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JAMES K. SHAFER

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEIVED PARENTAL CONSISTENCY AND CHILDREN'S ORIENTATION OF CONTROL

APPROVED BY

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Recently a number of investigators have identified, measured and studied a personality variable referred to as internal versus external control (Battle and Rotter, 1963; Bialer, 1961; Crandall, Katkovsky and Crandall, 1965; Gore and Rotter, 1963; James, 1957; Katkovsky, Crandall and Good, 1967; Lefcourt and Ladwig, 1965; Phares, 1955; Rotter, Seeman and Liverant, 1962; Strickland, 1965). As usually defined this variable consists of individual differences in the degree to which people experience themselves as having control over and being responsible for what happens to them versus the degree to which they attribute what happens to them to forces beyond their personal control (luck, fate, powerful others, etc.). Such differences have been observed in children and adults, and have been proven to have important ramifications in regard to certain achievement

directed and social behaviors. Moreover, there is suggestive evidence that the control variable may be useful in explaining certain aspects of mental illness (Baumgold, Temerlin and Ragland, 1965; Cromwell, Rosenthal, Shakow and Kahn, 1961).

The focus of the present study is on the problem of how control orientation may originate. Specifically, the present study is an attempt to relate one aspect of parent-child relationships to the development of internal-external control in children -- namely, the degree to which parents are consistent in relating to the child's behavior.

Internal-External Control as a Personality Variable

Altnough, as earlier noted, the concept of internal versus external control was only recently introduced, the subjective phenomenon to which it refers has long been considered to be one of man's most important and uniquely human characteristics. Over the past fifty years concepts such as the psychoanalytic concept of "ego strength", Adler's (1927) "superiority striving", and Sullivan's (1947) "power motive" have all been used to describe the degree to which man is able and sees himself capable of controlling the important events in his life space (Lefcourt, 1966). More recently the writings of humanistic and existential psychologists (Allport, 1955; Maslow, 1954; May, 1961; Rogers, 1961) have brought this aspect of man into even greater focus. These writers all stress that man is not simply reactive, or a pawn of circumstances, but is in fact an

active, striving being who by virtue of his capacity for self-awareness and reason, can within limits, control and shape his own destiny. Further stressed is that man's belief in his abilities to control his life and personal world, has great implications for mental health. May (1961), for example, in writing of modern man states:

> . . . A central core of modern man's "neurosis" is the undermining of his experience of himself as responsible, the shaping of his willing and decision . . . modern man so often has the conviction that even if he did exert his "will" and capacity for decision, they would not make any difference anyway (May, 1961, p. 41).

Also, in a recent paper on humanistic psychotherapy, Temerlin (1963) points out that the subjective experience of free will of self-determinism is perhaps the most significant feature differentiating the psychologically health or well integrated man from the neurotic and psychotic person. According to Temerlin,

> The psychotic rarely may be observed to speak as if he experiences free choice. Determinism far more accurately describes his experience, for he speaks of his own behavior as if he felt it was caused by persons or forces beyond his own wish or control. These determinants to which the psychotic refers the responsibility for his own behavior may be either internal or external forces, but in either case they represent forces described by him as determinants over which he exercises no control (1963, p. 41).
>
> As the antithesis of the psychotic, the well-functioning, whole, or psychologically healthy man -- for example, the self-actualizing persons studied by Maslow (1954) -- typically experiences his own behavior largely as a reflection of hiw own wishes. These people consciously make decisions and experience doing what they want to do (1963, p. 42).

> Neurotics fall between these two extremes, with the most disorganized neurotics being those "borderline" persons who, to a great extent, experience their own behavior as a causally determined consequence of externalized determinants (1963, p. 42).

Unlike the aforementioned concepts and theory, internal-external control stems from an elaborate and quite testable learning theory. For the most part the concept and research relating to it were inspired by Rotter's (1954; 1966) social learning theory. Within this theoretical system internal-external control is viewed as an expectancy variable of which behavior is a direct function. Specifically, according to social learning theory, the potential for any given behavior to occur is a function of the individual's expectancy that the behavior will be effective in securing a desired end or reinforcement. In a particular situation, a classroom for example, the probability that a person will make an effort to achieve is directly related to the degree to which the person believes or assumes there is a contingency between effort on his part and such rewards as the teacher's approval, good grades, etc. (Lefcourt, 1966). Expectancies regarding specific situations are, according to Rotter, acquired as a function of behavior in the situation being consistently reinforced. Over time, specific expectancies are seen as generalizing and becoming stable aspects of personality structure, affecting behavior across a wide variety of situations.

Since first proposed, Rotter's theory has been subjected to considerable research and has received rather substantial

empirical support. Major support has come from the development of several scales which have successfully demonstrated that it is feasible to order people along an internal-external control continum. The first I-E scale (internal-external control) was a Likert-typ scale devised by Phares (1955) for adults. Using the Phares scale as a format, James (1957) and more recently Rotter et al (1962) have published two other I-E scales for adults. In addition to these scales, three I-E scales have been developed for children. These include The Children's Picture Test of Internal-External Control (Battle et al, 1963); the true-false Locus of Control Scale (Bialer, 1961); and the Intellectual Responsibility Achievement Questionnaire (Crandall et al, 1965). A description and review of the literature on the development, validity and reliability of the latter two scales is given in Chapter III.

Through the use of these and other measures the internal-external control variable has been found to relate to a number of important behaviors. Several investigators, for example, have examined and found a high relationship between control orientation and the willingness of individuals to expend effort to achieve valued goals. In two almost identical studies (Gore et al, 1963; Strickland, 1965) American Negroes who scored high on the internal control factor were shown to be more interested and willing to participate in civil rights work than were external control Negroes. Also, substantial research (Crandall et al, 1965; Rotter, 1966) has shown control orientation to be highly

related to academic achievement behavior of grade school children and adolescents. In all of these studies, internal control subjects, in contrast to external control subjects, were found to exhibit more achievement directed behavior.

Studies by Seeman (1963) and Seeman and Evans (1962) have reported evidence of a possible learning differential between internal and external control subjects. Briefly, in studying tuberculosis patients, Seeman and Evans found a positive relationship between internal control and the objective knowledge that patients had about their illness. In the other study, Seeman reported that internal control prison inmates learned and retained more information which was useful in obtaining a parole than did external control inmates.

At the same time, internal control subjects have been shown to be less suggestible and conforming (Crowne and Liverant, 1963; Odell, 1959; Strickland, 1965); to react to frustration and anxiety in less crippling, more constructive ways (Butterfield, 1964); and are more realistic and cautious in risk-taking situations (Crowne et al, 1963; Lefcourt, 1965; Liverant and Scodel, 1963).

Finally, a number of studies have demonstrated differences in control among certain known social class, ethnic and pathological groups. External control, for example, seems to be more characteristic of the lower-class than the middle-social class (Battle et al, 1963; Lefcourt, 1965; Strickland, 1965); and ethnic groups such as the American Negroes, Indians and

Spanish-Americans have been found to describe themselves as more externally controlled than white Americans. Also, in accord with the previously reviewed writings of existential and humanistic psychologists, psychologically healthy people tend to be more internal than psychotics (Baumgold, et al, 1965; Cromwell, et al, 1961). In reference to these findings, Lefcourt (1966) recently speculated that the assumption that one lacks the power or ability to influence events in his life may well be the crucial factor underlying and determining the noted "withdrawal", "apathy" and "avoidance behaviors" of schizophrenics, as well as the "lack of motivation" so often observed in lower social class and certain oppressed ethnic groups.

Development of Internal and External Control Orientations

One of the most basic and interesting questions concerning the internal-external control variable is the question of its origin. From research now available it appears that orientations of internal and external control are acquired during childhood (Bialer, 1961; Crandall et al, 1965; Katkovsky et al, 1967) as the result of a multiplicity of factors and processes. Several investigators (Battle et al, 1964; Bialer, 1961; Crandall et al, 1965), for example, have clearly shown the development of control is influenced to some extent by intellectual factors. The more intelligent a child is the more likely he is to develop an internal control orientation, due presumably

to his greater ability to grasp the relationships between the outcome of events and his own behavior. At the same time, there is some general agreement among investigators that broad cultural variables such as social class and ethnic groups membership play an influential role in shaping control orientations (Battle, et al, 1963; Lefcourt, 1965; Strickland, 1965).

Many researchers in this area, however, have assumed that the most important determinants of control are to be found in parent attitudes and behavior. On this assumption, Cromwell (1963) investigated and found evidence to suggest that parental protectiveness may be an important factor. Using retrospective reports of adult males, Cromwell found that external control subjects tended to remember their mothers as having been more protective than did internal control subjects.

Chance (1963) found a significant relationship between internal control in young boys and mother's reports of permissiveness, early toilet training and flexibility of expectations. This same relationship did not hold true, however, between girls and their mothers.

In an extensive study employing parental reports and observer's ratings of parent-child relationships, Katkovsky et al (1967) investigated parental behavior associated with children's control orientations in regard to intellectual-academic achievement situations. The relations found to be most pronounced in this study were between internal orientations of control and parental protectiveness, nurturance, approval and acceptance.

Parents who reported having supportive, positive relationships with their children were more likely to have internal control children than were parents who reported being punitive, rejecting and critical.

It was also shown that certain parental behaviors correlated differently with control orientations concerning positive and negative events. Parental babying, protectiveness, affection and nurturance were more highly related to beliefs of having control over positive events than to beliefs of control over negative events. Inferred from their findings was that a necessary prerequisite for the child to internalize responsibility for negative events is the experience of having loving, nonthreatening parents.

Interestingly, Katkovsky et al also found evidence to suggest that the father-child relationship may be a more important influence in control development than the mother-child relationship. Internal control scores correlated significantly with only two dimensions of maternal behavior, the mother's nurturance and dominance. However, paternal behavior correlated significantly with internal control along five dimensions, i.e. paternal nurturance, affection, rejection, general positive and negative reactions. While these findings cannot be regarded as conclusive, they do appear to greatly challenge the widely held view that in western culture the mother is the major agent of child care and, thus, has the greater influence on the child's development.

Another study indicating a possible relation between parent-child relationships and children's development of control is a study conducted by Strodtbeck (1958). Again using parents reports of their own behavior, Strodtbeck examined and found significant relations between the control orientation of young boys and the power structure within their families. Powerful or dominant fathers were shown to have sons who believed their destinies were beyond their own control. As described by Strodtbeck, the picture is one of a submissive, obedient son who does not believe he is capable of mastering his world and is unwilling to leave the home situation. In contrast, in families where the mother's power was relatively strong, the son was more likely to feel he could control his destiny and was willing to risk separation from the family. Strodtbeck's interpretation of these findings is that a boy's adjustment to the power structure in his family transfers to life outside it. If he lives in an autocratic system, he tends to accept the world as being autocratic and submits. If he lives in a more democratic system where there is equality between the parents he develops the attitude that he can do things on his own, that he can determine his own fate.

Parental consistency as a possible factor: It is widely recognized that parents may vary considerably in the degree to which they are consistent in their relationship with their children. Further, it is generally agreed that parental consistency has a profound and enduring impact on the child's

psychological growth and development. Parental consistency makes the child's world more constant and predictable, promoting in the child a sense of trust in his world and a feeling of security. Conversely, if parents are capricious the child does not know how to respond, he does not know what is valued and what is not valued, what is approved of and what is disapproved of, what is expected of him and what is not expected. Such inconsistency leaves the child without a sense of trust, unsure of himself and others, and in a constant state of anxiety and insecurity. There is evidence to indicate that parental inconsistency may be one of the major factors leading to the inner confusion and anxiety associated with schizophrenia (Frazee, 1953; Freeman and Grayson, 1955; Mark, 1953; Reichard and Tillman, 1950).

Recently, Rotter (1966) speculated that parental consistency in discipline and treatment may be a major variable in the development of internal-external control. As previously discussed, according to Rotter's (1954; 1966) social learning theory, internal control emerges as a function of behavior being consistently followed by reinforcement. That is, the more an individual's behavior in a given situation is followed by the same reinforcement or event, the more the individual will assume that he has control over and is responsible for the occurrence of that event. Over time, assumptions of control regarding specific events become generalized and influence behavior in a wide variety of situations. Thus, social

learning theory postulates that individual differences in control reflect differences in the "reinforcement history" (Rotter, 1966, p. 13) of individuals.

Within this theoretical system, parental consistency in reinforcing or relating to the child's behavior, is seen as strengthening an orientation of internal control. Parental consistency in relating to the child's behavior allows the child to relate his behavior to predictable outcomes, encouraging in the child the development of the generalized assumption that he has control over and is responsible for what happens to him in life. On the other hand, parental inconsistency does not allow the child to relate his behavior to predictable outcomes, fostering the development of the general assumption that what happens to him is beyond his own personal control.

At the present time this theoretical position concerning the development of internal-external control has not been empirically demonstrated. In fact, a review of the literature reveals only one study (Katkovsky et al, 1967) reporting data relating to this problem. This study investigated, but found no evidence to support the hypothesis that children's control orientation regarding intellectual achievement situations would bear a close relationship to the degree to which parental standards and requirements are communicated in a clear and consistent way. With regard to parental consistency per se these findings are equivocal because parental consistency was not

treated and analyzed separately from the variable, clarity of parental communication. Also, data on the parental variables was collected by means of parental reports and observers ratings, which as will be discussed later, have many serious limitations.

The present study represents a further attempt to explore parental consistency as a significant variable in the development of children's orientation of control. Differing from past research work in this area in which parental variables are assessed from the parents or observers point of view, the present study is designed to measure parental consistency from the point of view of the child: the degree to which children themselves perceive their parents as being consistent or inconsistent.

Theoretical Rationale for Using Children's Perceptions of Parents in Assessing Parental Behavior Variables

In attempting to relate parent-child relationship variables to behavior and personality development in children, researchers have continually been faced with the problem of collecting valid and reliable data on parental behavior. Methods most commonly employed have relied heavily on self-reports of parents (questionnaires and interviews) and/or observations of trained professionals. It is widely recognized, however, that such methods inherently have many serious limitations. For example, to assume high validity for self-reports of parents we have to make several very improbable assumptions;

that parents are consciously aware of their behavior; have accurate memories; are able to give accurate verbal descriptions of their behavior; and are open and undefensive. In using trained observers we run the risk of the observers' presence inhibiting the spontaneous and typical behavior of both parents and child. An even more critical limitation, however, concerns the source of data. The traditional methods fail to recognize and take into account the fact that it is not only parental behavior to which the child responds, but also his unique perceptions and interpretations of that parental behavior. On this basis an increasing number of investigators have recently advocated the assessment of parental behavior variables via the experiential world of the child: the child's perceptions of parental behavior.

Among the first to explicitly express the above arguement and lend empirical support to it were Ausubel, Balthazar, Blackman, Schopoont, Rosenthal and Welkowita (1954). These investigators found that children's perceptions of parental behavior, as measured by a specially designed questionnaire, were more significantly related to children's ego development than were parent reports of parental behavior. From these findings they concluded that:

> .....although parent behavior is an objective event in the real world, it affects the child's ego development only to the extent and in the form in which he perceives it. Hence, the child's perceptions of parent behavior is in reality a more direct and relevant determinant of personality than the actual content to which it refers (Ausube et al, 1954, p. 34).

The authors further concluded that children's perceptions of parental behavior can be more validly measured than can parents' perceptions of themselves, because parents would be strongly motivated to perceive their role behavior in a favorable light.

Since the Ausubel et al (1954) study, numerous other writers have reiterated the same arguments. In surveying child development research, Hawkes (1957) wrote:

> It is not sufficient or even realistic to assume that, because a mother fondles a child, the child sees this attention as a sign that his mother loves him. It is not the physical nature of a stimulus which determines reaction, but rather the way in which that stimulus is interpreted by the individual stimulated. In each case this will be a highly individual interpretation (Hawkes, 1957, p. 47).

More recently, Dubin and Dubin (1965) reached the same conclusions. In their words:

> A survey of the literature on child-training methods revealed a missing link in the analysis of socialization processes. Singularly little systematic attention has been given to the child's perception of parental behavior..... Many conclusions have been reached regarding the impact of child-training methods (or other adult authority behaviors toward children) on children's immediate and subsequent personality adjustment. Throughout these studies, a tacit assumption has been made that there is considerable uniformity of response on the part of children to any given method of handling by an adult. For example, it is generally assumed that most children are influenced negatively by coercive toilet training. Is this really so? Has research been undertaken to find out from children themselves how they feel about toilet training? Is it not possible that, while one child may feel deeply resentful, perceiving the parents' behavior as punitive and cruel, another child may take the whole thing very much for granted? The one-to-one relation between parent behavior and child personality has yet to be demonstrated. The missing element in this question

> seems to be the child himself -- his perception of and consequent response to parental behavior. Surely a child's perceptions of parents affect what the child does and what he becomes. Furthermore, the assumption cannot be made that an adults view of parental behavior is identical with a child's (Dubin and Dubin, 1965, p. 810).

In the last few years there has been a rapid accumulation of empirical data supporting the notion that personality development of the child is more influenced by the child's perception of parental behavior than by the actual behavior as it exists. In one highly interesting study, Heilbrun (1960) empirically demonstrated that schizophrenic daughters attributed more deviant attitudes and behaviors to their mothers than did a normal control group, although the mothers of the two groups did not differ in their expressed child-rearing attitudes and practices.

In accord with Heilbrun's findings, several other investigators have shown children's perceptions of their parents can successfully differentiate normal subjects from various kinds of psychiatric patients (Garmezy, Clark and Carol, 1961; Greenfield, 1959; Williams, 1958). Also, children's perceptions of their parents have been shown to highly relate to the personality variable of field dependence-independence (Dyk and Witkin, 1965); introversion-extroversion (Siegelman, 1966); and to child adjustment in general (Berdie and Layton, 1957; Cooper and Blair, 1959; Serot and Teevan, 1961).

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM

Social learning theory (Rotter, 1954; 1966) suggests that parental consistency in relating to the child's behavior encourages in the child the development of internal control; that is, his assumption that he has control over and is responsible for what happens to him in life. In contrast, parental inconsistency is seen as fostering in the child external control or the general assumption that what happens to him in life is beyond his personal control. Upon this theoretical premise, the present study was designed to investigate the relationship between perceived parental consistency and children's assumptions of internal-external control.

Children's perceptions of parental consistency was chosen as the means of assessing this parental variable on the assumption that although parental behavior is an objective event, it affects the child only to the extent and in the form in which the child uniquely experiences it. Thus, the child's perceptions of parental consistency should be a more crucial determinant of and bear a closer relationship to internal-external control development than parental consistency as it may be objectively observed or objectively measured.

In addition to the above objective, the present study examined sex and social class differences in perceived parental consistency as related to internal-external control. As the mother in this culture has traditionally served as the major agent of child care and socialization, it has been widely assumed that the child's relationship with his mother is a more crucial variable in personality development than is the father-child relationship. In contrast to this, however, evidence now available strongly suggests that with regard to internal-external control development the father-child relationship may be a more important variable than the mother-child relationship. Also, as children from middle-class families have been shown to score higher in internal control than do children from lower-class families, it seems possible that this social class difference may be a function of a social class difference in parental consistency. That is, children from middle-class families may be more internal because of experiencing their parents as being more consistent.

Hypotheses

Based on the above theoretical rationale, the following specific hypotheses were formulated:

Hypothesis 1. The more children tend to perceive their parents as being consistent, the more internal they will be in their orientation of control.

Hypothesis 2. Internal control in children will corre-

late more highly with perceived paternal consistency than with perceived maternal consistency.

Hypothesis 3. Children from middle-class families will perceive their parents as being more consistent and will score higher in internal control than will children from lower-class families.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects for this research were selected from a population of 467 seventh and eighth grade students attending Central Junior High School in Norman, Oklahoma. Children at these grade levels were chosen because the questionnaires employed in the study required relatively well developed reading, writing and comprehension skills. Selection of subjects was restricted to children living with both natural parents and falling within the average range of intelligence (IQ scores between 90 and 110 on the California Mental Maturity Test). The final sample of subjects consisted of 66 seventh grade and 74 eighth grade children. Of the seventh graders, 31 were boys and 35 were girls, ranging in age from 12 years 9 months to 13 years 7 months; the eighth graders included 36 boys and 38 girls, ranging from 13 years 7 months to 14 years 10 months in age. Using occupation of the father as an index of social class (Hollingshead Occupation Scale - Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958) the children's families varied widely in social status.

For the purpose of this study, however, subjects were designated as being from either lower- or middle-class families. (See Appendix C for method of designating social class).

Materials

Perceived Parental Consistency Scale

Measures of perceived parental consistency were obtained by means of a specially designed questionnaire having seperate but identical forms for mother and father. Each form consisted of ten statements requiring subjects to indicate on a five point continum -- "always", "frequently", "sometimes", "seldom" or "never" -- the extent to which they knew how their mother (or father) would react when they behaved in certain ways (e.g. "When I bring home good grades from school I -- always, frequently, sometimes, seldom, never -- know how my mother will react."). Selection of the statements used in the scale was made by the experimenter and two other clinical psychologists, all three of which had considerable experience in working with children in both a therapeutic and diagnostic capacity. In essence, the selection process involved the three psychologists exploring with each other and reaching agreement on statements that reflected areas of the parent-child relationship that were most likely to be, on the basis of theory and professional experience, the most meaningful to parent and child. The ten statements chosen to make up the scale dealt with several areas of the child's behavior; namely, specific behavior in the home,

behaviors relating to school performance, and behaviors of a general nature. Also, of the ten statements, five described behavior that would be expected to elicit some form of positive parental reaction and five described behavior that would commonly elicit a negative parental reaction. In scoring the questionnaire a weighted-scoring system was used, a weight of five points was used for always, four points for frequently, three points for sometimes, two points for seldom, and one point for never. With this system possible scores on each form ranged from 10 to 50, with higher scores indicating a greater parental consistency. A total parental consistency score was calculated by simply adding the scores of both the mother and father forms.

To obtain another measure of perceived parental consistency and provide a means of evaluating to some extent the reliability of the above measure all subjects were asked to (1) write explanations of their answers to each of the questionnaire items and (2) to describe in each case the ways their mother (or father) might react. The written explanations and descriptions on each of the ten items were then rated by two independent judges in terms of the degree to which the child seemed to perceive his mother (or father) as being consistent. Serving as judges were the experimenter and one of the clinical psychologists who had participated in constructing the parental consistency scale. In rating the subjects statements on each item the judges employed a five point scale, with one point

indicating extreme parental inconsistency. Total possible scores for each the mother and father form could theoretically range from 10 to 50. By summing the scores of the mother and father forms, a total combined perceived parental consistency score was calculated. The transcripts of the subjects' statements were coded and the judges were uninformed as to the subjects' sex, social class and ratings on each item. Prior to rating the statements the judges met and discussed the rating procedure with each other until both felt confident that they shared a common frame of reference. Further, at this time both read a random sample of the statements so as to familiarize themselves with the quality of the statements as a whole.

Orientation of Control Scales

The internal-external control variable was measured by two scales: the Locus of Control Scale (LCS) and the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire (IAR).

The LCS was adapted by Bialer (1961) from a self-report questionnaire for adults (James, 1957) measuring beliefs in control in several motivational and behavioral areas: affiliation, dominance, achievement and dependency. It consists of 23 questions, so worded that for some items a "Yes" answer, and for others a "No" answer can be taken to indicate internal control. In the administration of the scale, the subject is simply asked to mark a "Yes" or "No" answer to each item as he reads it; and the scale is scored in terms of the total number of answers in the internal control direction. While the LCS

has not been thoroughly researched it has been shown to successfully differentiate between normal and retarded subjects (Bialer, 1961). Also, it was found to relate moderately high with another measure of children's orientation of control, The Children's Picture Test of I-E (Battle et al, 1963).

The IAR questionnaire developed by Crandall et al (1965), shares the aim of the LCS in that it also purports to measure internal-external control. Unlike the LCS, however, it was developed for the purpose of assessing children's orientation of control exclusively in relation to intellectual-academic achievement situations. The IAR scale consists of 34 forced-choice items that describe positive and negative achievement experiences which occur routinely in children's daily lives. The stem of each item is followed by two alternatives, one stating that the event occurred because of the subject himself and one attributing the event to forces in the subject's external environment. In scoring the scale a total internal control score (I) can be computed along with separate scores for positive (I+) and negative (I-) events.

Test-retest reliability of the IAR has been found to be relatively high (Crandall et al, 1965). With a sample of 47 third, fourth, and fifth grade children, two month interval testing resulted in correlations of .69 for total I, .66 for I+ and .74 for I-. With 90 ninth graders correlations were obtained of .65 for total I, .47 for I+, and .69 for I-.

Procedure

The three questionnaires described above were group-administered (10-25 subjects) in the children's regular classrooms. To prevent the possibility of subjects becoming tired and losing interest in the testing, the questionnaires were administered to each group during two testing sessions held on two consecutive days. The two forms of the perceived parental consistency scale were administered in counter-balanced order in the first session and the two control orientation scales were given in counter-balanced order on the second session. All tests were administered by the experimenter with one trained helper for each group. At the beginning of the first session, the children were told that the purpose of the questionnaires was to gather information about seventh (or eighth) graders as a whole and that the tester was not interested in individual people. No names were requested, and the fact that names would remain anonymous was emphasized. Each questionnaire was coded so that the three questionnaires for a given subject could be identified. The children were also told that their true feelings were being sought and that there were no right or wrong answers: they were to answer as they really felt. They were encouraged to ask questions when they had difficulty understanding items and brief standardized instructions on the answering procedures for each questionnaire were given as it was handed out. Each subject was allowed to finish the questionnaires at his own rate.

Information on the occupations of the subjects' fathers (social class) was obtained from school records, or if unavailable the principal or teacher was asked to supply the information. For 24 subjects the information gained from both of these sources was considered to be to ambiguous as to warrant its use. These subjects were dropped from statistical consideration where social class was an important variable.

The ages and IQ scores of subjects were also obtained from school records.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Perceived Parental Consistency. Crucial to the investigation of the main hypotheses of the study was the collection of data on perceived parental consistency. Thus, a preliminary step in the analysis of the data consisted of determining the degree of agreement between the independent measures of this variable. The correlation between the two judges ratings of the children's descriptions of their parents behavior was .94. The correlation between the average rating of the judges and the children's ratings was .91. These coefficients indicate a high degree of agreement between independent raters and provide confidence in the reliability of the ratings. In subsequent analysis the sum of the child's rating plus the average of the two judges was used as the measure of perceived parental consistency.

Distribution characteristics of scores obtained by this measure are summarized in Table 1 in terms of means and standard deviations. As the mother and father forms of the questionnaire consisted of ten items rated from one to five by the child, and ten items rated one to five by the judges, using

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Subjects Perceived Parental Consistency Scores

Subjects	N	Parental Consistency: Mother M	Mother SD	Father M	Father SD	Mother+Father M	Mother+Father SD
7th grade boys	31	81.83	10.72	85.86	10.76	167.71	20.09
7th grade girls	35	86.80	7.90	86.21	8.04	172.88	11.17
8th grade boys	36	86.10	8.39	80.30	9.60	166.40	16.28
8th grade girls	38	88.91	5.88	83.37	9.00	172.00	15.90
All boys	67	84.02	9.67	82.97	10.11	167.05	17.75
All girls	73	87.76	6.74	84.38	8.63	172.45	13.48
All children	140	86.14	8.24	83.46	9.32	170.08	13.42

the sum of the child's rating plus the average of the judges rating resulted in a possible scoring range of 20 to 100 for both forms. Based on this range, chance distributions would result in a mean score of 60 for each form separately and a mean score of 120 for mother and father forms combined. As indicated in Table 1 children as a whole tend to report perceiving their parents as being relatively consistent; in all cases the obtained means were higher than the means that would be expected by chance. Also notable were a number of sex differences in perceived parental consistency. Examination of these differences by t-test comparisons revealed that on a whole girls scored ($M = 87.76$, $SD = 6.74$) significantly higher on perceived consistency of mother than did boys ($M = 84.02$, $SD = 9.67$, $t = 2.78$, $df = 138$, $p < .05$). Girls were also found to score ($M = 172.45$, $SD = 13.48$) significantly higher than boys ($M = 167.05$, $SD = 17.75$) on perceived consistency of mother and father combined ($t = 2.63$, $df = 138$, $p < .05$). In perceived consistency of father, while higher scores were observed for girls ($M = 84.38$, $SD = 8.63$) than for boys ($M = 82.97$, $SD = 10.11$), the difference was not significant at the .05 level of confidence ($t = 1.67$, $df = 138$, $p > .05$). In t-test comparisons by sex and grade level, eighth grade boys were found to score ($M = 86.10$, $SD = 8.38$) significantly higher than seventh grade boys ($M = 81.83$, $SD = 10.72$) in terms of perceived maternal consistency ($t = 2.71$, $df = 65$, $p < .05$); while seventh grade boys scored ($M = 85.86$, $SD = 10.76$) signif-

icantly higher than eighth grade boys (M = 80.30, SD = 9.60) cn perceived paternal consistency (t = 2.83, df = 65, $p < .01$). There were no significant differences at the .05 level found between grade levels of girls.

Internal-External Control Data. To ascertain whether the two internal-external control indices were related empirically as well as conceptually, scores from the LCS and IAR were correlated. The correlation obtained was relatively low (.25) but proved to be significant ($p < .01$) because of the large N. Nonetheless, because the correlation was small, data from the two measures were treated and analyzed separately in testing the hypotheses.

Table 2 gives the means and standard deviations for the subjects' scores on the LCS and IAR. Since each of the 23 LCS items and 34 IAR items presented an internal and an external alternative, chance distributions on these measures would result in mean scores of 11.5 and 17 respectively. In all cases the observed means exceeded the means expected by chance, showing the subject sample as being relatively internal in control. These results are consistent with previous research on the IAR scale using similar samples (Crandall et al, 1965). Also consistent with past research, girls were found to score significantly higher in internal control than did boys on both the LCS and IAR (t = 2.41, 2.45 respectively, $p < .05$). Practically no difference was observed between the means of the two grade levels.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Subjects on the LCS and IAR

Subjects	N	LCS		IAR	
		M	SD	M	SD
7th grade boys	31	13.94	3.19	23.23	5.41
7th grade girls	35	14.74	2.56	25.71	4.68
8th grade boys	36	13.78	3.52	23.81	5.02
8th grade girls	38	15.63	2.30	26.42	5.00
All boys	67	13.85	3.39	23.64	5.72
All girls	73	15.21	2.44	25.98	5.63
All children	140	14.56	3.01	24.86	5.78

Raw data on perceived parental consistency and orientation of control are presented in Appendix D.

Tests of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. The first hypothesis predicted that perceived parental consistency would show a positive relationship to children's assumptions of internal control. To test this hypothesis scores of perceived parental consistency were correlated with both measures of internal control. Table 3 gives the relationships found between perceived parental consistency and LCS scores. As can be seen in all cases the correlations obtained were not significantly different from zero; therefore, using the LCS as the measure of internal control, Hypothesis 1 had to be regarded as not confirmed.

Table 4 presents the correlations found between perceived parental consistency and internal control as measured by the IAR. The correlations found for the total sample and all subgroups were significant in 20 out of 21 cases and, thus, provide strong confirmation of Hypothesis 1. As these correlations showed considerable variation, t-test comparisons were made between correlations. This analysis showed that the correlations by sex and grade level of child did not differ significantly. Significant differences were found, however, between correlations by sex of parents. These findings are discussed more fully under Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 2. This hypothesis predicted that children's assumptions of internal control should bear a closer positive

Table 3

Correlations Between Ratings of Perceived Parental Consistency and Internal Control as Measured by the LCS

Control	N	Parental Consistency		
		Mother	Father	Mother+Father
7th grade boys	31	.27	.27	.30
7th grade girls	35	.29	.07	.23
8th grade boys	36	-.04	-.12	-.09
8th grade girls	38	.04	-.09	-.01
All boys	67	.16	.07	.20
All girls	73	.19	-.01	.21
All children	140	.18	.08	.10

Note.- None of the above were significant at the .05 level.

Table 4

Correlations Between Ratings of Perceived Parental Consistency and Internal Control as Measured by the IAR

Control	N	Parental Consistency		
		Mother	Father	Mother+Father
7th grade boys	31	.44*	.71**	.62**
7th grade girls	35	.15	.57**	.47**
8th grade boys	36	.47**	.39*	.47**
8th grade girls	38	.40*	.58**	.62**
All boys	67	.45**	.53***	.56***
All girls	73	.26*	.57***	.54***
All children	140	.41***	.55***	.56***

*p .05
**p .01
***p .001

relation to perceived paternal consistency than perceived maternal consistency. Data relevant to this hypothesis are included in Tables 3 and 4. Considering first the data presented in Table 3, relating parental consistency to LCS scores, all correlations by sex of parent were insignificant; thus, the correlations must be regarded as being equal and failing to support Hypothesis 2.

As previously noted (Table 4, column 2 and 3) in relating perceived parental consistency to IAR scores, seperate analyses by sex of parent revealed significant correlations for the total sample and for all but one of the subgroups of children. The single discrepancy occurs in correlating internal control of seventh grade girls with maternal consistency. Examination of the patterning of correlations by sex of parent, clearly gives partial support to Hypothesis 2. Computing t-test comparisons between correlations (Hotelling, 1940) revealed that paternal consistency correlated significantly higher with internal control of seventh grade boys ($t = 2.60$, $df = 28$, $p < .01$), seventh grade girls ($t = 2.46$, $df = 32$, $p < .05$), all girls ($t = 2.66$, $df = 70$, p .01) and the total sample ($t = 1.96$, $df = 137$, $p < .05$). No significant differences were found between correlations for eighth grade children or boys as a whole.

Hypothesis 3. The third hypothesis tested was that children from middle-social class families would perceive their parents as being more consistent and would be more internal than would children from lower-social class families. Infor-

mation concerning this hypothesis was derived by t-test comparisons of social class differences on measures of perceived parental consistency and internal control. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 5 and 6. While no significant differences were observed for girls, boys from middle-class families were found to score significantly higher than boys from lower-class families in terms of perceived parental consistency (Table 5) and internal control as measured by the IAR (Table 6). Thus, Hypothesis 3 was confirmed for boys but not girls.

Table 5

Relationship Between Social Class and

Perceived Parental Consistency

Subjects	Parent	Mean Scores by Class Lower	Middle	t
Boys		(N=30)	(N=29)	
	Mother	79.50	87.33	3.18**
	Father	81.65	86.76	1.85*
Girls		(N=27)	(N=30)	
	Mother	88.10	89.20	.65
	Father	86.44	84.57	.84

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

Table 6

Relationship Between Social Class and

Scores on the LCS and IAR

Subjects	Scale	Means		t
		Lower Class	Middle Class	
Boys	LCS	13.30 (N=30)	14.27 (N=29)	1.05
Girls	LCS	14.89 (N=27)	15.43 (N=30)	.86
Boys	IAR	22.1 (N=30)	24.93 (N=29)	2.57*
Girls	IAR	26.48 (N=27)	25.43 (N=30)	1.09

* $p < .05$

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The major purpose of this study was to investigate the theoretical assumption that children's perceptions of parental consistency are related to the development of internal-external control orientations. The discussion will be concerned first with specific findings regarding perceived parental consistency and orientation of control, and will then proceed to results bearing on the specific formulated hypotheses.

Measures of Perceived Parental Consistency

In order to test the hypotheses in this study it was necessary to develop a measure of perceived parental consistency. The scale devised provided two separate indices of this dimension: children's own ratings of parental consistency and ratings by two judges which were based on children's descriptions of parental behavior. Several features of this data yielded by this measure provided sufficient confidence in the scale's reliability to warrant its use as a measure of perceived parental consistency. First, correlations between children's ratings and ratings by judges were found to

be quite high. Further, several aspects of the data obtained were consistent with what would be expected on the basis of cultural factors. For example, the scale differentiated boys from girls, with girls tending to perceive their parents as being more consistent. This finding could be expected in view of established, culturally-determined differences in social sex roles. In our culture, male children are generally expected to be aggressive and independent; whereas, girls are allowed to maintain a rather dependent relationship with parents. These differences would conceivably make it more difficult for parents to relate to male children in a consistent manner. Behavior that is valued in boys is at the same time behavior that demands strong parental control. It is not uncommon, for example, to observe parents encouraging boys to be aggressive and competitive with their peers and even other adults, but respond negatively when such behavior is directed towards them.

Also the scale for perceived parental consistency was found to be relatively sensitive to social class differences. On the whole, children from middle-class families tended to perceive their parents as being more consistent than did children from lower-class families. In general, these results are in agreement with findings of other investigators employing parental reports and observation methods (Ausubel, 1958; Davis, 1943).

Measure of Internal-External Control

In an attempt to measure internal control across several areas of experience two orientation of control scales were employed, the Locus of Control Scale (LCS) and the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire (IAR). The LCS reportedly measures control orientation in relation to affiliation, dominance, independence and achievement; whereas the IAR measures control orientation exclusively in the area of intellectual-academic achievement. Analysis of the data obtained on these two measures are rather revealing with respect to the LCS. First, the LCS was found to bear only a small relationship with the more thoroughly researched IAR. As orientation of control is commonly assumed to be a generalized personality dimension operating across all areas of experience a high correlation between these measures would have been expected. Also, in contrast to past research the LCS was found to be completely insensitive to social class differences. Moreover, no relationship was found between perceived parental consistency and the LCS. On the other hand, data from the IAR were highly in agreement with previous research findings. Specifically, the scale was shown to be sensitive to sex and social class differences, with girls being more internal than boys and children from middle-class families tending to be more internal than children from lower-class families. Further, as will be discussed in the following section of the chapter, the IAR was found to correlate highly with perceived parental consistency.

While the above findings do not allow for any definitive conclusions to be drawn as to the usefulness in other contexts, it appeared that the LCS was ineffectual as an index of internal-external control for the present sample. Therefore, all results discussed henceforth will be based on the IAR data alone.

Relationship Between Perceived Parental Consistency and Orientation of Control

The major hypothesis of this study was that the degree to which children perceived their parents as being consistent would show a positive relationship to children's orientation of internal control. This hypothesis was predicated on two basic assumptions. The first was Rotter's (1966) theoretical assumption that parental consistency encourages internal control development; whereas, parental inconsistency fosters the development of external control. Second, it was assumed that parental variables are important in personality development only to the extent and in the form in which the child himself uniquely experiences them. The present results give support to these assumptions with respect to internal-external control orientations in academic achievement situations. Specifically, in relating perceived parental consistency scores to IAR scores, the results showed that the more children tended to perceive their parents as consistent (mother and father combined), the more likely they were to experience having control over and being responsible for their intellectual-

academic achievements. Further, in terms of total perceived parental consistency this relationship was found to be relatively independent of the child's grade level and sex.

These results stand in contrast to Katkovsky et al's (1967) reported finding of no relationship between parental consistency and IAR scores. It will be recalled that in contrast to the present study, Katkovsky et al employed parental reports in assessing the parental consistency variable. Thus, this discrepancy in results would appear to add further credence to the theoretical notion that the perceptions of the parent and child may well result in quite different "phenomenological realities". What the child reacts to and is influenced by is not the world as experienced by his parents, but the world as mediated by his own perceptions.

The second hypothesis tested concerned the differential relationship between the internal-external control variable and perceived paternal and maternal consistency. It has long been held by theorists and researchers alike that the mother-child relationship is a more crucial variable in child development than is the father-child relationship as the mother in western culture is thought to spend the greater amount of time with the child and bear the greater responsibility for the child's upbringing. Surprisingly, however, in the study cited above by Katkovsky et al (1967), some

evidence was found which suggested that internal-external control development may be more closely linked to father-child relationship factors. Based on the Katkovsky et al study a closer relationship was predicted between internal-external control and perceived paternal consistency than between internal-external control and perceived maternal consistency. In general, the results only partially supported this prediction. While the data suggest that indeed perceived paternal consistency is a very potent source of influence, the degree to which both perceived paternal and maternal consistency are related to internal-external control was found to be highly contingent on the child's grade level. Of the relevant comparisons of differences between correlations (sex of parent x sex of child x grade level of child) only differences at the seventh grade level were found to be significant. Specifically, for the seventh grade child, assumptions of control are more closely linked to perceptions of paternal consistency than maternal consistency. As the child reaches the eighth grade level, however, perceived paternal and maternal consistency appear to become equally important to the child. Also interesting was a general tendency for perceived maternal consistency to be more closely associated with control orientation of boys than girls.

While recognizing that clarification of these findings will require further study, there is at the same time some

existing literature which furnishes grounds for speculation. It seems reasonable to assume, for example, that the findings can in part be accounted for in terms of differences in parental roles. Lending some insight into this possibility are a number of studies (Emmerich, 1961; Gardner, 1947; Kagan, 1956) pertaining to the manner in which children tend to perceive the roles of their parents. In these studies children were found to perceive the mother as the source of affection, while the father was seen as the source of authority. With the father being seen as the authority or controlling agent in the family, it would seem likely that the father-child relationship and perceived paternal consistency specifically, would have considerable bearing on the child's experiences of control. Further, it would seem that the significance of the father to the child would increase as the child matures and makes greater demands for independence. Within this context it may well be that the control orientation of the seventh grade child is tied more closely to paternal consistency than maternal consistency because at that stage of development the child's life is primarily focused on his needs to gain independence. As the child reaches the eighth grade he has perhaps been granted more independence and is, thus influenced more equally by his parents.

The observed general tendency for perceived maternal consistency to be more highly related to the control

orientation of boys than girls may perhaps be understood in light of this same reasoning. It may be that boys are relatively less crucially involved with the father over the issue of autonomy than are girls, as they have perhaps been granted earlier and more independence by the father. Having achieved more independence at both the seventh and eighth grade level, boys are, thus, more equally influenced by both parents whild girls remain primarily involved with their father over the issue of independence.

It is also possible that the present findings and those reported by Katkovsky et al (1967) reflect some cultural changes in the structure of the American family. While the mother has traditionally served as the major agent of child care and socialization, a number of writers (Ausubel, 1958; Radke, 1946; Tasch, 1952) have suggested that this characteristic of the American family has been and continues to be in the process of change. According to these writers, in the last two decades the father is participating more actively in the care of the child and considering it part of his function. It view of this we might well expect the child's relationship with his father to be more important to personality development at the present time than it was in years past.

In concluding, the data regarding the differential importance of the child's relationship with his mother and father to internal-external control development seems to

greatly challange the widely held assumption that the mother-child relationship is the most influential in the development of the child. Based on the data now available it appears that any attempt to understand the child's development must encompass an understanding of his relationship with both his father and mother at various age levels.

Relationship of Social Class to Perceived Parental Consistency and Orientation of Control

While considerable evidence has accumulated showing that children from middle-class families score higher on the IAR in internal control than do children from lower-class families, little is known concerning the underlying factors that contribute to this social class difference. In relation to this problem the present study speculated that one such factor could be a social class difference in perceived parental consistency. Recognizing, of course, that caution must be taken in drawing conclusions about causal relationships, the results of this study lent partial support to our speculation. In accordance with hypothesis 3, boys from middle-class families were found to score higher in perceived parental consistency and internal control (IAR) than did boys from lower social class families. No social class differences, however, were found within these variables with respect to girls. These findings are difficult to explain on the basis of existing literature and research. It seems likely, however, that the findings are related to

differences in the demands that boys and girls make on parents. Apparently social class differences in parental consistency are in relation to parental behavior that is primarily elicited by boys. In order to fully clarify this issue further research is urgently needed. At the same time it must be noted that the present finding strongly indicates that considerable caution must be acknowledged in drawing conclusions regarding social class differences in parental consistency and internal-external control without careful study of possible sex differences.

Implications for Future Research

The present study appears to have many implications regarding not only research in internal-external control development, but research in child development in general. Considering first some methological implications, the present findings give substantial support to the notion that the psychological development of the child can only be clearly understood and must be studied in terms of the child's unique experiences of his world. Data collected by methods which ignore this important variable are subject to misinterpretation and can at most only be regarded as dubious. Also, the data obtained here on the Locus of Control Scale demand critical study of this scale's reliability and validity.

An urgent need for further research is strongly implied by the unambiguous evidence of a substantial linkage between

children's orientation of control and perceived parental consistency. It seems likely that other aspects of personality may prove to be closely tied to this variable, particularly those that are highly dependent on interpersonal trust and cooperation.

The present study also indicates that more information is greatly needed concerning the differential influences on child development of the father-child and mother-child relationship. It is strongly suggested that the influences of both parental relationships may vary considerably and independently with the sex and age of the child. Also, as was previously noted, further research is needed to clarify the interaction found in this study between perceptions of parental consistency, social class and sex of the child.

In concluding, further research work should be done to explore the relationship between internal-external control development and other dimensions of perceived parental behavior.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

The primary aim of this study was to investigate perceived parental consistency as it relates to children's assumptions of internal-external control. Perceived parental consistency was viewed in terms of the degree to which children reported perceiving their parents as reacting to various dimensions of their behavior in a consistent predictable manner. The concept internal-external control referred to individual differences in the degree to which individuals experience themselves as having control over and being responsible for what happens to them as opposed to attributing what happens to them to forces beyond their personal control.

Serving as subjects for the study were 140 seventh and eighth grade children. All children were of average intelligence, were living with both natural parents and came from families of both lower- and middle-socioeconomic status.

The specific hypotheses tested predicted that internal control in children would show a positive relationship to perceived parental consistency; that orientation of control would bear a closer relationship to perceived paternal consistency than perceived maternal consistency; and children from middle-

class families would score higher in perceived parental consistency and internal control than would children from lower-class families. To test these propositions, all children were given a specially designed Perceived Parental Consistency Scale, the Locus of Control Scale and the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire. Of the internal-external control scales the LCS was designed to measure orientation of control in several motivational and behavioral areas and the IAR measured control orientation exclusively in the area of intellectual academic achievement.

It was found that perceived parental consistency was completely unrelated to orientation of control as measured by the LCS. Highly significant positive relationships were found, however, between perceived parental consistency and internal control as measured by the IAR.

Comparisons of the significant relations found between perceived parental consistency and control scores on the IAR, in terms of sex of parent and sex and grade level of child, revealed several interesting interactions. Specifically, for both boys and girls at the seventh grade level, perceived paternal consistency was found to correlate higher with internal control than did perceived maternal consistency. For eighth grade children, however, there were no significant differences between these correlations. Also noted was a general tendency for maternal consistency to relate more closely to control orientation of boys than girls.

Social class was found to be related to perceived parental consistency and orientation of control scores of boys but not girls. Boys from middle-class families perceived their parents as being more consistent and scored higher in internal control than did boys from lower-class families.

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APPENDIX A

PERCEIVED PARENTAL CONSISTENCY SCALE

Perceived Parental Consistency Scale

1. When I bring home good grades from school I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how my mother (father) will react.

2. When I break something in the house I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how my mother (father) will react.

3. When I offer to help with work around the house I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how my mother (father) will react.

4. When I misbehave I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how my mother (father) will react.

5. When I have something important to tell my mother (father) I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how she (he) will react.

6. When I mess up the house I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how my mother (father) will react.

7. When I ask for help with school work I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how my mother (father) will react.

8. When I forget to do something my mother (father) told me to do I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how she (he) will react.

9. When I accidently get hurt I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how my mother (father) will react.

10. When I bring home poor grades from school I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how my mother (father) will react.

11. When I have problems that I want to talk to my mother (father) about I (always / frequently / sometimes / seldom / never) know how she (he) will react.

Part 2

Now that you have completed the above items please review your answers and in the space provided below each item -- (1) explain why you answered the item the way you did and (2) describe the possible ways your mother (father) might react to you in each of the given situations.

APPENDIX B

INTERNAL-EXTERNAL CONTROL SCALES

This is not a test. We are just trying to find out how kids your age think about certain things. These questions are asked to see how you feel about these things. There are no right and wrong answers to these questions. Some kids say "yes" and some say "no." When a question is asked, if you think your answer should be yes, or mostly yes, say "Yes". If you think the answer should be no, or mostly no, say "No". Remember different children give different answers and there is no right or wrong answer. Just say "yes" or "no" depending on how you think the question should be answered.

Yes No 1. When somebody gets mad at you, do you usually feel there is nothing you can do about it?

Yes No 2. Do you really believe a kid can be whatever he wants to be?

Yes No 3. When people are mean to you, could it be because you did something to make them be mean?

Yes No 4. Do you usually make up your mind about something without asking someone first?

Yes No 5. Can you do anything about what is going to happen tomorrow?

Yes No 6. When people are good to you, is it usually because you did something to make them be good?

Yes No 7. Can you ever make other people do things you want them to do?

Yes No 8. Do you ever think that kids your age can change things that are happening in the world?

Yes No 9. If another child was going to hit you, could you do anything about it?

Yes No 10. Can a child your age ever have his own way?

Yes No 11. Is it hard for you to know why some people do certain things?

Yes No 12. When someone is nice to you, is it because you did the right things?

Yes No 13. Can you ever try to be friends with another kid even if he doesn't want to?

Yes No 14. Does it ever help any to think about what you will be when you grow up?

Yes No 15. When someone gets mad at you, can you usually do something to make him your friend again?

Yes No 16. Can kids your age ever have anything to say about where they are going to live?

Yes No 17. When you get in an argument, is it sometimes your fault?

Yes No 18. When nice things happen to you, is it only good luck?

Yes No 19. Do you often feel you get punished when you don't deserve it?

Yes No 20. Will people usually do things for you if you ask them?

Yes No 21. Do you believe a kid can usually be whatever he wants to be when he grows up?

Yes No 22. When bad things happen to you, is it usually someone else's fault?

Yes No 23. Can you ever know for sure why some people do certain things?

1. If a teacher passes you to the next grade, would it probably be
___ a. because she liked you, or
___ b. because of the work you did?

2. When you do well on a test at school, is it more likely to be
___ a. because you studied for it, or
___ b. because the test was especially easy?

3. When you have trouble understanding something in school, is it usually
___ a. because the teacher didn't explain it clearly, or
___ b. because you didn't listen carefully?

4. When you read a story and can't remember much of it, is it usually
___ a. because the story wasn't well written, or
___ b. because you weren't interested in the story?

5. Suppose your parents say you are doing well in school. Is this likely to happen
___ a. because your school work is good, or
___ b. because they are in a good mood?

6. Suppose you did better than usual in a subject at school. Would it probably happen
___ a. because you tried harder, or
___ b. because someone helped you?

7. When you lose at a game of cards or checkers, does it usually happen
___ a. because the other player is good at the game, or
___ b. because you don't play well?

8. Suppose a person doesn't think you are very bright or clever.
___ a. can you make him change his mind if you try to, or
___ b. are there some people who will think you're not very bright no matter what you do?

9. If you solve a puzzle quickly, is it
___ a. because it wasn't a very hard puzzle, or
___ b. because you worked on it carefully?

10. If a boy or girl tells you that you are dumb, is it more likely that they say that
___ a. because they are mad at you, or
___ b. because what you did really wasn't very bright?

11. Suppose you study to become a teacher, scientist, or doctor and you fail. Do you think this would happen
___ a. because you didn't work hard enough, or
___ b. because you needed some help, and other people didn't give it to you?

12. When you learn something quickly in school, is it usually
___ a. Because you paid close attention, or
___ b. Because the teacher explained it clearly?

13. If a teacher says to you, "Your work is fine", is it
___ a. something teachers usually say to encourage pupils, or
___ b. because you did a good job?

14. When you find it hard to work arithmetic or math problems at school, is it
___ a. because you didn't study well enough before you tried them, or
___ b. because the teacher gave problems that were too hard?

15. When you forget something you heard in class, is it
___ a. because the teacher didn't explain it very well, or
___ b. because you didn't try very hard to remember?

16. Suppose you weren't sure about the answer to a question your teacher asked you, but your answer turned out to be right. Is it likely to happen
___ a. because she wasn't as particular as usual, or
___ b. because you gave the best answer you could think of?

17. When you read a story and remember most of it, is it usually
___ a. because you were interested in the story, or
___ b. because the story was well written?

18. If your parents tell you you're acting silly and not thinking clearly, is it more likely to be
___ a. because of something you did, or
___ b. because they happen to be feeling cranky?

19. When you don't do well on a test at school, is it
___ a. because the test was especially hard, or
___ b. because you didn't study for it?

20. When you win at a game of cards or checkers, does it happen
___ a. because you play well, or
___ b. because the other person doesn't play well?

21. If people think you're bright or clever, is it
___ a. because they happen to like you, or
___ b. because you usually act that way?

22. If a teacher didn't pass you to the next grade, would it probably be
___ a. because she "had it in for you", or
___ b. because your school work wasn't good enough?

23. Suppose you don't do as well as usual in a subject at school. Would this probably happen
___ a. because you weren't as careful as usual, or
___ b. because somebody bothered you and kept you from working?

24. If a boy or girl tells you that you are bright, is it usually
___ a. because you thought up a good idea, or
___ b. because they like you?

25. Suppose you became a famous teacher, scientist or doctor. Do you think this would happen
___ a. because other people helped you when you needed it, or
___ bb. because you worked very hard?

26. Suppose your parents say you aren't doing well in your school work. Is this likely to happen more
___ a. because your work isn't very good, or
___ b. because they are feeling cranky?

27. Suppose you are showing a friend how to play a game and he has trouble with it. Would that happen
___ a. because he wasn't able to understand how to play, or
___ b. because you couldn't explain it well?

28. When you find it easy to work arithmetic or math problems at school, is it usually
___ a. because the teacher gave you especially easy problems, or
___ b. because you studied your book well before you tried them?

29. When you remember something you heard in class, is it usually
___ a. because you tried hard to remember, or
___ b. because the teacher explained it well?

30. If you can't work a puzzle, is it more likely to happen
___ a. because you are not especially good at working puzzles, or
___ b. because the instructions weren't written clearly enough?

31. If your parents tell you that you are bright or clever, is it more likely
___ a. because they are feeling good, or
___ b. because of something you did?

32. Suppose you are explaining how to play a game to a friend and he learns quickly. Would that happen more often
___ a. because you explained it well, or
___ b. because he was able to understand it?

33. Suppose you're not sure about the answer to a question your teacher asks you and the answer you give turns out to be wrong. Is it more likely to happen
___ a. because she was more particular than usual,
___ b. because you answered too quickly?

34. If a teacher says to you, "Try to do better", would it be
___ a. because this is something she might say to get pupils to try harder, or
___ b. because your work wasn't as good as usual?

APPENDIX C

THE DETERMINATION OF SOCIAL CLASS

The determination of social class was based on the occupation of the subject's father, employing the Hollingshead Occupational Scale (Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958). Given below according to rank are the occupations that were found. The first three occupations were considered Middle-Class and the last three Lower-Class.

Middle-Class (N = 59)	Managers and proprietors of medium-sized businesses and lesser professionals.
	Administrative personnel of large concerns, owners of small independent business, and semiprofessionals.
	Owners of little businesses, clerical and sales workers, and technicians.
Lower-Class (N = 57)	Skilled workers
	Semiskilled workers
	Unskilled workers

APPENDIX D

RAW DATA

Individual Scores on Perceived Parental Consistency and Internal-External Control Scales

Seventh Grade Boys

Subjects	Perceived Parental Consistency		I-E Control	
	Mother	Father	LCS	IAR
1	50.5	65	13	14
2	89.5	95	19	28
3	83	96	13	28
4	78.5	94.5	15	28
5	63	65.5	13	21
6	81	94	20	24
7	86.5	94	11	30
8	80	88	17	24
9	93	93	18	20
10	79	89.5	14	24
11	83	90.5	9	23
12	83.5	71	9	20
13	84.5	96	10	25
14	87	92	19	30
15	71.5	68.5	12	19
16	74.5	94.5	7	23
17	98	94	17	27
18	78	78	13	16
19	84	84	13	21
20	90.5	96	21	27
21	88	91	12	26
22	89	100	15	27
23	85	84	14	27
24	88.5	79	13	26
25	63.5	60.5	15	19
26	89	90.5	15	28
27	95	80.5	12	13
28	100	97.5	14	23
29	61.5	79	12	21
30	76	69.5	13	19
31	76	69.5	13	19

Individual Scores on Perceived Parental Consistency and Internal-External Control Scales

Seventh Grade Girls

Subjects	Perceived Parental Consistency		I-E Control	
	Mother	Father	LCS	IAR
1	90	92	15	29
2	72	74.5	12	22
3	81.5	90.5	12	27
4	96.5	85.5	19	28
5	74	76.5	17	28
6	86	95	10	32
7	92	94	17	26
8	87	90.5	15	32
9	88.5	80	15	27
10	83	80	16	27
11	96.5	99	20	33
12	84.5	93.5	16	30
13	93.5	83	16	22
14	71	87.5	13	22
15	84.5	77	13	17
16	85	89.5	16	30
17	92	94.5	11	29
18	90	92	13	30
19	91.5	96.5	16	22
20	98	91.5	16	27
21	78	80	9	26
22	81.5	86	17	19
23	87.5	76	17	23
24	90.5	94.5	19	29
25	76.5	95.5	11	28
26	92.5	89	13	25
27	75.5	72	15	17
28	88	82	18	23
29	75	80	14	29
30	89	93	13	26
31	100	79	13	21
32	97.5	78	13	25
33	83	86	17	24
34	90	82	14	29
35	97	84	15	25

Individual Scores on Perceived Parental Consistency and Internal-External Control Scales

Eighth Grade Boys

Subjects	Perceived Parental Consistency		I-E Control	
	Mother	Father	LCS	IAR
1	96.5	86	15	26
2	89	86	15	26
3	97	87.5	18	24
4	92	84.5	17	22
5	79	87	5	14
6	66.5	74.5	14	18
7	92	88	16	31
8	97	72	14	18
9	74.5	75.5	12	20
10	74	69	13	21
11	97.5	96	6	29
12	88	82.5	16	25
13	91.5	89	13	25
14	88	67	14	29
15	82	89.5	11	23
16	85	75.5	13	23
17	93.5	83.5	11	26
18	83	77	18	23
19	91	88	14	27
20	98.5	87.5	18	26
21	94.5	89.5	11	22
22	89.5	83	15	26
23	77.5	81.5	16	25
24	82.5	79	17	26
25	87.5	63.5	14	26
26	83.5	81	15	28
27	89	74.5	15	18
28	91	78	16	23
29	91.5	86.5	17	27
30	71.5	76	16	27
31	85.5	86	12	22
32	89	84.5	13	24
33	84	75	13	24
34	59	44	16	16
35	87.5	82	19	25
36	79.5	81.5	8	22

Individual Scores on Perceived Parental Consistency and Internal-External Control Scales

Eighth Grade Girls

Subjects	Perceived Parental Consistency		I-E Control	
	Mother	Father	LCS	IAR
1	86	72	15	25
2	89	69.5	17	27
3	88	79	17	23
4	92.5	87.5	15	27
5	88	85.5	11	25
6	87	93.5	16	26
7	87	79.5	14	20
8	78	82	16	27
9	92	94	15	30
10	82.5	88.5	15	24
11	99	66.5	18	25
12	87	89.5	17	25
13	86	84	21	27
14	98	96.5	17	32
15	90	89	14	25
16	100	92.5	17	27
17	88.5	81.5	14	29
18	90.5	84.5	16	27
19	98	89	17	31
20	90.5	69	18	22
21	86	91.5	11	27
22	82	73.5	13	19
23	78	65.5	17	13
24	94.5	89	13	21
25	90	70	12	19
26	88	83.5	17	24
27	79	74	19	21
28	92	95	15	29
29	97.5	96	19	26
30	94.5	95.5	13	29
31	93.5	73.5	16	27
32	83	72	18	28
33	89	77.5	13	27
34	94	91.5	18	30
35	91	93	18	24
36	85	74.5	14	23
37	83	90	13	29
38	79	89.5	15	28