failure to live up to these standards he receives with hurt surprise and intense anger as personal disloyalty to him.

For the other group the name "Pseudo"-Autocratic was selected because, although the control in these families at first appeared autocratic, in reality the domination seems to be accomplished by erratic behavior on the part of the mother.³

In the cases falling on the continuum above the point which separated the democratic cases from those considered less parent dominated differences appeared also. The one case which seems most extreme in its lack of parental control was called Laissez-faire. The cases falling between that and the democratic cases appear to represent a type of control which is child-centered, but in which parental leadership in the control pattern is maintained. This group was called Indulgent.

1 In "The 'Social Climate' of Children's Groups", loc. cit., Lippitt and White describe a group which is submissive in reaction to autocratic control. In a later publication, "Building a Democratic Work Group", Personnel, Vol. 22, No. 3, L. P. Bradford and R. Lippitt describe the leader of such a group and call him the Benevolent Autocrat.

2 L.P. Bradford, and R. Lippitt, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

3 The data in this study do not explain the absence from the sample of the mother-controlled families described by Ingersoll, op. cit., pp. 287-288, and Bossard and Boll, op. cit., pp. 142-143. The investigator suggests the possibility that this group perhaps approximates the mother-controlled family in a segment of the culture in which male dominance remains a culturally accepted pattern.

The continuum showing the order, number, and range of authority patterns is presented in Table 4.

B. Analysis of Data

1. The Autocratic Pattern in Parent-Child Relations N = 6¹

a. General

Ranging nearest the end of the continuum are these cases in which the autocratic control pattern is most pronounced. In all these cases the father is in control of the children, either directly or through his wife.² He is considered the "head" of the family by both his wife and his children. He sets family policies, makes major decisions, and expects the interests of other family members to be subordinated to his. He considers it his right to have his wants catered to and his demands met.

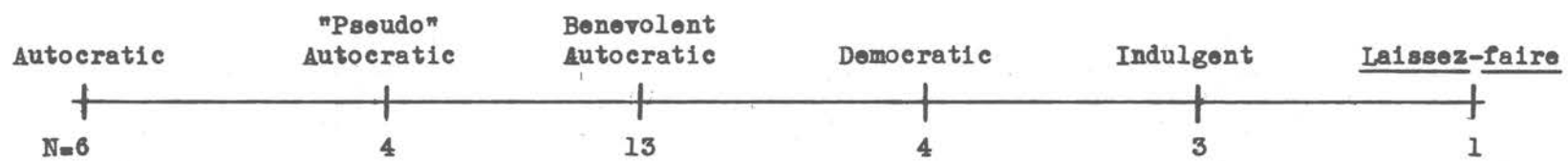
Although in occasional instances decision-making is shared with his wife, his supremacy in the control relationship appears never to be questioned. He often "lays down the law" to family members and expects their submission to him.

In every case the mother makes the major adjustment in the husband-wife relationship. Any help which she gives her husband is that which he does not realize he is getting. She is described as being more "sensitive" to the wants and needs of other family members; she often gives up her own desires or pleasures to "keep peace in the family." Her adjustment to the husband may be accomplished in various ways. In some cases she seems to "sense" his

1 "N" refers to the number of cases in this class, which in this case is 6.

2 It is not clear why the sample contained no mother-dominated autocratic families as described by Bossard and Boll, op. cit., pp. 142-143, and Ingersoll, op. cit., pp. 287-288.

TABLE 4
CONTINUUM SHOWING THE ORDER, NUMBER AND RANGE
OF AUTHORITY PATTERNS



feelings and "fall into his way of thinking",¹ changing her point of view until it is acceptable to him. Usually she accepts his decisions without comment, although she in some instances merely pretends to accept them, later either circumventing his demands in devious ways, or using subtle means to influence him to change his decision.

In two cases, however, the wife's reaction to him is more direct. In those instances when she disagrees with him, she conflicts with him directly, stating her views and sometimes modifying his demands.

In every case the father is satisfied with the way he has played his roles, and considers that he is not at fault when things go wrong. He expects other family members to adjust to his likes and dislikes, his moods, and his tempers. His presence in the home makes such adjustments necessary. Fear of his temper outbursts create an atmosphere of tension and uneasiness, in which family members feel restrained and uncomfortable.

This description of the autocratic pattern is documented by the use of quotations from the cases in the sections which follow.

b. Control practices

Even though the mother is expected to carry out the policies and is perhaps allowed to make the minor decisions, the father makes all major decisions regarding the children.² In every case it appears that the mother makes the necessary adjustments to preserve some degree of unity.³ The students write:

1 Quoted from Case no. 12.

2 These findings support the findings of Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 291: "The husband ... leads in decision making and his word is taken for granted as law."

3 Ibid., p. 291: "... the wife ... makes the major adjustments in the marriage."

One thing I couldn't understand is that he always had the responsibility of giving us the do's and don'ts on everything, and it was mother who was then supposed to take care of us. (Case no. 26)

The only help that I know she (mother) gave him in making decisions is the help that he did not realize he was getting. (Case no. 12)

I think that mother made most of the minor decisions about the children with father helping with the major ones ... He would often "lay down the law" during major difficulties or disagreements and usually ignored the minor ones. (Case no. 41)

The mother's adjustment to the father's control varies from acceptance through circumvention to outward opposition. She often serves as a "balance wheel" and a "go-between" between the father and the children. Even though she supports and attempts to enforce the father's policies, she also serves to intercede for the child, thereby influencing the father.¹ As the students tell it:

To all these decisions my mother adjusted herself and never made a complaint. (She) senses my father's feelings the greatest part of the time and falls into his way of thinking ... If she did not think as my father did, she would change her ideas until they fitted in with his ... When my father expressed an opinion, my mother agreed with him. If I were thinking about college, and my father said that I should go four years, my mother would agree, even if she had previously stated when she and I were alone that two years was enough ... As long as I can remember it has been my mother who has made the sacrifices in our family. ... nearly always gave up ... to keep peace ... (Case no. 12)

She continues:

When we wanted something and felt that we should consult our parents, it was always mother that we went to first. She would talk it over with us and many times with our father before we did. (Case no. 12)

As to "giving in", mother would sometimes pretend to, but I can remember cases where she would later, in a subtle way, get what she wanted ... Father usually had his way, except when mother took my side and then we would win the argument. She would talk to father for me and I would

1 These findings support those made by Ingersoll, *ibid.*, p. 291: "This rigidity of the husband is often partially circumvented or softened by the wife in her attempts to carry out the demands of her husband concerning the control of the children. But, basically, she supports his policy ..."

stay completely out of it. She is more or less the balancing wheel ... between my father and me when we disagree. (Case no. 41)

Daddy usually laid down the law but mother had some say so about it. If she didn't like his decision she usually told him so and then they would discuss the pros and cons and convince one or the other which was right ... they would have a battle of words until one was convinced or gave up. (Case no. 36)

Expectations held for the children are rigid and restrictive. The chief value held by the father appears to be that his children obey.¹ Interests of the children are subordinated to those of adults. Punishment is given when the child fails to meet parental expectations. The students write:

Boy, you certainly can't say there are no rules in my family because daddy was brought up in a strict family so he thinks I should be. (Case no. 36)

He (father) would often "lay down the law" ... sometimes we come to a complete deadlock. But his authority usually broke up the argument. I was always sure of what I was supposed to do ... (Case no. 41)

When I was younger it was expected that I follow orders ... I was punished ... as they thought I needed it ... for any kind of forbidden mischief, the use of any "bad" words, or for talking back to either of my parents ... As I grew older the things I was most likely to be punished for were failure to do the work around the house that I was supposed to do and staying out too late. (Case no. 12)

Consequences for disobeying the demands of the father differ. He uses force, shame, scolding, and other forms of punishment apparently aimed at forcing, molding, and coercing the child into compliance.² Punishment is usually fixed and given by the father. In the students words:

I was punished once for sitting outside the house when I was to be in with my brother who was asleep. My father came home and spanked me all the way up the stairs, and threw me on my bed, and spanked me some

1 Ibid., p. 291: "The husband sets high standards of conduct for his children and expects unquestioning obedience." P.M. Symonds, in The Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships, Ch. 5, pp. 77-83, discusses parental overauthority and overstrictness.

2 This supports the findings of Ingersoll who writes: "Negative Controls are a common practice." Op. cit., p. 291.

more. I also got spanked for not making my bed as soon as I got up, going out to play instead of helping with the dishes and not doing things when first told to. (Case no. 39)

I used to get plenty of spankings. They used to punish me for sucking my thumb and chewing my fingernails. I still chew my nails and I got embarrassed by my parents and immediate friends in hopes that it will break me. (Case no. 38)

When I tried to talk things out and if they didn't wish to discuss it, father just told me to be quiet and I would get punished if I didn't mind him. I got punished a lot ... This punishment consisted of either stopping my allowance for a certain time or taking away some of my privileges ... I sucked my thumb until I was nine years old and mother and father tried everything to get me to stop. They tried to shame me, threaten me, and finally they bribed me, which accomplished results. (Case no. 41)

My parents disciplined me during childhood and adolescence by just giving lectures and telling me what they expected of me ... We were given a smile and kind word for reward ... and for all "A's" we got a savings bond. (Case no. 26)

Two apparent motives for the father's behavior are evident. First, he seems to expect that his demands will be met simply because he is in the position of authority. It would appear that he accepts this position as his "natural" right, and expects other family members to do likewise. He expects his children to "follow orders." His children hesitate to "suggest or criticize." Talking back and arguments are "practically taboo."¹ He often demands obedience for his own convenience and seldom explains why he makes his demands.

In two cases, however, the motives of the father appear to extend beyond these. He not only expects the children to obey without question; he also attempts to live through his children for extension of his own ego.² He makes the children feel guilty when they do not do him credit. In these cases, he

1 Quoted from Case no. 12. Additional quotations supporting this statement are found under heading "Emotional tone", p. 26.

2 P.M. Symonds, in The Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships, presents a detailed discussion of projection of parental ambitions, Ch. 6, pp. 84-88.

demands high grades, high honors, the absolute "best" in everything. He feels it his privilege to demand performances of the children, to "show them off."

The following is an example:

I always had the habit of getting scared when I would say pieces in front of people and would cry to get out of saying it. So once my mother and father had company and wanted me to say a piece. I was scared and couldn't think of the piece so I began to cry. My father immediately spanked me and told me to say the piece. The more I would tell him I couldn't remember it the more he would spank me. After about five good spankings I said the piece. (Case no. 38)

If the children disappoint the parents the failure is taken as a personal affront. Writes one student:

They just acted hurt and that made me feel guilty ... they didn't seem very happy except when we did something to please them ... Somehow I feel that my father is trying to live through me, what he did not have as a child. (Case no. 26)

In these cases, the fathers have well-defined goals for their daughters and are persistently pushing them to fulfill their expectations.¹ One writes:

My parents both agreed on what they expected me to do. Like coming to college. They both agreed that I should and they both agreed on the place and also the school I should enter into ... they pushed me into joining a sorority ... Before I started to school here I thought very much about enrolling at O.C.U. and take up missionary work but my parents were not too happy about that because they had planned otherwise. (Case no. 38)

c. Emotional tone

The atmosphere of the home is often tense and uneasy.² Fear of the father's disapproval creates feelings of discomfort and tension which make

1 In some respects these fathers resemble the extreme autocratic father described by Ingersoll: "He sets up adult standards for his children that suit his ends and represses them into docile submission ... He apparently hopes to run their life as long as he can." Op. cit., p. 292.

2 R.G. Foster, op. cit., pp. 122, found that in male dominated homes, "There is more or less internal conflict or tension."

a free, relaxed atmosphere difficult to attain.¹ These tensions are voiced by the students:

The atmosphere of my home as I was growing up depended for the most part on what moods the family was in. Most of the time it was easy going, but when one of us children had done something that called for punishment, or when my father had his temper raised, the atmosphere was always tense ... Father is a very quiet man, and at the first of their marriage my mother found it very hard to get used to being quiet enough to suit him ... We are a very quiet one (family) when my father is around. It seems almost as if we were afraid to talk around him ... (Case no. 12)

... too often there is a definite tenseness in the air. This happens when one member of the family gets rather angry with another and there are many occasions such as this ... Wrong doings are seldom worked out peaceably. (Case no. 41)

When daddy feels depressed and cross the whole family has to suffer from his crossness. (Case no. 36)

The autocratic home is marked by the absence of physical expressions of affection within the family group.² Typical student comments are these:

Affection? There was little affection shown in my family as I was growing up because there wasn't time. (Case no. 26)

When I was about six years old, that was the last time I remember any affection being shown toward me. I was no longer kissed good night. (Case no. 39)

Prominent affection has never had a place in my home. We do not kiss each other hello or goodbye except after long absences. And this "long absence" does not even apply to me now that I am away in school ... there still is no physical affection displayed between the members of my family and me. (Case no. 41)

In favoring some children, the father discriminates against others.

This is felt keenly by all family members and results in cleavages in af-

1 Ingersoll, *op. cit.*, p. 292, found this fear of the father's temper in the extreme autocratic father-controlled home.

2 *Ibid.*, Ingersoll writes concerning the severe type of father-control, "There is little or no affection expressed toward each other by either of the (marriage) partners." p. 292.

fection.¹ In every case, preference for one parent is expressed. With the exception of one case, all the students feel closer to and prefer their mother.² Perhaps because she senses his favoritism, she acts as peace-maker, or go-between,³ and sometimes circumvents or softens the father's authority hoping to compensate for his lack of affection for certain of the children. The student's write:

I have always been closer to my mother ... I favored my mother more than my father, because my father and I were too much alike to get along. He was always tired and little things I would do would bother him. Mother was a peace-maker between father and me. (Case no. 39)

I have always favored my mother even though I loved my daddy as much. He sometimes wouldn't let me tell my side of the story or explain things. He thought that no one could be right but him ... I always supported mother during a family argument because she was usually right, or if J— (brother) was in on it, I always took up for him. (Case no. 36)

My mother was much closer (to the children) than my father, and she acted as a go-between for us ... He (father) has always favored me and showed it by giving me more of his treasured affection. However, I favored my mother. I could see my father's love for me, but still I favored my mother.

My father took pride in my brother and his activities, but never showed any of his pride when my brother was around. He always treated me the best, since my sister's temperament was too much like his for them to get along. My mother always sided with my brother, and made up the affection and pride my father kept hidden. As my brother grew to manhood, he and my father grew closer, until now my brother is the preferred one of my father. (Case no. 12)

I believe my little sister was my father's favorite when she was younger, but now he favors me. I favored my father until lately, and I still do to a lesser degree. I imagine that this was an effort on my part to

1 Ingersoll found in mother-controlled autocratic homes: "The affectional attachments are split, the father favoring some children and the mother others. There is favoritism for, and discrimination against, certain children in the family." Op. cit., p. 287.

2 Foster, op. cit., p. 122, writes, "There is unequal attachment of children to parents."

3 These quotations show the interrelation of the affection and control practices.

receive some of the attention that was given my younger sister ... Sometimes I would get angry and this desire to please my father would reverse itself and I would do everything to displease him. Then the tenseness would settle over the house, for when father and I had a "fight", it was up to us to settle it, because neither of us would accept help or advice from anyone else. (Case no. 41)

d. Students' evaluation of the parent-child relation

The students' reactions to father domination differ sharply, and have this one thing in common.¹ In every case the child finds ways of getting around the parental control, using temper tantrums, crying, pouting, "fast talking", and doing things to please the parents as a means of partially or entirely circumventing his authority.

Illustrations of these follow:

When I was young, I never felt it important to please my parents, except when I was getting ready to ask for something special, and then I would do everything to please them. Tantrums sometimes worked ... When I got my way against their will it was usually when I would use examples of my friends or I would convince them that it was their idea in the first place. The best way to get around my father now is to get mother on my side. (Case no. 41)

Occasionally I can "get around" both to get my own way. To do this I have to do some smart talking ... without giving them time to see why I shouldn't have it. (Case no. 12)

I have learned how to work my daddy so that I can have my way about half the time, but when I was small I never could. (Case no. 36)

In three cases, rebellion on the part of the child creates conflict strong enough to force an adjustment between parent and child. One writes:

I became defiant toward my father because he showed no love for me and was always spanking me. (Case no. 39)

¹ The findings here support Ingersoll's statement that children in father-controlled homes, "may rebel ... or become over-dependent." *Op. cit.*, p. 291. Similarly, Horney, in *Neurosis and Human Growth*, suggests that a child who is experiencing adverse influences "may try to cling to the most powerful person around him" or "he may try to rebel and fight ..." p. 19.

Another writes:

I was more or less a "problem child" and many times they threw up their hands in despair, so I made my own decisions quite a bit of the time while I was growing up. For instance ... they wanted me to be a Camp Fire girl in junior high, and I didn't want to ... After many bitter arguments, threats, and persuadings, they decided I didn't have to be a Camp Fire girl. I was really the one who decided ... It was smart of them to finally give up and let me be independent, because our home life has been much happier since they did. (Case no. 41)

In two cases, the students are apparently completely submissive, doing what the parents want them to do regardless of their personal wishes.¹ In one case, the mother and daughter together were able to adjust to the father, using open conflict and "working" father to settle differences.

In every case the student suggests changes which she will make in her own home. One writes:

When I have children I am going to try to recall how I would feel at their age and try to see their viewpoints. I am going to treat them as equals as often as I can. Too often my parents made me feel inferior. (Case no. 41)

When I have a family... I intend to have my children feel closer to my husband and me than I have to my parents. I now regard my parents with respect and feel that they are not always wise in many ways. (Case no. 12)

... I don't want my husband to be so stubborn that he won't listen to them (children). (Case no. 36)

I think when I have a family that I will try to make them a little more independent than my parents have me ... (this) has held me back because I can not make my decisions very well ... I have been pushed all my life and I rely on that. (Case no. 38)

1 This study does not support Symonds belief that the "principal characteristic of children whose parents are overstrict is submissiveness. ... there are some who would question this and would maintain that children of overauthoritative parents tend to be rebellious. The confusion here perhaps is between behavior and fantasy. It may happen that sometimes a child of overstrict parents may tend to feel rebellious, but even this is not the general rule: for it is typical for children of overstrict parents to repress hostile impulses and to be amenable to discipline." The Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships, p. 79.

Illustration, Autocratic pattern, Case no. 26

Mr. S., a business man, appears to be an ambitious, overly demanding father. His education includes two years college work; he is of the Indian race.¹

Mrs. S., a high school graduate, is of Irish descent. She has never worked outside her home.

Mr. S. appears to be extremely anxious concerning his social status, as his values and ambitions indicate constant striving to maintain or increase his status. To do this he maintains the "best" house in town. He demands perfection of his children.

In the S. family, Mr. S. makes all decisions including jobs, houses the family lives in, new purchases for the house, spending and saving, entertainment and church membership and attendance. Mrs. S. accepts his decisions quietly and supports them. The children learned early that he was in control. The student writes:

My father was away from home until late at night, and still is, so I really don't know my father very well. One thing I couldn't understand is that he always had the responsibility of giving us the do's and don'ts on everything, and it was mother who was then supposed to care for us. This situation stayed the same as we grew older. My father, as "head" of the family, never had to lay "down the law" because everything he said we did without waiting to be told again. Even if we don't agree with what he says we never tell him.

Mr. S. is satisfied with himself. He feels he has done a good job as father, husband, provider, and community citizen and if anything goes wrong in either case it is not his fault.²

1 In this respect the case is not typical of this sample, but Indians and mixed marriages are fairly common in Oklahoma.

2 This was also true in Ingersoll's father-controlled group. Op. cit., p. 291.

Mr. and Mrs. S. have not been happy together but have stayed together "because of the children".¹ Mr. S. is seldom home, even for meals, and when he is there "everyone feels uncomfortable" and there seems to be a "line drawn" between the father and the rest of the family.

Mrs. S. feels that as a mother and homemaker she has excelled and as a wife she has done her best. Her community activities have come after her children as she considered it her duty to be at home with them.

Concerning their expectations for and discipline of the children, Mr. and Mrs. S. stick together although otherwise they speak only when necessary. They discuss the affairs of the children "in private" while the children are away at school. Their expectations are extremely high and rigid. Concerning these the student writes:

They always have our lives mapped out for us and we always do it. They always expect too much of us. We are always supposed to do the right thing, no matter what.

I felt that my parents expected me to succeed, no matter what the cost ... they felt I should have the best part in the plays, always the winner in contests, and make the best grades of anyone else.

Neither parent wants to see the children grow up. The student feels that she is still considered one of their babies. She writes:

The thing that would upset them most now would be for me to get married. I really think it would please them for all of us to be "old maids". They want us to be great career women.

With the parents, the children are expected to conform. The student says:

I was trained to obey without question, although it was a little different with my mother. I could explain my point of view.

¹ In this respect the case is not typical; the other families of this class did not give evidence of marital discord.

Mistakes are considered "an admission of failure". When these occur the parents are "hurt" because their children are supposed to be perfect and never make mistakes.

Mr. S. uses various methods to assure obedience of the children. The student writes:

While I was in high school they were very particular that I was home by 11:00. One night I didn't get home until 11:30. He (father) told me how unruly I was getting and I couldn't have any dates the next week. I never did get to tell him why I was late.

When I was younger I felt that it was important to please my parents because they didn't seem very happy except when we did something to please them ... such as report cards. That was an important day for my father. Everyone had to make all A's. This situation has remained the same as I have grown older.

For approved behavior we were given a smile and kind word for reward ... and for all A's we got a savings bond.

The student feels that the home atmosphere as she was growing up was very tense. She says,

There was little affection shown in my family while I was growing up because there wasn't time. The only demonstration of love in our family was that we always made big occasions of birthdays and Christmas.

Although there was no family member who could be considered the favorite¹ of others, the student felt that she and her sisters were "very close and always were happy just being together." However, she writes:

I do favor one parent. Why? I guess because I wasn't afraid of her and her expectations of me. I didn't attempt in any way to especially please her, but I did talk to her more and in that way I think she knew. The favoritism stays the same, even as I grow older.

¹ The favoritism in this case is expressed for the mother. The affectual cleavage appears to result in the sisters' close unity to protect themselves from the father's harshness. The father's absence from the home may partially account for the lack of evidences of discrimination. However, there is no evidence that either parent favored a certain child. In this respect the case is atypical.

The student remembers her childhood as being neither happy nor unhappy ... just "in-between". She considers herself cooperative, as she "never questioned their authority".

Her usual reaction, when she and her parents disagreed, was to "keep quiet". She writes:

I didn't do anything ... except accept the fact as calmly as I could. ... I felt that my parents were too possessive and that they should let me make a few decisions of my own ... I sometimes felt that if I ever left home I would never return, but I did.

In regard to her own family, the student does not wish to reenact the parental role as she has seen it. She writes:

When I have a family I will not raise them as I have been reared, because I want there to be a warmth of love that was missing in my family. I love my parents very much but I feel I could have been saved many disappointments if they had not been so strict and expected so very much from me.

Although she feels free to decide on her clothes, course work, and friends the student writes:

Not on your life could I leave school. I would never be free to become engaged or married because it would hurt my father very badly. Somehow I feel that my father is trying to live through me, what he did not have as a child.

She considers herself immature. She says she depends on her parents to give her a "feeling of security". Her basic values, morals, and religion are the same as her parents because "they were powerful in drilling them into" her.

Summary-description of the Autocratic pattern in parent-child relations

Clustering near the end of the continuum are the cases which are considered to be autocratic in their control relationships. In all cases the father is considered to be the family "head" whose right it is to be master of his family.

Submission of all family members is expected. In these cases it is necessary for the wife to make the major adjustment in the marriage relation-

ship, only influencing her husband indirectly, if at all.

The father is satisfied with himself and considers it not his fault if things go wrong. He expects other family members to adjust to his moods, using his temper as a means of control. Fear of him creates feelings of tension and uneasiness, resulting in evidences of discomfort and restraint in family members when they are in his presence.

The mother, allowed sometimes to make minor decisions concerning the children, is expected to enforce and support policies decided by her husband. This she usually does, often serving as a "go-between" or "balance wheel" between her husband and the children. She, in some cases, intercedes for the children, subtly influencing her husband to decide in favor of their needs and desires.

The father's expectations for the children are rigid and restrictive. They are well defined and always understood by the students. Since the children's interests are considered subordinate to those of the father, he outlines goals for them and attempts to see that they are accepted and achieved.

Two motives are suggested for the father's behavior. First, it appears that he expects to dominate simply because he considers himself in the position of the authoritarian whose right to control is accepted. Second, in some cases the father's need for domination appears to include also a need for ego-extension, a process through which he hopes to gain personal satisfaction.

Restrictive punishments, including physical punishment, lecturing, scolding, and withdrawing approval are used to assure the obedience of the children.

Little, if any, physical expression of affection is found in these families. The father's favoritism for certain family members results in cleavages in affection. The students usually prefer their mother, who is much closer to the children than the father. Her role becomes one of peace-maker, who sometimes circum-

vents or softens the father's authority and thereby compensates for his lack of affection for the children.

The student's reaction to the parental control practices differ, having only one thing in common. In every case the student has discovered and uses ways to get around her father's control. To do this she uses tantrums, crying, pouting, and "fast talking". Pleasing her father also brings her special privileges.

In three cases a strong rebellion has occurred, forcing an adjustment between the father and the students. Two students have remained completely submissive to him. The remaining student has, in the process of adjustment, discovered ways of getting around her father, with her mother's help, so that the situation is at least partially satisfactory to her.

2. The "Pseudo"-Autocratic¹ Pattern in Parent-Child Relations N = 4

a. General

Within the group of cases ranging on the continuum below the point which separates the Autocratic from the Democratic cases in a grouping which, although definitely autocratic, consistently differs from the remainder of the cases. This group is identified by a distinctive differences between the mother and father's treatment of the child.

Although a definite difference in the two parents behavior with the child exists, one parent consistently behaves in the same manner with the child. Therefore the control practices can be called "inconsistent" only in that the parental patterns differ from each other, or as one parent is inconsistent in

1 As stated previously, p. 18, there is no evidence in the data which explains the absence of "Mother-controlled" families in this sample. Does the "Pseudo"-Autocratic pattern approximate Mother-control in Oklahoma family life?

her behavior. The control does not appear to be "conflicting" except as the child experiences conflict as she attempts to adjust to two differing patterns of reactions and expectations.¹

Considering the parental control practices separately, the mother's pattern can be called inconsistent, since her expectations are not well defined and her reactions are unpredictable.

The differences in parental control practices appear to result from differences in the parents personalities. This difference is a striking factor evident in all cases. In every case the father is described as being more affectionate, more patient, more considerate and generally more stable than the mother. Likewise, the mother in every case is moody, impatient, and unpredictable. It is the father who appears to have made the major adjustment in the husband-wife relationship, often giving in to his wife's demands, at least on minor issues, only standing his ground on issues he considers most important. He appears neither spineless nor passive,² but rather appears to attempt to placate his wife, hoping that what he can give will make her happy. He does not attempt to control her nor does he submit to control. In the sense that he must make the major adjustment in the husband-wife relationship, his role appears much like that which the wife plays in the father controlled autocratic cases. Because his personality is more kindly, tolerant, and stable,

1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 278, describes conflicting-control as that in which "both husband and wife compete for control of each other and of the family", with one parent trying "spasmodically to dominate the children, while the other tries to create a stable control relationship. Each frustrates the others attempts, and inconsistency in controlling the children results." The cases in this sample appear unlike this description only in that there is little evidence that the parents are in conflict with each other. The parent-child relation appears much the same.

2 "Passive" is used in the sense Karl Menninger used it in Love Against Hate, pp. 53-79, in which it is described as a surrender of masculine prerogatives, with a resultant dependency on the wife.

he perhaps contributes to family stability and to emotional security in the children.

The mother is described as a capable, energetic, and ambitious woman. Her standards for herself, her husband, and her children are consistently higher than their achievements. She pushes herself and other family members, showing dissatisfaction with herself and others when her ambitions are not realized. She measures her success as a mother by the degree of her children's conformance to her expectations, again expressing dissatisfaction with herself when the child fails to please her.

Her standards are in many instances exorbitant, often appearing to reflect momentary moods and fluctuating according to the way she feels at the moment. Her reactions are such that the students, being uncertain of her expectations, are faced with the problem of attempting to meet poorly defined and sometimes illogical standards.

b. Control practices

In dealing with the children, the mother is impatient and unpredictable. Her standards are often felt to be unreasonable and her reactions inconsistent. Rules are not clear and the children are uncertain of her expectations. The students write:

My mother usually made the rules but I was never certain about them because she changed her mind a lot. (Case no. 31)

She was impatient with me when I made mistakes, always judging me as one would judge an adult. Once when I was little I ironed a cotton dress for her in an effort to surprise and please her. When she came home and saw the dress she flew into a rage because she thought I had done a very messy job. (Case no. 27)

There was practically no definite rules made to govern my behavior so therefore I was never sure of what I could or could not do. Too often the things which seemed perfectly logical to me were exactly what upset my parents most and at other times the things I thought would upset them didn't seem to bother them at all... If there was something I

should do and I had not, my mother sometimes became angry and said something to me but she wouldn't tell me what she wanted me to do. This gave me a feeling of tension and uneasiness ... Quite often I felt in my adolescence that my parents expected too much of me, especially my mother. If I did anything they naturally wanted me to be best, but if I weren't they rebuked me rather than consoled me. Once when I was in a program at the church I forgot my part because I had not studied on it enough and when I was told; so I was punished by being made to stay at home for a month. (Case no. 9)

Her insistence that her daughter meet her demands and the way in which she interfered with her personal life are evident in these statements:

I always picked my friends, but to this day if my mother doesn't like them she somehow manages to cause them to dissolve. She will tell me they haven't called when they have or she talks about them hatefully until I am mad at her. (Case no. 31)

My mother still says quite a lot about who my friends are. I have always run around with a certain group of girls and boys and nearly always if I started running around with people outside of this crowd, my mother would object. Since I did chum with the children of the best families, I could see her point but I felt that you should cultivate the friendship of all people and at times I liked to do things socially with them. My mother objected to this. The biggest dispute about this was when I wanted to go with a boy whom she felt was not good enough for me. (Case no. 9)

Although there is no evidence of conflict between the parents concerning the children, the treatment given the children by the father differs from that which the mother gave. He is described as "not so strict" as the mother. He more often allows the child to use her "own judgment" in decisions. The students write:

When my mother was tired or didn't feel well, she was always hard to get along with, but my father never showed it ... I knew it wouldn't do any good to argue with my father once he had made up his mind ... sometimes they would disagree but very seldom. Maybe about the car, because my mother was always giving silly reasons for the children not using it, especially hers. When she would not consent we would go to my father and ask for his. I have learned which things to ask which parent. (Case no. 31)

As I grew older I learned to just keep my mouth shut when I was fussing with my mother and let her do all the arguing. It worked out better that way. My father and I so seldom had a disagreement that when I did I usually started crying. (Case no. 9)

She (mother) tends to be more strict with us than does daddy ... He believes in teaching us children to do what is right by making us see it is right and not by just saying not to do something. He has taught us to use our own judgment in decisions ... I can usually talk to daddy more because he will listen but when I try to reason with mother and tell her my point of view we both get mad, so instead I take it and go on. (Case no. 21)

Usually the father supports the mother in her policies. However, the students are aware of some differences in their parents opinions but feel that the parents work them out together. They write:

What one agrees to the other seconds. They both agreed that I should go to college two years. Mother wouldn't have stood for anything else and daddy would have let me do as I liked but he wanted me to go on very much. (Case no. 21)

My mother usually told the children what to do and if my father did not agree then he would say so and they would reach a decision together. (Case no. 31)

Discipline practices consisted of sudden and often violent outbursts of anger, scolding, lecturing, and denial of priviledges.¹ But perhaps the most effective means of control is the withdrawal of approval which the child feels so keenly and fears so much.. The students write:

When I was younger I felt an urgent need to please my parents. I tried so hard to please my mother and do little things for my dad. I just felt a need for affection and recognition, and felt that if I could please them I would gain both ... I still try desperately to please them and feel so depressed when I fail to. I have worked hard in school in order to make them proud of me. Somehow I felt that if I could just do something well and win their approval I would feel better. (Case no. 27)

When I was young I always tried to please my parents, and do as they would want me to do even if they weren't around. Often I was "put out" because they didn't pay attention to all the trouble I went to to please them. If I had tried very hard to please them so they could let me go someplace or do as I wished and then they wouldn't let me do it, I felt there just wasn't any use ... Punishment seemed to come much too often to me. It seemed we got too severe punishment for trifling matters, and no reward or praise for things we did well. (Case no. 9)

1 Although the students here speak of both parents, it is the investigators opinion that these are the discipline practices most commonly used by the mother.

The parents are relatively unaware of the difficulties and problems which the child experienced. The student feels that she is misunderstood and tries to solve her "own problems without help from anyone". Advice, offered freely by the parents, is resented by the student.

I often felt in my adolescence that my parents did not understand my needs ... They usually offered suggestions to all of my problems and more often than not I resented their suggestions ... Sometimes my parents understood me and sometimes they didn't ... (Case no. 9)

(They) always offered advice. My mother more than my father ... My mother still gives me suggestions whether I ask for them or not. (Case no. 31)

c. Emotional tone

Expressions of overt affection varies from one extreme to the other.

In one case, the student writes:

We didn't express our affection to our parents so when we did it seemed embarrassing ... My family never seemed to be very close to each other. As all the children have grown older we have lacked the feeling of wanting to be around our home. (Case no. 31)

In another, this information is given:

My daddy has always been affectionate toward me ... Mother has never been the type of person to display affection. (Case no. 27)

In another case, this happens:

Affection was evenly balanced in my family. One example is that I and my siblings always have and still do kiss both our parents good-night. Until just a year ago I also kissed my mother goodbye when I left for a very short time even. (Case no. 9)

However, there is evidence that affection is used, in this and one other case as a means of controlling the children.¹ The student writes:

... if I especially pleased my parents I was shown more affection than usual and this gave me a feeling of being loved and wanted. This situation has not changed even now really because if I please my parents

¹ In the respect that affection is used as a means of controlling the children, this group resembles the Benevolent Autocratic group.

I get to do what I want to do but if I displease them chances are that I won't get to do what I want. (Case no. 9)

In every case, favoritism for certain family members is marked. Usually the student favors the father¹ but she attempts especially to please her mother. In all families of more than one child the parents favor certain children. In one case there is a distinct favoritism for one child and discrimination against another. The student writes:

B— is very fast, J— is very, very, slow. B— is neat as a pin, and J— doesn't care how he looks, so Mom favors B—. I favored daddy mostly because he did not favor B— as much as mother did. (Case no. 21)

d. Students' evaluation of the parent-child relation

Students reared in these homes appear to have become very independent, as compared with the students in other groups.² In two cases this independence seems extreme. The students write:

... I got the idea to go ahead and do what I wanted to do regardless of what people thought or wanted you to do. This feeling of independence has been carried to the extreme by me though. (Case no. 9)

I make my own decisions. I have my own ideals, set up by my own choice, and I live by them. (Case no. 27)

In another case, this independence seems to be in its beginning. This student writes:

I have been raised in such a manner that I felt obligated to their expectations. This was up until this year and I am beginning to feel that I must live my own life to be happy ... I would consult my parents before I did anything such as these listed, but if they did not agree I would probably go ahead and hope for the best.³

1 This is true with the exception of one case, in which the father is a salesman and is away from home. In this case the student writes: "I favored my mother more when I was younger because I was around her more." (Case no. 31)

2 In the respect that these mothers fail to take the child as she is, rather than for what she can do, these students appear to be like the rejected children described by P. Symonds in The Psychology of Parent-Child Relations.

3 The decisions referred to are to change courses in college, leave school, change churches, or become engaged or married.

Illustration, "Pseudo"-Autocratic pattern, Case no. 27

The B. family has recently moved from a city, where both Mr. and Mrs. B. were employed, to a ranch in the Eastern part of the state. The decision to move to the ranch was decided by Mr. B., a retired electrician, notwithstanding Mrs. B.'s objections.

Both Mr. and Mrs. B. are Protestants. Mr. B. is Irish-American while Mrs. B. is a German immigrant.¹ The reporting student is their only child.

The B. family is one of near-balance in authority between husband and wife. Although the father is called the "head" of the family, the mother is described as the "driving force" behind him. Concerning this the student writes:

Dad is supposed to be the "head" of the family. Sometimes I think he just plays "straw boss" because mother is the driving force. She can only push dad so far though and then he rebels. He doesn't usually "lay down the law" but when he does mother accepts it quietly. For instance, when dad declared he was going to build a house on the ranch, mother protested but when he said definitely that he was going to build, she started making plans for moving.

Integration of purpose has not been fully achieved in their marriage. Their values and expectations for each other differ somewhat. Conflicting role expectations and differences in basic value systems result in some frustration to which only partial adjustment has been made. The student gives the following information:

Mother liked her job, and the independence her own money gave her, so even after the depression was over and they were pretty well fixed financially, she continued to work. My father asked her to quit several times, but she always said, "Wait until next year". There have been times during the last three years that mother has regretted daddy's

¹ In the respect that the mother is not native American, this case is atypical. It is possible that this case is affected by this in that the mother's expectations for herself, her husband, and her child differ from those of her husband.

decision to move to the ranch. Now that we are living there she accepts it without complaining, but she has said to me on occasion that she wishes he would sell the cattle and equipment and move back to town. If he ever does, he'll be defeated and unhappy, but she doesn't seem to take that into consideration.

Because Mr. and Mrs. B. differ so much in temperament and other personality characteristics, their relationship with the student in the parent-child roles is markedly different. They do not appear to the student as a unified "one" parent unit as is true in families in which the mother-father relationship is characterized by unity of purpose and action. Rather these parents appear to the student as two individuals whose expectations for her and reactions to her are somewhat different. The relationship of the three therefore appears to the investigator to become one of triangular interaction, with the mother-daughter relationship charged with emotion and frustration.

In affectional relations with her daughter, Mrs. B. is inexpressive and restrained. The student feels that her mother finds it difficult to express affection and her attempts to do so occur so rarely and unexpectedly that neither the mother nor the student feel comfortable in the situation. The student writes:

Mother has never been the type of person to display affection. Occasionally she will come up behind me while I'm working or busy doing something, and playfully muss my hair or pat me. On these rare occasions it is always sudden and unexpected. She has a rather spontaneous affection that flares up like her anger and then she quickly tucks it out of sight.

In contrast, Mr. B. is affectionate, protective, and close to his daughter. He is somewhat possessive of her, wanting her to remain his "little girl". It is the investigator's opinion that there may be a rather wistful desire on his part to meet his own emotional needs through his daughter. The student writes:

My daddy has always been affectionate toward me. Sometimes he shows it with his over-protectiveness. He has always been reluctant for me to grow up because I am his only little girl and he wants me to stay that way. When I was small he played with me and teased me constantly ... My father has always been closer to me than my mother.

Mrs. B.'s expectations for her daughter's behavior are, in the student's opinion, so beyond her ability to achieve that her attempts to please her frequently result in frustration. Mrs. B. is demanding and exacting, using her outburst of temper as a tool to get what she wants. She is moody and unpredictable, often flying into a furious rage when her expectations are not met. The student writes:

Once when I was little I ironed a cotton dress for her in an attempt to surprise and please her. When she came home and saw the dress she flew into a rage because she thought I had done a very messy job.

Mother has always been quick to become angry when I did something inefficiently or not to the best of my ability (or her estimation of my ability which was often measured in terms of her own)... Mother seemed always to be furious with my inefficiency.

Last summer I had a very good job and besides living on my salary and buying all of my school clothes, I saved over one hundred dollars. When I told my mother about it, she was not at all impressed and asked if one hundred dollars was all I had saved.

Since Mrs. B.'s momentary moods and feelings influence her reaction to her daughter's behavior, it is impossible for the student to know what is expected. Concerning this the student writes:

If my mother is in a bad mood, it affects the way she treats me ... In a good mood I can joke with her, but when she is feeling bad, the slightest thing will make her cross.

I was not always sure of what would really upset my parents. The things that would seem the least important to me would sometimes upset them more than the things I expected to upset them. There were no set rules.

When the student was small, Mr. B.'s role in the control pattern, being protective, was more kindly and considerate than his wife's. Comparing their methods of punishing her, the student writes:

My father would scold me and appeal to my better side ... my mother would resort to physical punishment. Spanking and oral scolding was the usual kind of punishment ... I was seldom punished (physically), usually by my mother ... usually ... for being inefficient in what I was doing.

Although, as a child, she experienced feeling an "urgent need" to please both parents, she more often attempted to please her mother. Her parents ap-

proval was the least given and most sought after reward given her. But, according to her statement:

I have always tried much harder to please mother than I have tried to please dad. No matter how hard I tried, I couldn't seem to please her.

The student's feeling concerning her parents lack of understanding of her problems is described thus:

They were not particularly aware of my problems and difficulties ... I was an only child and was treated as an adult and the problems of childhood and adolescence were ignored ... Many things they did not understand about me. They do not offer help soon enough. By the time they offer help, I have usually solved my problems.

Since neither of the parents have expectations which are realistically aimed at helping the child to develop as an individual in her own right, the student has the feeling that her attempts to please them often meet with failure. She writes:

I think in my parents way of thinking that a "model" child would not be born a child at all, but would from the day of its birth behave and discuss things intelligently like an adult. There would be no mischief, no noise, and the "child wonder" would perform all duties efficiently. On the other hand, my father also wants me to always be his little girl--his only child. He has never quite accepted the fact that I suddenly quit playing jacks and started wearing lipstick and started accumulating boy friends. I tried to live up to their expectations but failed so often because their requirements were so high.

Although the student considers herself cooperative in her relationship with her parents, she does not feel that she allows their expectations of her to influence her to a great degree. She writes:

I make my own decisions. I have my own ideals, set up by my own choice, and live by them. I have chosen the man I plan to marry by my own standards ... My parents do not respect my judgment in this matter ... Yet I am convinced that about this one decision they are wrong. I always tried to solve my own problems without help from anyone.

She is aware of their wishes, but feels that she often acts independently of them, choosing on the basis of her own feelings. She writes:

When they did offer suggestions I accepted them if I thought they were good ... When I was forbidden to do something, I looked for good reasons

for not doing it and if I couldn't find any that suited me, I went ahead and did what I wanted to.

I do feel guilty when I spend too much time away from them. Daddy is so hurt when I come home and want to spend a great deal of time with my boy friend and his family. I am constantly torn between my parents and his. The atmosphere is sometimes very frigid when he comes after me to take me over to his house ... I compromise; I spend as much time as I feel will ... make them happy and then I go.

Summary-description of the "Pseudo"-Autocratic pattern in parent-child relations

Within the cases considered autocratic, a group appears which is identified by distinctive differences in the parents' personalities and the control practices used by them.

The father, who serves to stabilize the family group, appears to be fairly easy-going, not so overly demanding, and more kind and considerate in dealing with the child than is the mother. Although he is not submissive with his wife he attempts to maintain a reasonably happy home atmosphere by making the major adjustments in the marriage.

The mother is described as moody, impatient, and unpredictable, overly demanding of herself and others. Her standards for achievement for all family members, including herself, are so high that they are often not reached. Her personality, being restlessly ambitious, creates an atmosphere of uneasiness and tension in her dealings with her children.

In relation to control of the children, there is no evidence of conflict between the parents. Although the father is less strict and less demanding of them, he appears usually to support the mother. When differences in opinion occur between them, they are worked out by both parents together.

The mother, being subject to temperamental moods, reacts to the child with sudden outbursts of anger, scolding and lecturing freely when her expectations are not met. Her approval, which is actively sought by the child, is her keenest tool of control.

In relation to her father, the student feels less compulsion to please. She is more at ease with him, can talk more freely to him, and depends on him for his comforting approval.

Neither parent is considered sensitive to the student's needs or problems. This, the student feels, makes independent action and decision making necessary. Feeling misunderstood, the student rejects advice which is offered by the parents.

There is no consistent pattern of affectional expression in these families. Physical demonstration of affection varies from that of almost complete absence of overt expression to a pattern which is the exact opposite.

Favoritism for certain family members is marked, the student most commonly favoring her father. In all families of more than one child the parents indicate preference for one more than the others.

The most marked reaction on the part of the students reared in these homes is their independence of action. Although they are aware of parental expectations, they usually do as they think best, even though it brings parental disapproval.

Dissatisfaction with, and changes in, the introjected parental patterns are suggested by the student in every case.

3. The Benevolent Autocratic Pattern in Parent-Child Relations N = 13

a. General

There are thirteen cases that range on the continuum between the extreme Autocratic and Democratic families. In this group many characteristics of both autocracy and democracy appear, producing a pattern which is neither autocratic nor democratic, yet it is not inconsistent. For lack of a better name

it is called the Benevolent Autocratic group.¹

The cases in this group seemed at first to break into two segments. However, further study revealed that the differences occurring within the group appear to be related to the differences in values held by the families, and in affectional relations within the family groups. Since the control practices are very much alike, all being repressive in their application, with enough overlapping of characteristics within the two groups to make division impractical, a single grouping seemed justifiable. However, for purposes of distinguishing differences in family values and affectional relations the two segments of the group will be distinguished and will be called Segment a, and Segment b.²

The group appears to be markedly conscious of social position, Segment b striving to increase its status and Segment a striving to maintain status already achieved. In Segment a, the parents appear to have obtained middle class status and expect their children to conform to the expectancies of that group. Emphasis is placed upon high grades, college education, success in all undertakings, and the social etiquette considered appropriate in their group.

1 As was stated previously, p. 18, the reaction of this group appears to be like that of the group referred to as "submissive in reaction" which is described by Ronald Lippitt and R.K. White in "The 'Social Climate' of Children's Groups", loc. cit. The parental control is like that of the Benevolent Autocrat described by Bradford and Lippitt in "Building a Democratic Work Group", loc. cit. Because of this resemblance, this group is called the Benevolent Autocratic group.

2 Of the five cases falling into the Segment a, four of the parental couples are college graduates, and either the father or mother is a professional person. In Segment b, which consists of eight families, three are farm families, three have one parent who is a European immigrant, and in two families the parents are several years older than is average for the group. Both groups place high value on conformance in their children. They have definite ideas of how the child should be reared and they consistently mold their children in the direction of their expectations.

Segment b appears to hold traditional family values common to the upper-lower class¹ and expect their children to conform to these. Yet they desire social mobility for their children as evidenced by their emphasis on college education and material success. Despite this, these parents are adhering to the traditional values put on ambition and industry, and strict conformance to the moral codes of the upper-lower class. Obedience of children is expected and accepted as "the right way to bring up children".

The factor which appears most significant in the family interaction pattern is the degree of family integration and its effect upon the individual in the family group. In every case, the family is a close-knit group, held together by family expectations and the willingness of individuals to conform to these.

Family members are loyal to each other, assume responsibility for each other, and in some cases deny their own desires for those of other members. Individual freedom appears to be second in importance to family welfare.

Leadership in parental control may be assumed by either parent;² yet the integration of parental roles is so complete that in one case the student expresses a feeling that at times her two parents seemed like "one complete parent". In all cases the parents make decisions for the family, with the child helping to decide only in occasional instances.³ Parental authority is accepted as right by both parents and children.

1 Class differentiations made here are made within the frame of reference presented by A. B. Hollingshead in Elmtown's Youth.

2 According to Ingersoll's classifications, op. cit., pp. 287-293, cases 28, 6, and 17 are mother-led, case 30 is father-led, and the remaining cases are jointly controlled.

3 This is not true for case 30 and 35, in which the child was allowed gradually to assume some responsibility during adolescence, but only as she indicated a readiness to assume the kind of behavior that was acceptable to her parents.

b. Control practices

In addition to the desire for conformity to parental expectations another unifying factor which is markedly evident in all cases is the method used in most instances to assure that conformity. This method, stated simply, is a matter of confidently expecting the child to conform to family goals and expectations. Although the specific goals differ somewhat, there is consistency and firmness in the way parents push and mold the child according to their expectations. In few instances do the parents appear to be willing to allow the child to develop his individuality. Rather he is guided gently, but firmly, in the path selected by the parents. Parental, or family goals, are taught by these expectations, as the child learns the things which will bring her parents' approval or disapproval.

One important factor which differentiates this group from the Democratic is the absence of any interplay of ideas between parent and child in arriving at goals for the child's behavior.

Expectations for the children, set by the parents, are well defined and are always understood. They are repressive in nature as the child is urged to adapt herself to them with little consideration for her individual needs or desires. In the student's words:

My parents idea of a model child is one who will help with the work without asking, live up to their ideals, and do things with and for them as they want them done. (Case no. 35)

I didn't talk back to my folks very much but when I did I think that's what they disliked about the most. I got punished for talking back and not doing what I was supposed to do, when I was told. If I started drinking, smoking, and running wild, I think that would upset them most now, because they don't want me to and I never have. (Case no. 17)

I am sure that my parents expect me to succeed. All through my high school years they felt that I must make the highest grades in my class. They also feel that I must be the most outstanding member in any of my organizations ... The thing that I feel would upset them most right now would be the fact that I was not taking advantage of the education

they are trying so much to give each of us. (Case no. 30)

My parents never did tell me what to do. But I could always tell by their actions it would really hurt them if I didn't go to college ... I always thought it was more or less expected of a girl to go to college. I probably could leave school if I wanted to but I know I couldn't stay home. I could, but I wouldn't feel right. (Case no. 1)

Aware of the family expectations, the child is allowed to operate within the limits set for her by her parents. She may choose, as long as her choices are those of which her parents approve. It appears to be a kind of gentle coercion which is used to mold the child to fit the parental pattern. Approval is given for compliance, and disapproval for noncompliance. The limits set by parents are expressed by the students thus:

My decisions were guided by my parents. I know what they would consider "out of bounds" and kept away from it. Any decision that I made that was out of reason my parents soon corrected ... Each child is free to choose his life work. It is to some extent guided by them (parents) but it isn't noticeable unless you are watching for it. The girls were given more guidance in choosing their career. It was always expected of all of the children to come to college if they wished (which they were supposed to!) (Case no. 13)

I picked my friends. My family usually associated with certain kind of people and I knew that was the kind of friends to have. (Case no. 1)

The folks made it easy for me to do what they wanted because their ideas were so fixed in me ... (Case no. 35)

When differences arise between the child and her parents, the child is made to feel that she is wrong, and that only when she behaves as they expect her to is her behavior acceptable to them.¹ The students write:

I usually felt that if I didn't do what they wanted me to do I was all wrong, and I wanted to please them. (Case no. 13)

My parents never gave in to either C— or me. When I was little I felt it was very important to please my parents. I don't know exactly why, but I think it's just that I never liked having anyone unhappy with me,

1. This appears to be the process of socialization discussed by Allison Davis in "Socialization and Adolescent Personality", Readings in Social Psychology, pp. 139-150. Davis writes: "Most young children of middle-status families are trained in the basic cultural forms ... largely through those feelings of shame, of age inferiority, of guilt, and of anxiety which are instilled by the parents".

and when I didn't please my parents they were unhappy with me. (Case no. 6)

They have never given in very much when I wanted something, and they never have failed to let me know when I was wrong about something. They usually succeeded in making me see my mistakes ... I accepted their suggestions, ... because I love them and I know they want to help me. (Case no. 32)

After I had disappointed them, I was always repentant and tried to make it up to them by helping work and showing a better manner of doing things. (Case no. 30)

There is a consistent pattern of rewarding for approved behavior and punishing for that which is disapproved. The students are well aware that they receive more privileges when they please their parents and are denied parental approval when they don't, and in some cases use this knowledge to their advantage. New toys or clothes, or other favors are granted when the child conforms. However, the reward most sought (and quite freely given) is parental approval. The students write:

I felt at times it was wise to please them more. After a hard day's work dad liked to have a good meal with cake ... and I would do this. Mom liked to not have to worry when she was sick so I would ... work to please her. (Case no. 40)

I felt it extremely important to please my parents ... Praise from them or my siblings meant very much to me. (Case no. 13)

The reward that meant the most to me was praise that I got from my parents. When I was younger I tried a little extra hard in keeping myself in their graces so as to have a better chance of doing what I wanted to. Sometimes it really paid off! (Case no. 33)

Firmness, sometimes to the point of rigidity, is another factor which characterizes the Benevolent Autocratic pattern. Although this firmness varies from a very strict, rigid control to one somewhat more relaxed, in every case the student feels that seldom, if ever, do her parents give in to her. One student writes:

No amount of pleading to either parent would change the decision ... It always seemed like banging your head against a brick wall. (Case no. 6)

Another student writes:

I can't remember ever getting to do something when I knew it was selfish and wrong. If mother and daddy "put their foot down" on something I would like to do, I didn't do it. (Case no. 33)

This firmness, somewhat more pronounced in Segment a than in Segment b, is recounted by one student thus:

I think mommy wanted to try out her Home Economics training and as daddy puts it, I was an experimental baby ... The folks at that time believed strongly in bringing their children up by the book and stuck to it faithfully, with the exception of the chapter on not spanking the children. (Case no. 6)

That others were slightly less rigid is evidenced by these comments:

If my parents had already made their minds about something I couldn't do much to change them. But if they hadn't decided about something I could usually get them to do what I wanted to. For instance, if we were going on a trip somewhere and they didn't care where they went, they would usually go where I wanted to, if it wasn't too unreasonable. ... If someone made a mistake they were not criticized but the others tried to help them get over it. For example, when I'd made a big blunder somewhere mother would tell me it was all right and no one probably noticed anyway. If I did something really wrong she would point out to me why it was wrong so I wouldn't do it again. (Case no. 17)

I usually obeyed my parents but first I would explain my point of view or argue with them. Occasionally this would change what they wanted. (Case no. 35)

The parents approach, though consistently firm, is generally kindly and considerate. They present facts, reason, and listen to the child's point of view. It would appear that they are attempting to be democratic, especially in the cases near the Democratic end of the continuum. The child is allowed to express her thoughts though never allowed to "talk back" or "sass" her parents. The parents explain "why" and often suggest substitutes when the child's wishes are denied. The students write:

The folks have always been on the level with M— and me. Whenever they wanted us to do something we knew why. (Case no. 6)

They made it easier for me to do what they wanted by giving me all the facts and explaining why it would be wrong to do it and the harm that would come from it. I don't feel that I was ever tricked into doing

something they wanted me to do ... I was taught that I should obey. When I didn't want to do something I explained my point of view and argued. I never talked back to them. (Case no. 17)

I never did talk back because I knew it just wouldn't work to talk back. (Case no. 28)

Punishment, though not frequently given, consists of denial of privileges, isolation, lecturing, spanking, and again the most powerful one, withdrawal of approval. Concerning this the students write:

We weren't punished too frequently, "but knew better than to do it again." (Case no. 6)

If I didn't do what was expected I got a short "bawling out" and was an "outcast" ... Everyone in the family ignored me. When I did everyone offered praise and attention. (Case no. 13)

c. Emotional tone

The feeling tone in the middle class families of the Benevolent Autocratic group is different from that of the upper-lower class families. Perhaps the most clearly defined difference between Segment a and b is the difference in affectional relations.¹ Segment a is characterized by much expression of overt affection. The affectional ties within the family groups are close. It is felt that favoritism is not present, and that each family member loves the others wholeheartedly. The students write:

My family has always shown affection. I was practically brought up in my daddy's lap hearing stories, and I still like to sit in his lap once in a while. ... M— and I still love to go crawl in bed with mother and daddy on special occasions. We have always exchanged kisses. As I grew older we kissed "hello" and "good-bye" and "thank you", but we still love each other just as much ... My parents have been so close that they have seemed like one complete parent. My family has always seemed to be a very close group. (Case no. 6)

There has never been any favoritism in our family and we have all had equal opportunities and responsibilities. We have never thought that

1. See p. 48, under "General" for a discussion of the differences between Segment a and b.

one got more attention or things he wanted than the others. I was always very affectionate toward my mother and father ... We are a very peaceful family. He (father) always had time to be with us (children) even if he and mother were going out. He was always wonderful to us. My parents were usually aware of my feelings, problems, or difficulties. They understood me ... Our family has always been very close to one another and so the affection between the members of my family has always been very balanced. (Case no. 33)

Although family members in Segment b feel very close to each other, there is little overt expression of affection. Affection is expressed through "doing things" for other family members. The students say they know the feeling of warmth and closeness is there. There is little expression of dissatisfaction with the family affectional pattern and the students do not appear to feel the necessity for more physical expression. Apparently, warmth in family relations is expressed by members "doing for" others, and by the giving of gifts. The characteristic feeling tone is expressed in these quotations:

We are all very close. What hurts one hurts the other.

Our affection in our family was shown by doing something that pleased them or by doing something they were supposed to do. Also by little things we would say to each other. (Case no. 1)

There was very little demonstration of affection in our family ... affection was shown through giving gifts and special favors. (Case no. 13)

d. Students' evaluation of the parent-child relation

The students who grew up in Benevolent Autocratic homes relate that they usually obeyed their parents when they were growing up. When they didn't they were uneasy, and felt alternately guilty and resentful. In many cases the students report that when there were disagreements between them and their parents they wanted to be alone, often sulking and pouting in their rooms. The finality of their parents' decisions was usually not questioned. In their words:

When I deliberately disobeyed them I felt like a heel. I had a guilty, yet resentful, feeling toward my parents and everything. (Case no. 13)

At first, I felt bitter toward my parents when they wouldn't let me do something ... but ... if I did something they didn't want me to, I felt bad about it. (Case no. 32)

If it was something I really wanted to do I would go off someplace by myself. I just didn't want to be around them at the time. (Case no. 28)

The parental expectations apparently have become internalized to the extent that the students conform to them without hesitation. There is some evidence that they have developed overstrong superegos.¹ Typical comments regarding the conformance of the students appear in these quotations:

I do not know how to get around my parents. Parents are smarter than you think for. Besides I do not feel I have to get around my parents for something I want. I think I have just about learned what I should do and what I shouldn't do and what I should ask for and what I shouldn't ask for ... I know pretty well what decisions I should make and what I shouldn't. (Case no. 1)

When I made decisions in high school I always did what I thought or knew they would approve of. Now as I make decisions I do what I want to do and of course what I did in high school has something to do with what I decide now. (Case no. 28)

As stated previously, the most frequent reaction of the child to repressive discipline appears to be complete acceptance of parental expectations, with the student continuing to conform to them. As could be expected, this reliance on parents to set the "right pattern" for behavior is accompanied by dependence on parents for continuation of their close supervision and guidance. The students write:

1 This finding supports the statement made by Symonds, The Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships, pp. 79-80, in which he cites L. H. Stien, in "A Study of Overinhibited and Unsocialized-Aggressive Children. Part II. A Quantitative Analysis of Background Factors." (Smith College Studies in Social Work, 15: 124, 125, 1944) Symonds writes: "If the strictness (parents) is accompanied by evident fondness for and acceptance of the child, the child usually will respond by willing cooperation; but such a child usually is characterized by considerable inhibition and lack of spontaneity."

"Overinhibition and submissiveness mean, among other things, that the child has introjected his parents' strictness and he becomes strait-laced himself, with an overstrong superego."

I do not feel that my parents are trying to run my life. They are leaving me to work it out for myself. They do not know exactly what kind of guidance to give me nor how to give it to me but they still try to give me advice once in a while without trying to influence me. I would like a little more guidance because I am so uncertain what kind of life work I want. I usually have a sort of lost feeling ... I would not feel free to become engaged or marry without consulting my parents first because I am not certain that they would have enough confidence in my judgment. (Case no. 19)

I definitely do not feel free to change my course of study, leave school, or join a different course without consulting my parents. (Case no. 33)

I want my parents to approve of my friends. It is their duty and privilege to see that their daughter meets and runs around with the right kind of people. (Case no. 32)

In some cases, there appears to have been a rather sudden withdrawal of parental supervision, with the expectation that the student could now manage her own life.¹ One writes:

They leave me to make my decisions unless I ask their advice. I would like more advice but I have never asked for more ... I really don't think I could take care of myself if I were on my own nor do I think I am mature enough to marry. It frightens me every time I think of it. (Case no. 28)

In other cases the withdrawal of parental supervision appears to have been more gradual as the students indicated readiness for the kind of self-direction which met with parental approval. This is explained thus:

At first the rules were made by my parents, but they changed gradually until my behavior was definitely ruled by my own conscience and me. I have always been sure of what I could or could not do ... These (moral standards and religious beliefs) are very fixed in not only my mind but also in the minds of my brothers and sisters as well. (Case no. 35)

When I want to have them, I usually ask my parents for their advice. After they have given it, I consider what they have told me seriously and make my own decisions. We had been trained to abide by his rules

¹ To some of these students coming to college means that they have been plunged into a different group in which there are value systems somewhat different from those held by the family. Being totally unprepared for this, the student appears to be experiencing confusion and feelings of inadequacy.

and as we grew older we naturally wanted to do so. (Case no. 30)

Most students reared in these homes accept without question their parents upbringing. Statements showing acceptance of the parents and belief in their methods of rearing children are marked in intensity of feeling.

They write:

I think my parents are the most wonderful two people in the world ... I would die if I knew that for a minute I was disappointing them. (Case no. 33)

I couldn't have asked for more perfect parents ... If I can live up to the example that they have set for me I will be in the height of my glory. (Case no. 6)

I think I have been raised up by parents who know how to raise children and to make something out of them. (Case no. 23)

I think my mother and my father have always done everything right. I guess it is only natural that I should think my parents are perfect. They are both wonderful in their judgments and in discipline problems ... When I have a family, I want to raise them exactly as they have raised me. I wish I knew how they did this. (Case no. 32)

Some point out minor faults which they feel their parents had and which they hope to correct in rearing their families. Nevertheless, they too feel that their parents taught them "right" and "wrong" and accept their basic values. They write:

If I had a family I think I would raise them very similar to the way I have been reared except for a few changes. I would try to be more understanding in some things. I regard my parents more as people, and I look towards them with more respect. I think my parents were fairly wise and just in dealing with me. I think their main weak point was not being understanding enough. Their main strong point was in teaching us the right and wrong things to do. (Case no. 19)

When I have a family, I hope that I can rear and establish in them the principles which my parents have established in me. I consider myself very high in my moral standards. I do want to be more understanding with my children and more a part of them than my parents have been with me. (Case no. 35)

Illustration, Benevolent Autocratic pattern, Case no. 18

Although the control practices used by the C. family are not so repressive as in some cases, they will serve to illustrate the Benevolent Autocratic group.¹ Both Mr. and Mrs. C. are of American nationality, Protestants, and are college graduates. Before he was forced to stop working because of his health, Mr. C. worked as an electrical engineer. Mrs. C. is a teacher and has taught both before and since her marriage.

There are two children in the family, the reporting student, and her brother who is nine.

The relationship between Mr. and Mrs. C. appears to be satisfactory to both themselves and to the children. They "have been happy together" and according to the student, there has been little discord in their home.

She describes the home atmosphere as "easy going" and "fun loving". Concerning her home and the emotional tone of it, she writes:

At home I have a warm good feeling, and I have a feeling of being wanted and so does my brother ... there is sort of an open affection in our home. The folks have pet names for us and we're always telling them we love them ... We were close in affection and consideration. Everyone has been loved and treated as the others.

The control measures used by the C.'s are characterized by consistency and firmness. Both Mr. and Mrs. C. shared in the actual control of the children; jointly they made and enforced the rules for them. Their expectations, well understood by the student, were that she keep the standards they set for her in morals, religion, education, and obedience to them. No opportunity for choice was allowed by the parents. They simply expected her to do the thing which was, in their opinion, the "right" thing for her to do. In her words:

1 The C. family belongs in Segment a.

It was always expected that I get an education or that I mind them ... It was always known that we were to go to church and Sunday School ... It was always planned that I would come to college ... These rules were always made by both my father and mother. I always knew whether I could do something or not ... I knew that I had to obey.

From infancy the student was conditioned to accept parental limitations and pressures. Then she was kept on a strict schedule, weaned and toilet trained at an exceptionally early age, and given only the physical handling which was thought necessary. Her crying was ignored. The parents checked for safety pins or other signs of physical discomfort, and not finding them, left her to herself.

As she grew older the parental expectations were further explained and clarified. "Right" and "wrong" were pointed out with such vigilance that there was little chance for experimentation or for individual judgments. Mistakes were always corrected and the expected thing pointed out to the offender.

However, Mr. and Mrs. C. were never harsh. When they denied the student's wishes, they planned substitutes for her. When the differences between them created tension, they allowed the student to speak her mind but they did not give in. Concerning this the student writes:

When there were differences between me and my parents, I would "blow my top", but I didn't get my way. My parents remained calm and firm ... Now they listen to my viewpoint. If I ever "talked back" or "sassed" it would have been too bad.

Mr. and Mrs. C. gave approval¹ when the student conformed. She writes:

I always wanted to make good grades because they always acted so proud of me. And when I learned at 13 to drive a car, I wanted to learn to drive quickly and to make a good grade on my test so that I'd justify daddy's faith in me ...

Punishments, though restrictive in nature, were not harsh and were given infrequently.

¹ Parental approval for compliance is less marked in this case than in others in the group.

If I disobeyed I was made to sit on a chair for a period of time, and I meditated my sins. My mother's favorite mode of punishment was a "swat at my rear" and making me sit on chairs. I was punished seldom and when I really needed it and by both my parents. Dad would lecture me and that did more good than a whipping.

The student usually behaved as her parents expected, feeling the pressure arising from her fear of their disapproval strongly enough that she was not free to disobey them. She writes:

When I was younger I never questioned them, I obeyed them ... I knew that I had to obey. I don't know what would have happened, but I expect it would have been some kind of punishment.

She has accepted their limitations and expectations for her and hopes to reenact their parental role with her own children. In her words:

Their judgment and suggestions are for my own good. They give me guidance and help me to work out problems if I need help. If I don't, they let me work them out myself ... It seems they understand when they should help or shouldn't help me ... I think I'll rear my family as I've been reared. I've always said I would raise my baby by the book, and mother raised us by it.

It would appear that the student has introjected the parental values and ideals so completely that they have become for her internalized norms. Her control socialization was so closely linked with parental approval as a reward that she has come to associate this rather repressive pattern of control with pleasure. Therefore she plans to perpetuate it.¹

Summary-description of the Benevolent Autocratic pattern in parent-child relations

Ranging on the continuum between the extreme autocratic and democratic cases are thirteen cases which seemed at first to break into two segments. Further study revealed that the differences in the two segments centered largely around the affectional relationships within the family groups and in the values held by the families. The difference in values appears to reflect

¹ One is lead to speculate what may have happened had the child rebelled; or what may take place when this student encounters other standards and moral values.

differences in social status, Segment a holding values common to the middle class and Segment b holding those common to the upper-lower class. Since in every case the control measures used by the parents are alike, a single grouping was made, with a break into Segment a and Segment b being made only under the section titled "Emotional tone".

A marked degree of family integration is present in all cases. In their close-knit family groups, family goals and expectations are given first consideration.

Parental authority is accepted by all family members. Parental roles are well integrated as the two parents assume family leadership and control.

The parents confidently expect their children to conform to family expectations, consistently and firmly guiding their children in this direction. It is expected that the children conform to family goals and values.

Little opportunity for child participation in family decision making or goal selection is provided. The child is coerced into adapting herself to the parents' preconceived ideas of "right" and "wrong" and is expected to obey her parents, to "be ladylike", to get an education, and to hold to the parental ideas of proper moral and religious behavior. Individual choice is allowed her only within the limits of parental regulation. Approved behavior is rewarded; that which is disapproved is punished. The most effective tool for control is the approval of the parents.

The parents, though usually relentless in their firmness in upholding decisions once they are made, are seldom severe or harsh with their children. Rather they are kind and protective, willing to listen, explain, and provide substitutions for privileges or desires which they refuse to grant. Although the child may argue, she is not allowed to "sass" or "talk back" and is expected to accept whatever decisions the parents make.

Any deviation from the path prescribed by the parent is corrected. The "error" is pointed out and explained to the child.

A distinctive difference in expression of affection exists in the two segments of the Benevolent Autocratic group. Segment a is marked by its amount of overt expression of affection, while Segment b, although lacking this physical expression, shows marked family feeling, a sense of family unity and loyalty. In both segments affectional ties are said to be "close".

Students who have grown up in these homes have learned to accept their parents authority as right and in most cases do not challenge it. Since they experience intense guilt feelings if they disobey their parents, they usually obey. In cases of disagreement they often withdraw from their parents presence and attempt to control their feelings of resentment and bitterness.

Some of them, having suddenly become removed from parental supervision, feel confused and inadequate in handling their problems. Others want and expect their parents to continue their close supervision and aid in decision making, doubting their own ability to act independently.¹

The students loyalty and support of parental policies is striking. Although some point out a few minor dissatisfactions, the entire repressive group feel that they wish to instill in their children the same moral principles and values that were instilled in them.

¹ In two cases the students experienced a gradual lessening of parental dominance. In these cases the students feel that, although their actions will be guided by parental expectations, they are capable of independent decision making. These are borderline cases, showing the range of this group on the continuum.

4. The Democratic Pattern in Parent-Child Relations N = 4

a. General

Four cases in the sample appear to approximate the ideal of democracy as presented in the literature. The outstanding factor in these cases is the "feeling tone" felt to exist in the family group. Rapport exists among all members of the family. The students feel that they are free to be themselves and behave as individual personalities.¹ There is evidence of naturalness in both the parent and child behavior, producing a situation in which all family members interact together as individuals, with individual needs being considered. At the same time each member is aware of family or group goals and plays a distinct role in the integrated family group.²

The atmosphere of the home is described as "easy-going", yet "business-like". The students recall that in childhood things seemed to run smoothly, with no marked conflict. Reference is made to "small family arguments" which appear to have been accepted as a normal part of their family situation.³

1 Karen Horney, in Neurosis and Human Growth, pp. 17-18, writes: "... the human individual, given a chance, tends to develop his particular human potentialities. He will develop ... the unique alive forces of his real self... the human individual needs favorable conditions for his growth ... A child may not be permitted to grow according to his individual needs ... (when) the people in the environment are too wrapped up in their own neuroses to be able ... to conceive of him as the particular individual he is ..."

2 Reuben Hill, in Families Under Stress, pp. 130-133, finds that strength in meeting crises in family life is associated with a moderate degree of integration. A moderate degree of integration is represented in the Democratic cases as compared to the familism and close integration evidenced in the Benevolent Autocratic families.

3 It may be that productive quarreling such as that discussed by E. Duvall and R. Hill in When You Marry, pp. 183-199, was used to dissolve conflicts. These authors suggest that arguments can be a useful interaction process if they are carried through to a productive end.

They feel that their families have been able to successfully reach an adjustment which is mutually satisfying to all family members. The husband-wife relationship is described as affectionately "close"; they "get along well together" and each is pleased with the job the other has done.

There appears to be an integration of parental roles in which the two parents share parental responsibilities. Although the mother is largely responsible for the care of the children, the father enthusiastically assumes "baby duties" when he is at home and does things with and for the children, apparently enjoying his role as father. There is like satisfaction for the mother in her mother role.¹

The parent-child relationship is such that the students feel they can take "anything" to their parents. They discuss their thoughts and problems freely, with full confidence that their parents will react with honesty and forthrightness.² In this situation solutions to problems are achieved through the process of interaction, with each family member contributing as he is able to do so.

b. Control practices

The control relationship is characterized also by its acceptance of each individual "as he is".³ All family members consider together important decisions which concern the whole family. Children are included in the discussions and allowed to decide things which directly concern them when it is felt that

1 This interplay of husband-wife, mother-father roles is supported by Ingersoll, op. cit., pp. 281-290.

2 P. Symonds, in Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships, p. 110, describes the essentials of good parent-child relations thus: "Good parents are honest, direct, straightforward, and frank with their children."

3 This acceptance for who he is, as apart from what he does, is a security-giving factor described by James S. Plant, in The Envelope, pp. 7-9.

they are capable of deciding. In no case do the parents assume a role of minor importance in family decision making. Rather, through an interplay of ideas, decisions are made with the parents assuming responsibility for those decisions which only they, as mature adults, are capable of making. The students write:

Our whole family was consulted when decisions were made. (Case no. 11)

It has always been daddy who made the decisions about buying any property or selling anything, because he knows more about it, but naturally he always consults mother. As I see it the decisions were usually shared and no one made a different decision without talking it over with the rest of the family. ... when we started to buy a new house mother and I would go over and look it over to decide if we liked it or not. Our family is very considerate of one another and very seldom do we ever do anything without talking it over. Mother or father either buys for the house as their tastes are the same. Both decide spending and saving.

She continues:

If I ever wanted to do something badly we would talk it over and decide between the family. No great decisions were made by any one member of the family. We would discuss the problem and talk about the good and bad points, and then decide what would be best to do ... if it was reasonable they would usually let me do it. Mother and daddy chaperoned activities so much that they knew what the kids were doing and many a time they let me do things that they didn't do when they were young. For instance, they didn't like hay-rides but since everyone else was going on them they let me go. (Case no. 4)

On big decisions (like moving to another town) ... when mother and daddy felt that it was the best thing for us to move we didn't really have any say so about what was to be done but we were never left out of the discussions and we felt like we had a part in making the family's decisions. If there is a choice of houses in the same neighborhood that mother and dad have chosen we are given a chance to say what we think ... (we) often get to pick out things for the house, especially for our rooms. (Case no. 2)

Responsibility for decision-making increases gradually as the children grow up, with the parents giving guidance as needed along the way.¹ This is described thus:

¹ Ethel Waring, Working Principles in Child Guidance, Cornell Extension Bulletin 420, (Nov. 1939) p. 15. Two of the guidance principles she lists are (1) "Giving a child help as needed, otherwise letting him alone, get an optimum of independence in performance." (2) "Giving decreasing help (withdrawing little by little as he proceeds independently) gives recognition to his effort.

As I got older my parents expected me to grow up. They let me make my own decisions, but helped me with them. They tried to treat me in a grown up manner. (Case no. 4)

I was very independent and allowed to make many of my own decisions and take responsibility ... as I grew up I was allowed to make even more decisions. I was allowed to take the car many times and go more places than I had previously been able to go ... My friends were always of my own choosing. Mother rarely disapproved of my friends, and in case she did we would talk the matter over, but the decision was left up to me ... (Case no. 11)

My ideas were asked for and sometimes accepted when decisions were to be made ... (my parent) let me make most of my own decisions ... (they let me choose my clothes, hair style, making suggestions when my choices weren't too good instead of doing it all for me. (Case no. 2)

Parental expectations held for the children are consistent, appear to the child to be reasonable, and are understood by the child.¹ The students feel that they are not allowed to do "just as they please" despite the fact that they are given a great deal of freedom in decision-making. The students write:

I always knew ... when I should come in at night and the places I shouldn't go or the things I shouldn't do. If we do anything wrong we must pay the consequences and do not do just as we please. (Case no. 2)

They have always given my brother and me many of the things we wanted, but not if they thought it was wrong to do so. I suppose I know how to get around my parents if I wanted to. However, I have never felt that this was necessary. My folks have always been lenient and we talked over the things we wanted to do. This way some satisfactory decision was reached, and it was not necessary to "get around" my parents to obtain something I wanted ... We (student and brother) never took advantage of our privileges. By this I mean that we were allowed to go places we considered right, and mother did not tell us to come at a certain time, but we usually did. (Case no. 11)

I always had to be home from playing by five, so that I could get cleaned up before dinner. On Saturdays I had to get my part of the housework done before I could go to the show or out to play. Mother usually made

¹ Symonds, in The Dynamics of Parent-Child Relationships, pp. 117-122, lists firmness and quiet control, consistency, order and routine, and fair demands on the child as essentials of good parent-child relations.

these rules. I usually knew the rules ... I had to do what I was expected to do because I knew I couldn't do what I wanted to till I did.¹
(Case no. 4)

Various means of discipline and control are used by the parents. They appear much like those used in many other families in this study, differing in frequency of application and quality of parent-child rapport more than in type. There is some evidence that reasoning is used more in these cases. In the students words:

My parents didn't raise me by the book and I was spanked when I needed it. (Case no. 2)

I really wasn't disciplined strictly ... I cannot remember more than one spanking ... As I grew older I was lectured to, mostly by mother, who could lecture for hours on end. In high school my privileges would be denied me. (Case no. 10)

When I was younger I tried very hard to please my folks because I didn't like the feeling that they were angry or displeased with me. I didn't feel that it was my duty to please them, but the atmosphere of the home was much better when they were pleased with me. (Case no. 4)

If I did not do the right thing mother would talk to me about it but did not have any punishment for me. She knew that she could trust me and did not feel that it was necessary to "lay down the law" as long as I did the right thing myself. My parents used reasoning instead of punishment in disciplining my brother and me. On some occasions they would send us to our rooms for a while. If I was unable to do something I wanted to because of reasons other than my parents, they would offer suggestions or substitutes. If it was due to their disapproval that I was unable to do something, they explained their reasons for not approving. In such cases I made my reasons clear, also, and then we reached a decision considering both sides of the issue. (Case no. 11)

However, certain factors in the disciplinary patterns appear significant. First, in every case the parents act with confidence in disciplinary matters whenever they feel it is necessary, expressing matter of fact confidence in their personal judgments.

¹ Although the expectations listed by the student might appear to the reader to be restrictive, in reality this case falls on the borderline of the Indulged group. These are the only requirements which the student mentions.

Second, parental objections, when felt necessary, are explained, with opportunity given the child to respond. The fact that the final decision considers both points of view appears significant. With the kind of interaction in which the child is recognized as an individual, the type of discipline used appears to have little significance when the relationship between parents and child is such that the child knows he is accepted regardless of his behavior.¹

In their personal relationship with their daughters, these parents again consider each child as an individual. They show a willingness to be flexible in their expectations as they attempt to adjust their requirements to fit the abilities and interests of the child. They also show a willingness to allow them to leave the family circle in the "normal" emancipation process, not making demands on them to satisfy their own personal needs. The students write:

When I was taking piano lessons I think mother wanted me to go further than I did. She did not, however, insist that I carry on when I presented my desire to enjoy the piano, but not to excel in this field ... I did not feel obligated to spend time with my parents because they did not make me feel that I had to if I had other plans. Especially while in junior high, I preferred to be with my friends. (Case no. 11)

1 This finding supports the findings and statements of Horney, Murphy, and Stout and Langdon. Karen Horney in The Neurotic Personality of Our Time, p. 80, writes: "The basic evil is invariably a lack of genuine warmth and affection. A child can stand a great deal of what is often regarded as traumatic ... as long as inwardly he feels loved and wanted." Lois Barclay Murphy in "Socialization of the Child", Readings in Social Psychology, op. cit., p. 137, states: "The character of discipline itself is only part of the story ... the whole context of the parent-child relationship ... being important in determining the child's acceptance of socialization measures." J. W. Stout and Grace Langdon write in "A Study of the Home Life of Well-Adjusted Children", Jr. Ed. Sociol. 23 (1950) pp. 442-460, "The attitude toward the child ... seemingly becomes the explanatory factor ... love and affection, being wanted, being appreciated, trusted, being accepted as a person, being looked upon with respect as an individual."

When I was in the "gang stage" they didn't expect me to spend too much time with them. I usually was out with a bunch of girls, digging a cave or playing Tarzan. My parents would usually let me do what I wanted to do when I was in that stage. (Case no. 4)

Never have I felt obliged to spend time with my parents that I'd rather spend with my friends. I was free to stay with my friends, spend the night away from home with friends my parents knew, etc. (Case no. 10)

The parents are aware of the children's problems and difficulties, and attempt to provide opportunity for them to learn to guide themselves. Again, the right of the person to develop as an individual is considered. The parents are ready to help when needed, but stand by unless they feel their help is necessary and useful. The students write:

I felt my parents were usually aware of my feelings, problems, and difficulties. They understood me much better than some other parents and they understood "the younger generation". I always went to them with my problems and they always helped me. For example, when I was about six, I saved seventy-five cents for a birthday present for mother and someone stole it. I went to them and told them about my problem and they let me rake the yard and gave me seventy-five cents. (Case no. 4)

They try to give us a background in many things so we will be able to decide (on life's work) for ourselves ... My parents let me work things out for myself if I prefer to, but if I need their help, they are always willing to assist. (Case no. 2)

As far as I can remember, my parents never jumped to help me solve a problem, just as they never opened my mail, read my diary, or fiddled with my personal belongings. (Case no. 10)

My parents were quick to offer suggestions concerning my problems. They would not force their advice upon me if they thought I preferred to solve the situation alone. (Case no. 11)

c. Emotional tone

The students feel that in their families affection is well balanced, no one family member needing or demanding more than others. Affection is often "felt", rather than overtly expressed. There is no evidence of excessive demand for affection in the children. All family members are considered close in their affectional ties, yet there is not the interdependence due

to emotional need in these cases as is evidenced in Segment b of the Benevolent Autocratic pattern. The feeling tone in these families is expressed in these quotations:

My sisters and I don't tend to be outwardly overly affectionate toward each other, but we'll fight tooth and nail for each other. Often in the morning they used to come in bed with me before time to get up and would laugh and talk with me. ... affection has been fairly well balanced in our family. My parents have always been tolerant to all three of us, and loving in their manner. We didn't have a great deal of outward show of affection, but we do love our family. (Case no. 10)

A show of affection was never very prominent in our family. Our affection was always understood rather than demonstrated when my brother and I were small. Mother would always tuck us in bed and kiss us good night. The affection in our family has always been well balanced. No one seemed to need more affection than others ... there has never been any favoritism shown in our family. I did not favor one parent over the other and I do not think my brother did either. (Case no. 11)

Affection was shown between my parents and me by them being understanding when my feelings were hurt in any way and I would come to them with my problems. They also gave me a loving kiss when I was sick or hurt. When daddy came home from work at the office I would meet him at the car and hug his neck. Also when my mother was in a bad mood or feeling bad I would try to be as understanding as I could and not be any trouble to her. For example, the time mother and daddy were both in the hospital and my grandmother died. I lived with my aunt and did my best to help her in every way so that they would be proud of me and know that I understood their grief. ... I could tell that mother and daddy loved one another by the sweet little things that they did such as remembering the important sentimental events in their lives ... I don't favor one parent but I love them in different ways. Daddy and I have always gone hunting together and been pals, but I always went to mother first with my problems. (Case no. 4)

Although our family members think the world of each other, we are not too demonstrative. We show our love for one another by little things we do for each other instead of outright kissing and embracing ... I have never been conscious of loving one more than the other because I have always been close to both ... (Case no. 2)

Special affectional needs of the children are met with understanding and sympathy, without the establishment of patterns of over-protection or indulgence and with no feeling of resentment on the part of the children. Concerning this the students write:

When one of us needed a favor, we were favored ... but ... my parents have never favored or been partial to any one of us. (Case no. 2)

If one was ill or going through a stage of needing more affection she got it until she had passed the need. But we girls ourselves never complained of being less favored or receiving less attention. (Case no. 10)

d. Students' evaluation of the parent-child relation

The students who have grown up in Democratic homes feel free at the present time to make all decisions for themselves, although in every case they state that they discuss important decisions with their parents. They feel that the guidance being given by their parents is wise and feel no resentment toward their parents because of parental interference in their lives.

One student writes:

I have never felt that my parents are trying to run my life. They have always given the proper guidance when needed. I don't think I would want more supervision because I like to be able to make my own decisions. (Case no. 11)

They regard their parents with affection and respect. They hope to do as well with their children as their parents did with them. Yet they appear to recognize and accept their parents as people, with whom they are establishing a friendly, person-to-person relationship. They write:

When I have a family, I hope I can be as understanding and patient as my parents have been with me. I hope that I can raise my children as my parents have raised me. Now that I am nearly grown, I feel that my parents are my best friends rather than just two people that tell me what to do. I think they were wise in the way that they treated me and very just. My mother's main weakness was being so nervous, but I have learned to accept it and try to be understanding. (Case no. 4)

When I have a family, I hope to raise my children to be as happy as I am. I think my parents have been and still are just, wise, and loving to myself and my siblings. (Case no. 2)

When I have a family I would like to raise them as nearly like I have been as possible. My parents gave me many opportunities to live my own life and still gave me the atmosphere of a wonderful home and high moral standards. I have always loved and respected my parents, and even more so now. I think parents were just in their discipline. If

I did not think so at the time, I later realized their side of the question. One of their few weaknesses was that we did not have very many intimate talks. We always discussed problems, but did not just talk much until recent years. I think they were strong in their ability to do things with us. They always took part in the parent associations in grade school. In high school they would help with parties and chaperone dances. This made for a better understanding between us. (Case no. 11)

Illustration - Democratic pattern, Case no. 10

The M. family, although not altogether an "ideal" typical case,¹ will serve to illustrate the democratic family. The M.'s, father, mother and three daughters, live on the outskirts of a large city in a "company" house. Mr. M. is employed by an oil company. They are Americans and Protestants in religious affiliation.

Mrs. M., a college graduate, gave up teaching when she married and is a full time homemaker. However, she has retained an active interest in the study of mental hygiene and has also studied sewing and nutrition since her marriage.

The daughters ages are 18, 15, and 13. The oldest is the student reporting.

In the husband-wife relationship Mr. and Mrs. M. get along well together. Each is pleased with himself and with the job the other has done. Concerning her parents, the student writes:

I believe my father rightly thinks he has lived up to his ideals of a good father, husband, provider and community citizen ... Mother and father get along very well ... their only fusses being small quarrels when both were tired and their nerves were on edge. Also, dad has always been able to provide all the necessities of a home and some luxuries ... As a community citizen my father is willing to co-operate with leaders, and makes a good leader himself.

Mother has never felt she's been an inadequate wife and father has never given her reasons to ... as for being a homemaker, mother feels she's filled the bill, I believe. ... I think mother knows she has been and is being, the kind of mother we girls needed, and need now. Mother seemed more sensitive to our wants and needs and often gave up

¹ See footnote p. 76.

things for us. She used to take us to the show and put up with our crying and running around ... messing up her dresses. She discontinued her teaching because it put the family in a dither. She never has time to sew for herself or write to her friends because she's busy doing for us. Mother likes good furniture, and a spotless house, but she had to put up with a not so spotless home and the idea that she'd have to put up her good spreads and vases until we got older.

As parents, both Mr. and Mrs. M. are praised by the student. She writes:

Mother and daddy were largely responsible for my care as an infant ... In my estimation dad made, and makes a wonderful father. He rocked me, sang to me, read stories to me by the hours, and played with me. He changed my diapers, bathed me, dressed me ... in fact any time daddy wasn't busy at the station he loved taking over the baby duties.

The mother's relationship with her children is described thus:

In our early years mother was a sort of a play-mate. She guided us as a playmate in our games. She helped us in ways understandable to a child. As we grew up we were left more to ourselves in our games. We had the privilege of choosing more objects for ourselves. Still mother was there as a help mate. Even later she became a counselor to us. One who could help us with our more grown up problems. She was a good listener and adviser. She directed as to articles that could help us when she wasn't sure of her advice. She became a grown up friend, a person we were proud to introduce our friends to. Our clothes, gifts, necessities, and problems were things we made our choices on almost completely ... yet she is there if we need her help. Bit by bit she is helping us to pull away, letting us get the feel of being on our own.

The family appears to have worked out a complex pattern of interaction which results in unity, but allows for individual needs to be met. The student writes:

... looking at other families, I'd say we were a pretty good example of unity. We do each go our own way concerning parties, dates, hobbies, etc., but compared to other families I'd say ours stood up very well. We aren't indifferent to each other in any respect. We have rules in our home, but they don't tie us to the home in a strangle hold. They do, however, have a unifying effect. More of our rules are unspoken. I wouldn't have dinner with D— on Christmas Day or a date on Christmas Eve because our family always spends that time together at home. No one told me to stay home, and no one would have said anything. They would've felt bad, but wouldn't have said anything about it.

Decision making in the M. family is a family affair, with the parents taking the lead and the children helping out where they can. Family decisions,

made in family council, are accepted and abided by by family members. The student writes:

Decisions have been decided in group discussions ... each of us having his or her say. I wouldn't say any one person in our family made most of the decisions. Dad consulted mother on job changes ... large purchases for the home, such as sofas, the grand piano, dining room suite, bedroom suite, etc., are decided on by all five of us. ... our saving and spending is also planned by the family ... mostly mother and dad, but we are expected to know something about what goes on and help. We all decided what church we would join, and mon, dad, and I entered as a group, the girls joining later.

Generally, well I can say always, that the family decides isn't swayed by any one member. We each silently agree that what we've all agreed on is the final decree.

Expectations held for the children are consistent, reasonable, and always in keeping with the child's abilities.

My parents had no "model child" in mind. They knew that there were no perfect children just as there are no perfect adults and neither of them expected the impossible.

I have always been expected to succeed, and so far I have succeeded. I don't refer to big things like being Valedictorian, being President of the Student Council, etc., but doing a job well, being able to meet people, adjust myself to new situations, having good common sense and using it.

Decisions concerning family expectations are made by the family group.¹ Responsibilities are given the child gradually, with a gradual decrease in adult supervision as the child shows her readiness to take over for herself.²

The student writes:

My ideas were asked for, and many times accepted. When I was young, mother decided what clothes I would wear, what and how much I should eat. Both parents knew when it was time for me to go to bed and one would tell me as often as the other. I chose my friends. However,

1 Bossard and Boll, op. cit., pp. 151-152, in their description of a democratic home write: "All matters of concern to the family are decided by debate and vote ... no question get the answer 'Mother, or father, knows best.'"

2. This is in keeping with Ethel Waring's guidance principle no. 9, op. cit., p. 23.

if my parents disliked my choice I was told why and then left me to my decision. My parents decided how much money I should spend, but as I grew older and took over more responsibilities and after learning the hard way, I devised a budget for myself.

All of the few rules that were made were made in family council by all of us ... a good many family rules were unspoken, but natural. For example, I was never told what time to get in on my dates, but I knew ordinary dates ended before 11:00 p.m. and special dates usually not later than 2:00 ... I knew what I could or couldn't do.

I was allowed to choose my wardrobe with a minimum of aid and decide what things needed to be added to it. I made a choice of how I should spend my summer ... working, relaxing, or visiting ... I was permitted to choose my college and major. Gradually I was given more and more independence ... I was given the responsibility of driving our car to school daily at the age of fourteen.

The parental guidance and discipline is consistently firm, but always reasonable, with due consideration for the individuality of the child. She writes:

If my parents realized a selfish motive in something I wanted, or knew it was wrong for me, they would explain why I couldn't have it. I was never left in the dark as to whys and why nots; but I didn't get a thing just because I wanted it ... regardless of the sacrifices people would have to make for me or what it would do for me.

In case of mistakes, if it was one I'd made many times their reaction would be worse than if it was a first time. The first time misdemeanors were given attention, but it was more or less "we learn by trial and error" attitude. Usually I was never punished very severely. As a result of my parents rather liberal attitude I wasn't afraid to admit most of my mistakes.

I really wasn't disciplined strictly ... I cannot remember more than one spanking in my life. It was given by my father when I was about five ... As I grew older I was lectured to, mostly by mother, who could lecture for hours on end.¹ In high-school my privileges would be denied me. I was seldom punished, but when I was both parents took part in it. When they administered punishment it was for doing something I had explicitly been told not to do several times, or for something I had done knowing it was wrong. We were disciplined according to the way we behaved and according to our needs. C— is far more

¹ There is perhaps more pressure to conform exerted by the "lectures" to which the student refers than is observed in the other cases. However, her descriptions of the parent-child relations are considered by the investigator to be excellent for illustration.

sensitive than I am. Therefore, she didn't ever need as strict a discipline as I did.

When I pouted my parents left me alone because I would slowly begin to reason with myself. Later on they reasoned with me and often helped me plan other things to do. If we acted naturally our parents would give us more responsibilities and privileges. If we acted childishly our responsibilities and privileges were limited. Our parents always treated us as we acted.

The home atmosphere is described as "leisurely slow". Affection is well balanced. Special needs are met as they arise. The student writes:

Affection has been fairly well balanced in our family. My parents have always been tolerant to all three of us, and loving in their manner. We didn't have a great deal of outward show of affection, but we do love our family.

I think there have been no favorites in our family. We've all three been given the very best. When gifts are given, clothes are bought, etc., we all received equal portions.

I didn't favor one parent over the other either. I could be angry with one of them for a time and think one was much better to me, but it never lasted long.

You just can't stay mad at my mother and father.

If one was ill or going through a stage of needing more affection she got it until she had passed the need. But we girls ourselves have never complained of being less favored or receiving less attention.

Consideration is given each individual; cooperative planning together is a part of their life. The girls are expected to assume their share of the responsibility for the house. This is described in this way:

In junior high (8th grade) we fixed out a work schedule among ourselves without bothering the folks. ... this varied according to the business of each individual ... if one person was unable to do his work the other did it for him.

At first mother designated our responsibilities for us. Later we girls decided on them among ourselves. There was no forced feeling, but the work was expected of us. We all enjoyed the house, so we all helped with it.

The student in this case appears well-adjusted and mature. She feels capable of making her own decisions, but she feels she would discuss important ones with her parents. She feels free to decide all things for herself

and accepts her parents as they are with affection and respect.

I hold my parents in high esteem. I believe they dealt wisely and were just. My father's weakness is in not ever arguing because he believes it means you're wrong. His strength is in his slow, deliberate talk with meat in every sentence and his wonderful way of getting along with others. Mother's weakness lies in the fact that she'll work herself to the bone before she quits and then be too tired to relax. Her strength is in her wisdom behind her wonderful personality. My parents together make a wonderful team.

I feel confident that I couldn't go wrong if I reared my family the way my parents reared theirs. There are a few changes I would introduce, such as educating my children about sex, and not lecturing for long periods of time.

Summary-description of the Democratic pattern in parent-child relations

The outstanding factor in the Democratic families is the feeling tone, which produces an atmosphere in which all family members feel free to behave as individual personalities. The home is full of activity yet is relatively free of tension. Conflict if not marked, but to a certain degree it is used as a means of settling differences.

Individual adjustments within the family group are mutually satisfying to all family members. There is evidence of loyalty and support of family members yet freedom of expression of individual differences. Rapport among family members is good.

The family control relationship is characterized by its acceptance of the contribution of each family member. Family decisions are discussed with all family members, with the child helping according to her capabilities. Decisions which can be made only by adults are made by the parents. The child's part in decision making is increased gradually as she indicates readiness to assume the responsibility.

Parental expectations, well-defined and understood by the child, are consistent and reasonable. Limitations considered necessary are imposed by the parents. They are accepted by the child as necessary and fair.

Various means of control are used by the parents. These include those of a restrictive type as well as those considered to be "guidance". Two factors appear significant. First, the parents act with confidence in disciplinary matters whenever they feel it is necessary. Second, the child is given an opportunity to defend his behavior, to "stand up for himself", to voice his objections. Final decisions are made after both sides of the case are reviewed. The genuine acceptance of the child (but a censoring of what he has done) appears to be more significant in parent-child relations than the specific type of punishment. In other words, if the relationship between parents and child is one of basic acceptance, almost any kind of discipline given in moderation is acceptable to the child.

Parental guidance in these cases seems to take into account the interests and abilities of the individual child. The parents serve as guides and helpers, being willing to allow the child all the personal freedom which it is felt that she can manage.

Affectional needs of family members are well balanced. Affectional display is not marked. Special personal needs are met as they arise, with little, if any, feeling of resentment from other family members.

Students who have grown up in these homes feel now that they are free to make all decisions for themselves, yet they usually discuss these with their parents. They feel that parental guidance being given now is wise and express no resentment toward their parents. They regard them with affection and respect. They hope to do as well with their children as their parents have with them. They appear now to be establishing a friendly, person-to-person, relationship with their parents.

5. The Indulgent Pattern in Parent-Child Relations¹

N = 3

a. General

The Indulgent pattern of control includes those families which range on the continuum between the cases considered to be Democratic and the one thought to be Laissez-faire. They resemble the Benevolent Autocratic group in that the children are expected to meet family expectations which center largely around the family value system.² Although the expectations held in the two groups are similar, there is a marked difference in the parental pressures exerted on the child. As the Benevolent Autocrat is identified by his persistently firm insistence that his standards be met, the indulgent parent is recognized by the laxity in enforcing his requirements of the child. While the Benevolent Autocrat is acceptant only of behavior which conforms to his expectations, the Indulgent parent is acceptant of his child as she is, exerting little, if any, pressure on her to conform. In fact, the entire family pattern is characterized by its degree of acceptance of all family members. Each parent is acceptant not only of the children, but of himself and the other partner as well. Each feels that he has done the best he could in his attempts to meet life's requirements and that his partner has done likewise.

¹ The characteristics of this group are somewhat like those of the indulgent home described by Baldwin, Kalhorn, and Breese in, "Patterns of Parent Behavior", *loc. cit.* They write: "(The indulgent home) is especially marked by its child-centeredness and the amount of parent child contact. Rapport is generally good ... approval completely overshadows disapproval ... but the warmth is not accompanied by any high degree of understanding."

² Two students in this group are children whose parents are college graduates living in large urban areas. The third, No. 27, is from a large Oklahoma farm family.

In their parental roles, the father and mother are understanding, accepting, and extremely lenient. They are quick to offer help, sympathetic with their children and generous with their time. Although they trust their children and expect them to succeed, they are willing to accept them as they are without undue pressure to change them.

The family control pattern, although appearing to approach equality between husband and wife, is characterized by its "child-centeredness". The children's ideas are always considered in family decision making and in some instances are the determining factors in decisions important to the family group.

b. Control practices

One of the most striking things in the group of indulged students is the freedom which is granted them in decision making. From early childhood they have been allowed to decide such things as their bed time, the foods they would eat, and their friends, with little interference from their parents.

The students write:

My opinions were always asked for and usually accepted. My mother and I picked out her clothes and mine together, trying to please my daddy. ... I ate until I was full. I went to bed when I got sleepy (which was usually early). My friends depended on whom I happened to like. My folks always agreed. I never received a specific allowance but my father gave me money anytime I wanted or needed it. (Case no. 22)

When I felt like going some place or doing something I would do it. I usually did what I felt like doing without asking about it. Mother and father have always let me do as I please. I didn't have very many rules ... They would let me make up my own mind, but they usually would tell me what they wished I would do. I went to bed when I got sleepy and not before. They let me select my own friends and didn't say anything usually when they didn't approve. (Case no. 29)

My ideas were always asked for and usually accepted (often with modifications) in decisions concerning myself. I was usually consulted in family decisions. I was allowed to choose the clothes I wanted to wear to school, and to choose my own hair style when I went to the beauty shop. (Case no. 37)

Although the parents do all they can to make life easy for their children, holding relatively few requirements for them, the students are aware of a limited number of things which are expected of them. These appear to reflect the values of the family and to have been "understood" by the child as things which her family considers important.¹ Minor requirements may be disregarded by the child, however. Those expectations which are firmly held by parents are usually met by the children, as they feel that they receive their parents approval for doing so. The students write:

I was expected to ... behave like a lady at all times in public, to give my parents a pretty good idea of where I was going and who with ... My parents definitely expect me to succeed in everything I attempt. They have always had confidence in my ability to take care of myself and allowed me much freedom. I was anxious to please them and usually managed to do what they expected without hurting myself. They have always expected me to make very good grades. (Case no. 37)

I knew what I could do and what I could not. I usually did what mother expected me to do. If I stayed out too late mother would scold me ... I have always felt it was my duty to please mother and do the things she wanted me to do. I finished eight years of 4-H Club work for her, I came to college because she wanted me to and I have put off my wedding because she didn't want me to get married yet. (Case no. 29)

I have always tried to live up to the standards placed before me by my parents, for it would hurt them terribly if I didn't. I love to get them something they want and try to be someone they can be proud of. (Case no. 22)

Other expectations, evidently interpreted by the student as being of less importance to the family, are often not met. This the parents accept with little show of disapproval. Concerning this the students say:

I was expected to help mother although I did not very often. (Case no. 29)

I was expected to make my bed, but seldom did; there was usually no disagreement over it however. (Case no. 22)

¹ This pattern of expecting certain family values to be upheld appears to be like that found in the Benevolent Autocratic families, but their number is relatively smaller, and they are not so rigidly adhered to as in the former cases.

Although the students are often not curbed, various means of control are used to encourage the child to do as the parents wanted. These are often "soft-pedaled", making the child's conformance as easy as possible. Rewards for approved behavior are given; approval is much more predominant than disapproval. When mistakes occur which are considered important enough to need correction, the parental expectations are pointed out and perhaps verbal disapproval is given. Physical punishment is seldom used. As the students see it:

My parents would talk to me and tell me I would have many disappointments in life and I should make the best of a bad situation, or tell me things I could do instead ... I had very few spankings. I was scolded more than anything else and then that was for not obeying. Sometimes I would feel I was nagged into things I didn't want to do. (Case no. 29)

Mother's training included the prize of getting to wear silk panties if I could keep my diapers dry. ... when I was a child they brought me surprises home every night. I guess they were rewards of a sort although I can't remember them having been kept from me when I was bad ... I was punished very seldom. When I was punished it was a spanking by which ever parent happened to be around. Instead of punishment I was usually just corrected ... they told me what I did wrong. (Case no. 22)

My mother says I was not trained, I just grew up. I was scolded when I did not live up to their expectations and praised when I did. I was not spanked. I was praised for good behavior and given extra money or something wanted very much for making A's in school. (Case no. 37)

In one case the student feels that her parents wanted her to remain a baby and did not encourage her to grow up. In the other two cases, however, the students feel that they were always made to feel "grown up".

My parents helped me to feel grown up by allowing me to manage my own allowance and having a savings account at the bank. By allowing me to feel "grown up", they were encouraging me to act that way. (Case no. 37)

My parents have always told me that I acted very old for my age so therefore that is the way I was treated. (Case no. 22)

Although this at first appears to be inconsistent with the usual "baby" treatment given these students, closer study leaves the impression that this practice in reality is the granting of privileges considered by the child to represent

grown-up behavior. This appears to have served, perhaps rather incidentally, as a technique which encouraged the desired behavior and somewhat counteracted the effects of overindulgence.

Talking back, sulking, and pouting are useful tools which the students use to get their way with their parents. However, when this is carried too far, the parents object. The students write:

I usually acted like a spoiled brat until I got my way. Sometimes I could talk them into things in a civilized manner. They would usually give in to my desires even when I was wrong, but that was only to make me happy and to let me learn by experience ... My parents ignored me (while sulking) unless I carried it too far, then I was punished.
(Case no. 37)

I talked back to mother and father, but I was afraid to very much with father. I was afraid to act up too much with father because he would scold or spank me. (Case no. 29)

In one case the student feels that this is not true, however, In her words:

I was brought up with everything I ever wanted. My parents nearly always let me do what I wanted to, but never if they thought it was wrong. They are still like that now and there is no way to get around them.
(Case no. 22)

The parent-child relationship is one of sympathy and understanding, and acceptance. Evidence to that effect is offered in this rather typical quotation:

When something happened at school and I came home crying my mother cried with me and really was a lot more hurt than I was. I got over my hurt feelings quickly, but mother worried about it ... My parents always seemed to understand. They knew when something troubled me and why it did. My parents always expected me to do my best and work at everything. They have always thought I could take care of myself. My father has always wanted me to make something of myself and has hoped that I would be real smart. He has now realized that I will never be a "brain" child and has accepted the idea. My parents always offered help in solving my problems... (Case no. 22)¹

1 Italics mine.

c. Emotional tone

The indulgent home is characterized by much display of affection between the parents and students.¹ The parents appear to want the approval of their children and attempt to win it by giving them everything they want. The home atmosphere is friendly and easy going with much overt expression of affection.

There is much mutual kissing goodbye and hello to show our affection. There has been no favoritism. Both of my parents have striven to win my affection. When I was a child they brought me "surprises" home every night. I was brought up with everything I ever wanted ... My home was always easy going and friendly. There has always been a lot of affection shown in our house, and no one is left out because of lack of affection. (Case no. 22)

In every case, the students feel that they are indulged, petted, and spoiled. In two cases the students are the last children in large families. They are the pampered babies of their families, demanding and getting their way most of the time. The third student is an only child whose parents "love" her so much that they want her to have everything she wants. Child guidance theories prevalent at the time of their early childhood were disregarded, as the parents showered attention and affection on their children. The students write:

Mother refused to put me on a strict schedule, which was the accepted method when I was a baby. Whenever I cried I was picked up; when I was hungry I was fed. I was breast fed and often rocked. (Case no. 37)

My father was so well pleased when I was born I never wanted for attention. While mother was still in bed my father and sisters would rock me until ten o'clock at night ... my family thought I should have what I wanted. I was petted and my siblings and parents gave in to me. Usually all I have to do now is ask ... I was the baby and I have never wanted for affection. Because I was the baby, I don't think my family wanted me to grow up. They wanted me to stay a baby, so sometimes they would treat me as one. I was a very healthy child and a spoiled one. (Case no. 29)

1 Baldwin, Kalhohn, and Breese, op. cit., noted much parent-child contact in the indulgent home in their study.

I was brought up with everything I ever wanted. My parents always let me do what I wanted to. (Case no. 22)

d. Students' evaluation of the parent-child relation

The students' evaluation of their maturity indicate that they are continuing to a certain extent the pattern of behavior which they have learned through interacting with their parents. One considers herself still a "spoiled" child. She writes:

I knew I was spoiled. I was spoiled when I was a baby and have been spoiled ever since ... am not as spoiled as I have been. When I started to junior high school I found out you couldn't have your way all the time. You have to give as well as take. (Case no. 29)

Another feels that she is fairly mature, except in the way she behaves when her wishes are denied. She writes:

I think I am pretty mature in everything except the way I act when I cannot have my own way. This concerns mainly the boy I am pinned to. When he won't let me have or do something I want, I will use any method I can think of to make him let me. I do not act childish about it. I use trickery. (Case no. 37)

The other is still very closely tied to her parents. She feels that she has fulfilled parental expectations completely, and that they are very dear to her. She writes:

My parents are very close to me and I like to be around them a lot. ... in my parents eyes I was a "model child" ... my parents are my friends but it is much deeper than that.

All three of the students hope to rear their families "exactly" as they have been reared. One writes:

I hope to raise my family just like they have raised their family. I think they were wise in the way they handled the children, for we all love them very much for their understanding ways. (Case no. 22)

Illustration, Indulgent pattern, Case no. 37

The student in this case is the youngest of the H.'s six children. Mr. H., a college graduate, has been a professional man and is now an

executive secretary of a large retail establishment. Mrs. H., also a college graduate, is a full time homemaker.

The student feels that both Mr. and Mrs. H. are well satisfied with each other and that they get along well together. In relation to her, they assume an indulgent and protective role. She feels that they value their children above everything else and make life as easy and pleasant for her as they can.

The atmosphere of the home is described as easy-going and informal, with the student often being the recipient of gifts, favors, and attention from all family members.

Her position in the family of this size apparently invites the showering of affection and special attentions which she receives. She feels that because she was the baby, both Mr. and Mrs. H. and the older sibs were "crazy" about her and loved and petted her. During her early childhood she remembers being rocked and sung to by her parents and older brothers. All family members remembered her and brought special favors to her when they returned from parties or trips. There is evidence of much physical coddling and show of affection as she was growing up.

As a young child, the student feels that few expectations were held for her. She was allowed to decide most things for herself, having few "set" rules which she was expected to follow. She writes:

In our family confusion reigned and there were few rules ... Mostly common sense told me what I could or couldn't do ... I practiced piano whenever I got around to it as long as I got it done ... as long as mother knew where I was I didn't have to be home from school until after dark ... I also had no set bed time when I was young and no set time to be home after I started dating.

Despite the fact that few rules were held for her, certain expectations, in keeping with family values, were understood by the student. She was expected to be a "lady at all times", to be cheerful at meals, to get an educat-

ion, and above all to keep her family name.¹ In her words:

Ever since I can remember, I have had it made clear to me that I was a member of a respected family and it was my responsibility to conduct myself in a manner that would not bring disrespect to the family.

To encourage her to conform to these expectations, Mr. and Mrs. H. usually resorted to "talking" or "lecturing". In some instances she was removed from the family group, remaining in isolation until she was ready to conform. During adolescence Mr. H. used this technique which she considers effective:

Often as an adolescent my father would write me letters and mail them from the office ... the letters were so sweet I was very ashamed of myself and no further punishment was needed.

However, she cites many instances in which she was not required to do as they wished her to do.

When their expectations interfered with the things she wanted, she sulked and pouted, acting like a "spoiled brat" until she got her way. In this case Mr. and Mrs. H. allowed her to disregard their wishes, hoping to bring her happiness by permitting her to do as she wished. Temper outbursts and tears often served as a means of getting her way, as her parents resistance to her weakened in their attempts to placate her. In her words:

When I had disagreements with my parents I would always cry ... I would get mad and not be able to reason with them, but I usually got my way sooner or later ... If my feelings got too hurt I'd cry. They would always baby me.

In relation to herself at the present time, the student feels that although she has often been clever with people and has been able to outsmart them, she is no longer spoiled. She considers herself fairly mature except in her relationship with her boy friend, with whom she uses any trick she can think of to get her way. That she feels need for continuation of her parents

¹ In this respect the Indulgent pattern differs from the laissez-faire in which family goals are secondary to individual desires.

guidance is evidenced in this statement:

"Without them to tone me down a little I might be a little wild."

Although she realizes that her parents have indulged her, she tends to support their policies and hopes to rear her children in the same manner.

In her words:

Their weakness lay in not sticking by their decisions always ... they gave in to me too much and let me have my own way when they didn't think it was right ... When I have children I shall try to raise them as nearly like I was as possible, because I think I have had just and fair treatment and I like and respect my parents and feel they used wisdom in raising their family.

Summary-description of the Indulgent pattern in parent-child relations

Ranging between the cases labeled Democratic and those considered to be Laissez-faire in their pattern of control are the cases classed in the Indulgent group. This group is characterized by its degree of acceptance of all family members and its laxity in enforcing parental policies and expectations for the children.

As parents, the fathers and mothers in this group are understanding, acceptant, and lenient. They are quick to offer help, sympathetic with their children and generous with their time. Even though they hold a few definite standards for their children and expect them to succeed, they are willing to accept much of their children's behavior just as it is and exert little pressure to change it.

Although the two parents appear to have achieved a control relationship which approaches balance, the child and her desires sometimes outweighs other family members, producing a control pattern which is somewhat child-centered.

Much freedom is granted the child in decision making. She is allowed at an early age to make decisions of importance for herself.

Despite this freedom in decision making, certain expectations held for the children are recognized and understood by the students. These expectations, which appear to reflect family values considered to be important, are usually met by the students. Other expectations, evidently considered of less importance by the student, are recognized but often not met, as the child realizes she is free to choose whether or not she will do them.

Various means of guidance and control are used to encourage the child to conform. However, parental approval is far more prevalent than disapproval. In one case the parents tend to baby the student, apparently desiring her to remain a baby. The other cases appear to have attempted to encourage the behavior they wished by allowing her privileges which she considered "grown-up".

In two cases the students feel that they successfully used talking back, sulking, and pouting as means to get their way. In another case the student feels that although her parents allow her "everything she wants" there still is a limit beyond which she cannot go and she has found no way to change this. This case most nearly resembles the democratic pattern, being nearest it on the continuum.

Much affection is expressed in the indulgent home. The parents appear to value the approval of their children and attempt to win it by giving them everything they are able to give.

In every case the students feel that they have been indulged, loved, and spoiled. Two of the students are the youngest child in large families. They have been pampered and indulged, getting their way most of the time. The third is an only child whose parents appear to have "loved" her so much that they attempt to give her any and everything she wants. In all cases attention and affection have been generously given.

The students' evaluation of their own maturity indicates that they are continuing to a certain extent the pattern of behavior which they learned as a child. Two of them give evidence of still being "spoiled" children. The third gives evidence of emotional dependency on her parents. They report that they think their parents made a mistake in pampering them, yet all three declare that they plan to rear their children in the way they have been reared.

6. The Laissez-faire Pattern in Parent-Child Relations
N = 1

The case which falls at the extreme end of the continuum is described separately, not because it is considered necessarily an ideal-typical illustration of laissez-faire control, but rather because it appears not only to differ from the cases in the Indulgent patterns sufficiently to justify a separate classification, but also because it resembles the laissez-faire description made by Ingersoll, who writes:¹

The children do about as they please ... Familism in this home is at a minimum and affection is usually casual. Everyone goes his own way.

Since the control practices of this case represent only those found in one family, it will be presented as a case, without attempting to make any generalizations from it.

Illustration, Laissez-faire pattern, Case no. 16

The reporting student in this case is the youngest of the B.'s four children. Mr. B., a high school graduate, has operated a service station for many years. Mrs. B., who had two years of college, helps him in his business.

The family control pattern is marked by the lack of evident control

1 Ingersoll, op. cit., p. 292.

measures. The student feels that there is "little decision making", but that her ideas and opinions are always asked for and accepted when decisions are made.

The only expectation which appears to be held for the student is that she succeed in school, although she was not pushed to go to college. She now feels that they have expected too much of her in the way of school success, as she has not achieved as well in school as her sister, whose standards she feels she is expected to meet. Although she did not meet this expectation, she believes her parents consider her a "model child".

In relation to her personal behavior, she feels she has usually gone her own way pretty much without parental supervision or interference. She writes:

They always taught me what they said goes. But I usually made my own decisions ... I always did and acted like I felt like doing ... As I grew older I got an allowance. Bought my own clothes without help. Went to bed when I got ready ... If I wanted to go to college, I could. If I wanted to stay home I could. Not as far back as I can remember has there been where one of us should give up their own wants in order to please others, or to keep peace in the family.

Her parents treatment of her is characterized by its apparent lack of concern about her behavior. They allow her to solve her own problems, seldom offering advice to her. Their attitude appears to be that she "wouldn't learn any younger". Her mistakes are regarded lightly. The only parental disapproval she mentions is that they were displeased once when she deliberately missed school. As she interprets it, this is the way she was punished:

The way that I was punished the most was by sitting down and explaining everything to them. Then they would tell me what I should have done and why. Then sometimes they would take some of my priviledges away.

Her dexterity in managing her parents is described thus:

I always tried to please them both ... whenever I was a child or teenager, I usually got what I wanted. But if they thought it was wrong or selfish of me, they provided (me) with something else that I was much happier with. I wouldn't call it getting "around" my parents to get my

own way ... I tried to reason it out with them. I put it in such a manner that they couldn't help seeing it my way. I explained it to them in all ways.

Affectional relations in the family appear to possess the same carefree informality evident throughout the case. The student describes her home as "easy going and cheerful", and feels that her parents spoiled all four of the children. That this carefree atmosphere existed is evident in this statement:

If there were ever a mistake made by mom and dad as children we laughed at them.

The student feels now that she is free to make most of her own decisions.

In her words:

My parents would say "I'm old enough to make my own decisions" about everything except church ... If I were to meet someone here at school, marry them on the spur of the moment ... I don't think they would say too much.

In evaluation of her parents upbringing she writes:

If I have a family, I think that I would raise them as I have been raised because I sort of like it that way. About the only change that I would make would be to make them study more than I had to and I would sit there and see that it was done. I regard my parents as the best things that I know, not only as parents, but as people. I think that most of the time they were wise and just in dealing with me. I think their weakness was in hating to punish me and sometimes letting me talk my way out of things by way of reasoning.

Summary-description of the Laissez-faire pattern in parent-child relations

One case not only differs from other cases of the sample sufficiently to justify a separate classification but also appears to resemble the laissez-faire description made by Ingersoll.¹ Since the data in this sample are confined to one case in this classification, no generalizations can be drawn concerning this control pattern.

The authority pattern in this family is marked by lack of observable

1 Ibid.

control measures. Few expectations are held for the student; these she meets or not as she likes. She goes and comes about as she pleases, as does everyone else in her family.

The parent-child relationship is characterized by an apparent lack of concern about the student's behavior. Little parental disapproval is shown, although the student feels free to do as she likes, she feels that her parents consider her a "model child". Affectional relations are matter of course and family ties are not close. There are few joint family goals.

The home atmosphere is casual and carefree, an atmosphere in which much individual freedom is expressed.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

A. Summary of Findings

This study had as its purpose the analysis and description of some specific aspects of parent-child relations which appear to be related to the authority patterns. Analysis of data from autobiographies of thirty-one college freshman girls revealed authority relationships ranging from parental dominance to a child-centered control. Six patterns of authority were evident in the data of this sample, namely, Autocratic, "Pseudo"-Autocratic, Benevolent Autocratic, Democratic, Indulgent, and Laissez-faire.

An excerpt analysis of the data produced descriptions of three specific aspects of these authority patterns: (1) control practices, (2) emotional tone, and (3) student's evaluation of the parent-child relations. Likewise, the analysis produced descriptions of the interaction of the various aspects of the control pattern.

The descriptions in brief form follow:¹

Autocratic. In the six cases considered to be most dominated, the father makes major decisions for the family. The mother, who makes the major adjustment in the marriage, responds to his control in various ways ranging from acceptance through circumvention to outward opposition.

Expectations for the children are rigid and restrictive. The father appears to consider himself in the position of authority, and in some cases uses the children for ego-extension.

¹ The descriptions are stated as generalizations without regard to their relativity. Some degree of probability is to be assumed.

The atmosphere of the autocratic home is tense and uneasy. Affection for family members is not expressed overtly. There is favoritism for, and discrimination against, certain children in the family.

The student's reaction to autocratic control includes both defiance and submissiveness. In every case the student has learned how to either partially or entirely circumvent her father's authority.

"Pseudo"-Autocratic. Four additional cases appeared to be autocratic. Yet the control practices in these cases were differentiated from those of the extreme autocratic control because of differences in the mother and father's treatment of the child. These differences appear to result from personality characteristics of the parents. In every case the father is described as being more affectionate, more patient, more considerate and generally more stable than the mother. The mother is described as moody, impatient, and unpredictable, overly demanding of herself and others. Her expectations for the children are in many instances unreasonable; her reactions to the child are uncertain. The inconsistency resulting from this variable reaction creates an atmosphere of uncertainty and tension. The father, who serves to stabilize the family group, appears to make the major adjustment in the husband-wife relationship, though he is neither passive nor submissive.

The students from these homes, feeling misunderstood, appear to reject parental advice and help and therefore tend now to make all decisions independent of their parents.

Benevolent Autocratic. This group consists of thirteen cases, in which family integration is marked and in which family goals and expectations are given first consideration. Parental authority is accepted by all family members.

These parents confidently expect their children to meet their expectations which are clearly defined and well understood. No opportunity for child participation in family decision making is provided. The child is gently but firmly guided to conform to parental expectations which center around values held by the family.

Affectional ties in this group are close. Students who have grown up in these homes have usually obeyed their parents and they now experience feelings of guilt when they do not. Their loyalty and support of parental policies is marked.

Democratic. Four cases fall into the Democratic group. The outstanding factor in these families is the feeling tone, which produces an atmosphere in which all family members feel free to behave as individual personalities yet feel allegiance to, and supported by, the integrated family group.

The atmosphere of the home is free of tension, although conflict is used at times as a means of settling differences.

The control relationship is characterized by its acceptance of the contribution of each family member, with the child gradually assuming his share of personal and family responsibility as he is able to do so.

Parental expectations are well-defined and are accepted by the child as reasonable and fair. The parents' assumption or delegation of responsibility for decision making is related to the maturity of the child. He grows into assumption of responsibility for himself.

Various means of discipline are used. The parents are matter-of-fact and confident in their use of disciplinary measures. Although they correct and punish the child as they feel it is necessary, punishment is given less frequently and rigidity is less marked in this group than in families using autocratic control.

Good rapport exists between parents and children. The parent-child relationship is one of frankness and acceptance in which almost any kind of discipline given in moderation appears to be acceptable to the child. Affectional display is not marked; yet special affectional needs are met and a feeling of loyalty and support of family members is evident.

Students who have grown up in these homes feel free to make their own decisions but discuss important ones with their parents. They express little or no resentment toward their parents. Their present relationship with their parents appears to be on a friendly, person-to-person basis.

Indulgent. Three cases fell into a group characterized by its degree of acceptance of all family members and its laxity in enforcing parental policies and expectations for the children.

The control is somewhat child-centered. The parents are understanding, acceptant, and lenient. Much freedom is allowed the child in decision making.

Certain expectations in keeping with family values are met by the child. Other expectations are not met, as the child is allowed often to choose what she will do. Various means of control are used; however, parental approval is more prevalent than disapproval. Much affection is expressed between family members.

The students who have grown up in these homes feel that they have been indulged, loved, and "spoiled". Two students feel that perhaps they have remained somewhat "spoiled", the third feels close to her parents and to some degree emotionally dependent upon them.

Laissez-faire. One case falls in this classification. In this family lack of control is evident; family integration is negligible. The student now feels free to make any decision for herself and expresses little feeling of responsibility for other family members.

B. Results and Conclusions

Although the findings of such a limited sample can in no way be called conclusive, the analysis of this data has aided in the clarification and verification of existing theories and scientific evidence relating to authority patterns in parent-child relations.

This study has served to confirm the findings of other investigators that certain patterns of authority exist in family relationships. It has contributed to existing descriptions of specific aspects of these authority patterns. Further it has provided additional descriptions of the interaction of certain aspects of these authority patterns.

C. Implications of This Study

Implications for families. Although the results of this study are not conclusive, they hold certain implications for families in the complex culture of today. First, these findings may aid family members in developing insight into the nature of the authority relationships present in their families. Secondly, if it can be assumed that certain feeling tones and certain student reactions to parental control are more desirable outgrowths in family living than are others, then it can be assumed that these findings will aid families in their selection of the kind of authority relationships which they wish to cultivate in their homes. Further, should they wish to alter the interpersonal relationships centering around their control practices, these findings will provide suggestions for their consideration.

Implications for education. If it can be assumed that increased knowledge concerning interaction patterns and their functioning will make for more effective teaching in family relationships, the findings which this study produced will be valuable to the field of family life education. In a field of study which remains largely on the level of conjecture and supposition, it

is hoped that a descriptive analysis of real life situations will contribute to the field of knowledge.

Implications for further research. The need for further research in this area is apparent. To be conclusive, the findings of this study would of necessity be tested on samples representative of the various ages, sexes, classes, and racial groups, in the various regions of the United States.

There is need for further investigation of the actual dynamic process involved in authority relationships and of the steps in that process. Longitudinal studies in which the whole range and development of authority relationships from early to late parenthood are yet to be done.

Finally, studies in experimental situations with control groups are needed in which the degree of accuracy and precision will be sufficient to verify process as well as cause and effect, and make predictions possible. These types of research are needed to gain a scientific understanding of interaction in the complex situations involved in family relationships.

APPENDIX

OKLAHOMA A. & M. COLLEGE
DIVISION OF HOME ECONOMICS
DEPARTMENT OF HOME LIFE

Family Code No. _____

Family Life Research
M. Sharrock

YOUR FAMILY HISTORY

General Nature of Your Family History

In writing your family history, begin with your parent's marriage and continue on until today. Include the most significant experiences, both pleasant and unpleasant, which you believe happened to your family. Some of these you will relate from memory; others from hearsay. As you write, label the sections according to the outline.

I. External factors affecting your family life.

- A. Date and place of your parent's marriage.
- B. Names and ages of children born to them, as well as of others living in the family group.
- C. Race, nationality, and religious beliefs of your parents. Were there differences between your parents in race, nationality or religion; or between your family and others in the community. In what ways, if any, did these differences affect your family life?
- D. Educational background of your parents.
 1. Were their educational backgrounds alike or different? How did this affect your family life?
- E. Occupations and work responsibilities.
 1. List the jobs your father has held since he started working. What changes took place in his occupation or ambitions after he married. What part, if any, has your mother played in his continuing or discontinuing in a job. Explain and give examples.
 2. Has your mother worked outside the home before or after marriage? If so, why? How did your father feel about it? How did you feel about it? How has it affected your family?
 3. Was your mother able to cook, sew and keep house well when she married? How does your father feel now about her abilities in homemaking skills? How does she feel about her worth as a homemaker? How do you and your siblings feel about it?
 4. Describe how the work got done in your family, when you were small. When you were a teen-ager. What part did each member, (father, mother, each child) assume as his responsibility? If there were joint jobs, list these as well as those that were separate. If there were jobs over which there was disagreement, tell about those. Give examples. Whose responsibility was it to care for the children? Was it a joint, or a one person job? Did this situation change, or stay the same, as you grew older?

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F. Economic Status.

1. Give a short review of your family's financial ups and downs. Have there been any drastic changes in income? In what way, if any, did this affect your family?
2. Compare your home with others in the community. In what way, if any, did the house you lived in make life easier or harder for you? In what way, if any, has it influenced your relationship with your parents? Give an example.

G. Cultural differences in your parents.

1. Were there noticeable differences in the tastes or backgrounds of your parents which made adjustments necessary? In what way, if any, have these affected your family?

H. Health and Vigor.

1. Was illness or poor health a problem in your family at any time? If so, tell when and in what way.
2. Were any family members considered "weaker" than others? How were they treated by parents and by siblings? In what way, if any, did their "weakness" affect family living? Give an example.

I. Contact with in-laws.

1. Has your family ever lived in the home of your grandparents? Has one or more in-law lived in your home? What influence, if any, did they exercise over your family? Give an illustration.

J. Values or goals.

1. What are the things your family appears to value most? Money? Children? Work? Social Standing? Respect of neighborhood? Others?
2. Recall the things you did wrong that upset your parents most. What were the things they were most apt to punish you for? How were you punished? Be sure to include some things when you were small, and some when you were growing up. What do you think they would be most upset about now?

K. Family Troubles.

1. If there have been any major troubles or hard times in your family, who assumed the leadership in working through the problem. In what way did the crisis affect your family?

End of Part I

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II. Your Family

A. Roles Played by Family Members.

1. Do you believe that your father thinks he has done a good job as a father? as a husband? as a provider? as a community citizen? If not, what is the difference between what he is and what he would like to be?
2. How do you think your mother feels about the kind of mother, wife, homemaker, and community citizen she has been? In what ways, if any, has she been unable to do what she thought she should do? Does she feel that as a mother her job has changed any as her children grew older? In what ways has she shown you that she enjoyed or regretted being a woman? Explain by an example.
3. In so far as you know, does each parent feel satisfied with the other, and with the jobs each has done? That is, does your mother think your father is an adequate provider, and your father think your mother is a good homemaker? Explain. If there are times when they have been dissatisfied with each other, what adjustment has one or both made as a result?
4. What differences, if any, did your parents make between boys and girls in responsibilities and privileges? Did they remain the same, or change, as the children grew up? Which sex, if either, was preferred by your parents? Did they attempt, in any way, to influence any of their children to become more masculine or feminine?

B. Patterns of Authority in your Family

1. As a child growing up in your family, who, if anyone, would you judge made most of the decisions for the family? Were these decisions onesided or shared? or alternated from person to person? Consider, for example, who decided on each of these: (a) job changes, (b) houses you lived in, (c) new purchases for the home, (d) spending and saving, (e) entertainment, (f) recreation, (g) church memberships and attendance, etc.
If there was little or no decision-making but everyone did as he chose, indicate that, and illustrate your answer. Tell whether this was true when you were younger as well as now,
2. If one parent seems to you to have been the "head" of your family, or the one in authority, as you were growing up, on what occasions, if any, did he or she "lay down the law"? How did the other partner react? Did he accept it quietly? get around it somehow? refuse to do it? Was his way of acting always the same, or did different circumstances make a difference? Explain by example if you can.
3. Did what you want to do, or what some other child wanted to do, outweigh the decisions of the family? If so, explain how you or he managed to sway the family to that way of thinking. Illustrate.

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C. Affectional Relations in Your Family

1. Describe the atmosphere of your home as you were growing up. Was it easy going, business-like, tense, others? How did family members react to each others mistakes, shortcomings, or inadequacies? Give an example.
2. Describe and give examples of the ways through which affection was shown between you and your parents; between your parents and you; and between you and your siblings. If there was little demonstration of affection, why? Was the affection between your family members apparently balanced, or have some members given, or needed, more than others?
3. Has any family member been the "favorite" of another? Did you favor one parent? If so, did you attempt in any way to especially please him or her? Did the favoritism change as you grew older? Were any children less favored? Explain.
4. Did either or both of your parents go out of their way to win your affection? When you were a child, or teen-ager, did they usually give in to you when you wanted something very much, even though you were selfish or wrong? Now, do you know how to "get-around" one or both parents in order to get your way? If so, Explain.
5. When you were younger, did you, or did you not feel that it was very important to please your parents? Why, or why not? Did you feel it your duty to please them? Has this situation changed, or not, since you have grown older? Explain.
6. Which family member, if any, seemed more sensitive to the needs and wants of others in the family? Which persons, if any, often gave up their own wants in order to please others, or to keep peace in the family?
7. When you were a child, what were the usual responses of your parents when they disagreed? Did they get sarcastic, critical, not speak to each other; get sick, feel sorry for themselves? Or did they ignore each other? refuse to show openly their feelings? others? How did their disagreements usually end? Did one usually "give in" first? Explain by example, if you can.
8. When there were differences between you and your parents, what was your usual reaction? Theirs? Who, if anyone, usually had his way? How was this accomplished? Was this the same for your brothers and sisters? Has this changed any since you were small?
9. As compared to other families you have known, does it seem that yours lacked unity in that everyone went his own way? in that people were indifferent to each other? in that there were almost no rules? in that confusion reigned? If so, give more detail.

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D. Family and Community Interaction Patterns

1. a. Did members of your family work together? If so, which persons in the family worked best together? Worked together less well? In activities in which all the family were involved, who usually led the way in planning? carrying out plans?
b. In cases of disagreement, which family members did you usually support? Why? Was there usually a family cleavage or grouping at such times? What affect did this have on the way family members felt toward each other?
2. While you were growing up, in what kinds of activities were all family members expected to participate? How often did these occur? Did your family members feel much responsibility for each other, or were they free to go their own way, doing what they wanted to do when they wanted to do it? Explain.
3. Discribe briefly your family's participation in social and civic affairs. Which family member, if not all, chose or controlled the social activities of the family? (Tell whether father, mother, or a child.) Did one person accept invitations for another without consulting him? Did one turn down invitations because he knew another would disapprove? Did this happen to you? How did you, or others feel about it? Has this situation changed, or remained the same, as you have grown up?
4. In civic elections, did all family members vote alike, or independently? Did both parents usually vote?

Note: The next part is about your infancy and early childhood. Ask your parents about your early development in sleeping, in walking, in feeding, and in toilet training. Such things as, were you difficult or easy to train? were you breast fed? rocked? taken up when you cried?

Did you have good eating habits, or were you "a problem"? Ask your parents about the training methods they used with you, how you were treated when you did, or did not, come up to what they expected of you.

Do they remember you as a "good baby"? a troublesome one? a sickly one? an unusually smart one? etc.

Who was largely responsible for your care? What kinds of things, if any, did your father do with and for you?

End of Part II

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III. You and Your Parents

The questions in this section concern you from infancy through adolescence. Try to think back and answer as best you can from your memory or from things you've been told. More questions will be asked later about you and your parents now.

A. Infancy

1. a. Tell all you know about your early development in sleeping, in walking, in feeding, and in toilet training. Were you breast fed? rocked? taken up when you cried? Were you difficult to train? Did you have good eating habits or did you have eating problems?
- b. Ask your parents about the training methods they used with you, how you were treated when you did, or did not, come up to what they expected of you. Illustrate by example, if possible. Do they remember you as a good baby? a troublesome one? a sickly one? an unusually smart one? etc.
2. Who was largely responsible for your care? Did both parents help to care for you? Did others? What kinds of things, if any, did your father do with and for you?

B. Childhood and Adolescence

1. As you remember it, was your childhood mostly happy, unhappy, or in between? Did this change in any way as you grew older? If there are many unhappy memories, what do you consider the reasons for them?
2. Did your parents consider you difficult or cooperative? How do you regard yourself in this matter? Did you change in any way as you grew older?
3. Did you feel that your parents were usually aware of your feelings, problems, or difficulties? Did they understand you? If so, did they offer help too soon, or not soon enough, when you faced a problem? Illustrate.
4. Have you felt that your parents expected you to succeed? That they had confidence in your ability to take care of yourself? Did you feel that they expected too much or too little of you? Give an example.
5. Were your parents quick to offer help in solving your problems, even though you might have preferred to solve them alone? If so, did you accept their suggestions?
6. Did you feel obliged to spend time with your parents when you wanted to be with others? At what ages? What did you do? Did you act as you felt like doing, or differently? Explain.
7. How were the rules made that governed your behavior? By whom? Were you always sure of what you could, or could not, do? Did you usually do what was expected? If so, why? If not, what happened? Give examples.

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8. What did your parents do to make it easier or harder for you to do what they wanted you to do? Did you feel that you were coerced or maybe tricked into deciding to do what your parents wanted you to do? Illustrate.
9. How did your parents regard your mistakes? Were you able to admit them freely, or did you hide them if possible? Did you usually take the consequences of your choices? Did you find some way out? Did they make it as easy for you as possible? Or did they let you do about as you pleased? Was this the same for all children in your family?
10. Did such things as illnesses, moods, being too tired, etc., affect your parents treatment of you? Illustrate.
11. a. How were you trained in regard to "give and take"? Did you obey your parents without question, explain your point of view, "talk back", argue, others? Was it different, or the same, with each parent?
b. Did parents stick together, or disagree, in what they expected you to do? Give an example.
12. a. Describe in detail the way in which your parents disciplined you during childhood and adolescence. What kinds of punishments, if any, did they use? Were you punished seldom, frequently, or never? By whom? For what kinds of behavior? Were all children disciplined in the same way? What kind of rewards, if any, did they give for approved behavior?
b. Are you aware that they avoided difficult situations with the children by preparing in advance for a difficulty? If so, illustrate.
13. a. When you couldn't do what you wanted to, what did you do? What did your parents do? Did someone suggest substitutes or give choices of other things to do? Or did they explain reasons why it couldn't be your way?
b. When your wishes were overruled, how did you feel toward your parents?
14. a. What responsibilities did you assume as a family member and at approximately what ages? How was it decided that you would assume a certain responsibility? Did you volunteer? Did your parents suggest? force you? expect it of you?
b. Some families help the children to act and feel "grown-up". How were you treated in this regard?
15. Were your ideas asked for and accepted when decisions were made?
a. Who decided such things as:
 1. What clothes you should wear?
 2. What and how much you should eat?
 3. What time you should go to bed?

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4. Who your friends were to be?
 5. What money you should spend?
 6. Whether or not you should go to church?
- How did this change, if it did, as you grew older?

- b. In what ways, if any, were you allowed to take responsibility for yourself? What were you allowed to decide, or to manage? Did your dependence increase or remain the same as you grew up? Give an example.
16. Did your parents discuss sex with you? How did they teach you "right" and "wrong" in sex behavior? Were their teachings similar to, or different from, those taught to most of your friends? If they were different, how did it affect you, if at all?
 17. Some children regard themselves as "spoiled". Were there such in your family? If so, are they still, or are they growing out of it? If the latter, how do you account for the change? What part, if any, did your parents play in bringing about this change?
 18. When you have a family are you going to raise them as you have been reared, or differently? Why? Now that you are nearly grown, how do you regard your parents? Do you think that they were wise or unwise in dealing with you? Just or unjust? What do you feel were their particular strengths or weaknesses? Explain in detail with examples.

End of Part III

Page 9 - You and Your Family

IV. You and Your Parents Now

Now that you are grown up and most of you are away from home, your relationship with your parents perhaps is changing. In this section try to see yourself and your parents as you are now.

1. For what, if anything, do you depend upon your parents? What kinds of decisions do they make for you? Which decisions do you make for yourself? Which do you make together?
 - a. Do they furnish all or part of the money you need? What plan do you use for money management?
 - b. Who selects your clothes, decides what hours you are to keep, who your friends will be? If your parents do, how do they accomplish it? How do you feel about it?
 - c. In what way, if any, do your parents guide, or direct, or let their children select their life work? Is this different, or the same for all children? How was it with you? How was it decided that you come to college? what courses you should take? that you join or not join a sorority?
 - d. If you chose to do so, would you be free to change your course of study, leave school, or join a different church without consulting your parents? Would you be free to become engaged or even marry anyone you chose knowing that your parents would respect your judgement? Give an example if you can.
2. Do you feel that your parents are trying to run your life? leaving you to work it out for yourself? or giving guidance as needed? Would you like more or less supervision? If so, what do you do about it? Do you say so? If you do, how do you feel about it afterwards?
3. Do you feel your parents need you a great deal? Do you feel guilty if you spend too much time away from them? Illustrate.
4. Are your big values, i.e. moral behavior, religion, etc. the same as your parents? If different what affect does this have on you? If alike, how do you account for this? Do you feel you are capable of deciding about these things without help? Does anyone in your family try to help you?
5. Does your family depend upon you to keep agreements, once made? Can they expect you to do what you say you will do? i.e. Do you come home when you say you will? Or go where you say you are going? Illustrate.
6. In your parents way of thinking, what was a "model child"? Did you fulfill their expectations or were they often disappointed in you? How did you feel when you disappointed them? Give an example.
7. How do you regard your parents now? Are they your bosses? decision makers? protectors? friends? just people? others?
8. How nearly mature do you think you are now? Explain your answer.

1. Family Code no. _____
2. Place and date of father's birth _____.
3. Place and date of mother's birth _____.
4. Nationality: father _____ mother _____.
5. Religious affiliation: father _____ mother _____.
6. Education: father _____ mother _____.
7. Occupation: father _____ mother _____.
8. What socioecan ~~status~~ do you and your family belong to? _____.
9. In what state were you born? _____.
10. Does your family now live in Okla.? Yes _____ No _____.
11. Is your home community (check one) _____ large city, _____ small city,
_____ small town, _____ rural community, _____ farm?
12. How long have you lived in this community? _____.
13. Where did you live before moving to this community? _____.
14. How many children are there in your family? _____.
15. Are you: an oldest child _____, an only child _____, an in-between child _____,
a youngest child _____?
16. Date of your birth _____.
17. What is your Stillwater address? _____ Phone no.? _____.

SAMPLE OF THE EXCERPT TABULATION

Parents married in Illinois in 1931. There are three girls, aged 18, 15, and 13. The student reporting is the eldest. Nationality - American. Religion - Protestant. Mother has B.S. degree; father had training in addition to high school as he

Control Practices	Work Responsibility
<p>"I wouldn't say our family lacked unity. In fact, looking at other families, I'd say we were a pretty good example of unity. We do each go our own way concerning parties, dates, hobbies, etc., but compared to other families I'd say we stood up pretty well. We aren't indifferent to each other in any respect. We have rules in our home, but they don't tie us to the home in a strangle hold. They do, however, have a unifying effect."</p> <p>"All of the few rules that were made were made in family council by all of us ... A good many family rules were unspoken and natural ..."</p> <p>"I really wasn't disciplined strictly ... I can not remember more than one spanking in my life. It was given me by my father when I was about five ... As I grew older I was lectured to, mostly by my mother ..."</p> <p>"My ideas were asked for, and many times accepted. When I was young mother decided what clothes I would wear, what and how much I would eat. Both parents knew when it was time for me to go to bed and one would tell me as often as the other ..."</p>	<p>"We always shared our work at home and thought it fun. When we were little we used to help mother cook, do dishes, and made bed, but each was responsible for keeping her own toys and clothes picked up. As we grew older we had specific jobs to do and these were alternated so that each of us could learn all the work about a home."</p> <p>"... in junior high ... we fixed out a work schedule among ourselves without bothering the folks ... This varied according to the business of each individual ... If one person was unable to do his work the other did it for him."</p>

rose in his field of work. He has been employed for several years by an oil company. Mother worked outside home before marriage, but has not since. Family income has steadily increased. Home is company own, comfortable, neat, well-cared for.

FamilValues	Students Reaction to and Evaluation of the Interpersonal Relationships	Miscellaneous
<p>"Our family has always valued cooperation and loyalty among each other. We value friendship, knowledge, neatness cheerfulness-really, I couldn't sum up in a statement what our family value most, because it's something that can't be stated. It's just there."</p>	<p>"If my wishes were overruled, as they often were in a family of five, I knew why they were and what the family considered a better plan. It was usually as good or better than mine so I didn't care. I could throw myself just as enthusiastically into someone else's plan as my own."</p> <p>"I feel confident that I couldn't go wrong if I reared my family the way they reared theirs. There are a few changes I would introduce, such as educating my children about sex, and lecturing for long periods of time. I hold my parents in high esteem. I believe they dealt wisely and justly with me."</p> <p>"I depend on my parents for money and counseling. I make all of my decisions, but as yet I've never carried them out without consulting my parents."</p>	<p>"I believe my father rightly believes that he has lived up to his ideals of a good father, husband, provider, and community citizen ... Mother and father get along very well, their only fusses being small quarrels when both were tired and their nerves were on edge."</p> <p>"Mother has never felt that she's been an inadequate wife and father has never given her reason to."</p> <p>"I couldn't say any one person in our family made most of the decisions. Dad consulted mother on job changes ... Large purchases for the home, such as sofas, the grand piano, dining room suite, bed-room suite, etc., all were decided on by all five of us ... Our spending and saving is also shared by the family ... Mostly mother and dad, but we are expected to know something about what goes on and help..."</p>

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NAME OF TYPIST: Cledith M. McQuain