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Socialization to the parental role: A study of reactive norms

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SOCIALIZATION TO THE PARENTAL ROLE:
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THEORY	1
	Theoretical Perspective	1
	Theoretical Application	10
	Influence of Same Sex and Opposite Sex Roles	15
II.	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	21
	Socialization	21
	Ordinal Position and Parental Behavior	24
	Sex Related Roles	29
	Family Size	31
	Social Class	31
	Other Variables	32
III.	STUDY DESIGN	34
	Population and Sample	34
	Procedures	35
	Operational Definitions	38
	Reactive Norms	38
	Physical Independence	38
	Autonomous and Heteronomous Controls	39
	Anxiety	39
	Sex Differences	39
	Ordinal Position	40

CHAPTER PAGE

Methods 40

Quantitative Differences in Reactive Norms 40

Qualitative Differences in Reactive Norms 41

High and Low Anxiety 43

Other Variables 43

Statistical Test 46

IV. FINDINGS 47

Quantitative Differences in Reactive Norms 47

Qualitative Differences in Reactive Norms 53

Parental Differences in Anxiety 56

V. INTERPRETATION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH 64

Interpretation 65

Suggestions for Further Research 71

BIBLIOGRAPHY 78

APPENDIX A 82

APPENDIX B 85

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE PAGE

I. Comparison of Child Training in Relation to the Ordinal Position of the Child 25

II. Quantitative Differences in Parental Reactive Norms for Child's Going Downtown Instead of to the Park, by Sex of Parent and by Ordinal Position and Sex of Child . . . 48

III. Quantitative Differences in Parental Reactive Norms for Child's Getting Lost Just Before the Family is to Leave Home, by Sex of Parent and by Ordinal Position and Sex of Child 50

IV. Quantitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms Directed Towards Daughters, by Social Class, Family Size, and Father's Age 52

V. Quantitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms Directed Towards Children, by Social Class, Family Size, and Father's Age 54

VI. Qualitative Differences in Parental Reactive Norms, by Sex of Parent and by Ordinal Position and Sex of Child 55

VII. Respondent's Own Perception of his Parental Anxiety, by Sex of Parent and by Ordinal Position and Sex of Child 57

TABLE PAGE

VIII. Respondent's Perception of Spouse's Parental Anxiety, by Sex of Parent and by Ordinal Position and Sex of Child 59

IX. Father's Parental Anxiety in Dealing with Daughters, by Ordinal Position of Daughter, Social Class, Family Size, and Father's Age 60

X. Father's Parental Anxiety in Dealing with Children, by Ordinal Position of the Child, Social Class, Family Size, and Father's Age 63

XI. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms for Child's Going Downtown Instead of to the Park, by Ordinal Position of Child 86

XII. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms for Child's Getting Lost Just Before the Family is to Leave Home, by Ordinal Position of Child 86

XIII. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms for Son's Going Downtown Instead of to the Park, by Ordinal Position of Son 87

TABLE PAGE

XIV. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms for Son's Getting Lost Just Before the Family is to Leave Home, by Ordinal Position of Son 87

XV. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms for Daughter's Going Downtown Instead of to the Park, by Ordinal Position of Daughter 88

XVI. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms for Daughter's Getting Lost Just Before the Family is to Leave Home, by Ordinal Position of Daughter 88

XVII. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms for Child's Going Downtown Instead of to the Park, by Ordinal Position of Child 89

XVIII. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms for Child's Getting Lost Just Before the Family is to Leave Home, by Ordinal Position of Child 89

XIX. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms for Son's Going Downtown Instead of to the Park, by Ordinal Position of Son 90

TABLE PAGE

XX. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms for Son's Getting Lost Just Before the Family is to Leave Home, by Ordinal Position of Son 90

XXI. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms for Daughter's Going Downtown Instead of to the Park, by Ordinal Position of Daughter 91

XXII. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Quantitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms for Daughter's Getting Lost Just Before the Family is to Leave Home, by Ordinal Position of Daughter 91

XXIII. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Qualitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms, by Ordinal Position of Child 92

XXIV. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Qualitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms, by Ordinal Position of Son 92

XXV. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Qualitative Differences in Father's Parental Reactive Norms, by Ordinal Position of Daughter 93

XXVI. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Qualitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms, by Ordinal Position of Child 93

TABLE		PAGE
XXVII.	Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Qualitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms, by Ordinal Position of Son	94
XXVIII.	Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Qualitative Differences in Mother's Parental Reactive Norms, by Ordinal Position of Daughter	94
XXIX.	Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Father's Perception of his Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Child	95
XXX.	Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Mother's Perception of Father's Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Child	95
XXXI.	Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Father's Perception of his Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Son	96
XXXII.	Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Mother's Perception of Father's Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Son	96
XXXIII.	Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Father's Perception of his Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Daughter	97
XXXIV.	Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Mother's Perception of Father's Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Daughter	97

TABLE PAGE

XXXV. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Mother's Perception of her Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Child 98

XXXVI. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Father's Perception of Mother's Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Child 98

XXXVII. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Mother's Perception of her Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Son 99

XXXVIII. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Father's Perception of Mother's Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Son 99

XXXIX. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Mother's Perception of her Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Daughter 100

XL. Frequency Distribution and Percentages of Father's Perception of Mother's Parental Anxiety, by Ordinal Position of Daughter 100

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

1. Instrumental and Expressive Roles in the Nuclear Family . . 17
2. Sex Roles in the Nuclear Family 17
3. Basic Structure of Parental Role in Nuclear Family 18
4. Percent Change in Parental Reactive Norms and Anxiety, by Ordinal Position and Sex of Child and by Sex of Parent 69

CHAPTER I

THEORY

The interplay of social theory and social research is the most important attribute of the present day scientific study of human behavior. On the one hand, the scientist as theorist is interested in generalizations, and on the other hand, as a researcher he is interested in testing his hypothesis so that he is assured that what he reports is empirically valid. The effective social scientist does not aim to be strictly a theorist or an empiricist, but seeks to meaningfully combine both theory and research in a way that enhances scientific knowledge. In the following pages of this thesis, such an attempt at a combination of theory and research will be made in an effort to extend scientific knowledge.

I. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The basic theoretical perspective of this thesis will be role perspective which has unfortunately come to be known as "role theory." Such a designation implies more theory than really exists. The interrelated concepts in the area of role suggest hypotheses and prototheories but there is no unified theory.

In a recent publication Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas have brought together much of the work done in role theory and research.[1]

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[1]Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (ed.), Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

They present a comprehensive analysis of "partitioning concepts,"[2] and apply them to persons, to behavior, and to persons and their behaviors, together with an analysis of the relationships and combinations among them. They also deal with the problems of role properties and role variables. The overall role perspective is described by Biddle and Thomas in the following way:

> Individuals in society occupy positions, and their role performance in these positions is determined by social norms, demands, and rules: by the role performances of others in their respective positions; by those who observe and react to the performance; and by the individual's particular capabilities and personality. . . In essence, the role perspective assumes, as does the theater, that performance results from the social prescriptions and behavior of others, and that individual variations in performance, to the extent that they do occur, are expressed within the framework created by these factors.[3]

The authors emphasize that even though role theory is a relatively new perspective, it shares several attributes with the more mature orientations in the behavioral sciences. It possesses an identifiable domain of study, perspective, and concepts and has already developed a body of knowledge, some rudiments of theory, and characteristic methods of inquiry.

1. The domain of study is complex real-life behavior as it is displayed in on-going social situations.

2. The perspective of role is best described by Biddle and Thomas:

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[2]The authors use this term to refer to the classification of concepts by a conceptual operation which categorizes them on some basis.

[3]Biddle and Thomas, op. cit., p. 4.

> This perspective, in brief, is a limited, social determinism that ascribes much, but rarely all, of the variance of real-life behavior to the operation of immediate or past external influences. Such influences include the prescriptive framework of demands and rules, the behavior of others as it facilitates or hinders and rewards or punishes the person, the positions of which the person is a member, and the individual's own understanding of, and reactions to, these factors.[4]

3. The language of role has appeared in many studies, in texts in behavioral science, in integrative theory, and in the writings of many professional fields concerned with action and change. This language "probably serves to articulate complex real-life behavior as well as, or better than, any other single analogous vocabulary,"[5] and is the only really unique aspect of the theory.

4. The body of empirical observation is large and covers many subjects, but because this knowledge is in many publications of diverse academic fields, it has yet to be reviewed or organized.

5. What is often referred to as theory in the field of role consists of many specific hypotheses and theories which have not been integrated. Even if these propositions could be organized in some way, they would not constitute a single, monolithic theory and could not always be distinguished from other theoretical statements in the behavioral sciences.

6. Characteristic methods of inquiry in role have increased in breadth and scope as well as in the development of empirical studies. And like the methods of inquiry in behavioral science in general, those

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[4] Ibid., p. 17.

[5] Ibid., p. 18.

in role theory have become more diverse and sophisticated.

In discussing the development of taxonomies for sociology, Zetterberg noted that ideally theory should be able to begin with a small group of primitive terms which, when combined with each other and with logical terms, can define all other terms of the theory.[6] These primitive terms can be combined into many derived terms to create a sociological taxonomy.

> The sociologists say that all social events consist of combinations of human beings and their actions. The logicians say that all terms of a theory can ultimately be defined by combinations of primitive terms. It therefore seems useful -- at least as a first approximation -- to assume that the primitive terms of sociology should be words that denotate human agents and their actions.[7]

Zetterberg is suggesting that it is necessary for a social theorist to select primitive terms that stand for actors and types of actions. It is then possible to construct sociological definitions by operations which combine primitive terms representing persons, behaviors, and persons and their behaviors.

Biddle and Thomas have developed a conceptual structure of role theory by adhering to these rules. They have constructed classificatory concepts (sociological definitions) by performing conceptual operations which combine primitive terms that denote human agents and their action:

> A classificatory concept classifies something upon some basis, and in the field of role, it is a categorization of a subclass of a phenomenal referent in which the subclass devolves from a specific conceptual operation and a criterion. The phenomenal referents in the field of role are mainly either persons, behaviors, or persons and their behaviors. Three conceptual operations form the basic

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[6]Hans L. Zetterberg, On Theory and Verification in Sociology (third edition; New York: Bedminster Press, 1965), p. 52.

[7]Ibid., pp. 52-53.

> role concepts, the operations of partitioning, relating, or combining. There are many criteria for differentiating subclasses of role concepts, among them being numerosity, similarity and determination of analytic elements.[8]

The authors note four basic factors which enter into the formation of role concepts: (a) a phenomenal referent, (b) a conceptual operation involved in the formation of a subclass of the phenomenal referent, (c) elements partitioned, related, or combined, and (d) a formation criterion by which the subclass is formed. These represent the dimensions of the classificatory concepts of role. By specifying every component one defines a basic classificatory concept.[9]

Biddle and Thomas begin by partitioning concepts for persons. For example, the formulation criterion of numerosity leads to the breakdown of the person concepts into individual for a single person, aggregate for more than one person, and every person for all persons. The authors then partition concepts for behavior. The formulation criterion of "oughtness", for example, leads to the term "prescription" with a further classification of this term into "norm" for covertly held prescriptions and "demand" for overtly expressed prescriptions.

Biddle and Thomas have carefully adhered to a policy of stating definitions in classificatory rather than descriptive terms. They note that there seems to be no end to the definitions of role, and that the term, when used by itself, should be used only to denote the generic

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[8]Biddle and Thomas, op. cit., p. 25.

[9]Ibid.

idea, of the entire person-behavior matrix and more specific terms should be used for specified segments of the matrix.

One of the most useful ideas of role theory developed by the authors is that of the person-behavior matrix in which they combine person segments with behavioral segments and construct a classificatory scheme of all the logical possibilities of role types derivable from person and behavior classes. The following concepts denote the person segments of role:

1. Individual role -- all behavior of an individual.
2. Aggregate role -- all behavior of an aggregate.
3. Behaver role -- all behavior of a behaver.
4. Target role -- all behavior of a target person.[10]

The following concepts denote the behavior segments of role which are not associated with particular persons, but with behavior types:

1. Overt role -- overt behaviors of all persons.
2. Covert role -- covert behaviors of all persons.
3. Prescriptive role -- the prescriptions of all persons.
4. Descriptive role -- the descriptions of all persons.
5. Evaluative role -- the evaluations of all persons.
6. Active role -- the actions of all persons.
7. Sanctioning role -- the sanctions of all persons.[11]

Concepts from the person-behavior matrix are then derived by combining the person segments and the behavior segments. For example, the overt individual role can be distinguished from the covert aggregate role.[12]

As can be seen from the above explanation, classificatory concepts help categorize aspects of behavior, persons, and persons and

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[10] Ibid., p. 30.

[11] Ibid., p. 31.

[12] Ibid., For a summary of many of the concepts derived from the matrix, see pp. 41-44.

their behaviors, but this classification may or may not have theoretical value and in fact appears to be better suited to description. Concepts denoting variables, on the other hand, are better suited for the development of theory and theoretical objectives of explanation and prediction. Biddle and Thomas define a variable as "some quality the values of which may be employed to order some phenomenon, event or process. In the field of role the variable is some quality with respect to which the phenomenal referents or properties of role may be differentially ordered."[13] For example, prescriptions may be ordered in terms of a unipolar scale of permission which ranges from indifferent behavior, at one extreme, to obligatory or forbidden behavior, at the other extreme. Prescriptions may also be ordered in terms of a bipolar scale of permission in which indifference is a midpoint between obligatory or forbidden behavior. The ordering of the variable properties of role has not been given as much attention as the classification of concepts, but its theoretical value should tend to increase its use in the future development of role theory. The hypotheses developed from role theory which are to be accessed in the following pages will deal primarily with the ordering of some of the variable properties of role in terms of a unipolar scale rather than the usual classification of concepts.

Role behavior is in a large measure learned behavior. Socialization is concerned particularly with the learning of socially relevant behavior at various stages in the life cycle. The emphasis of this thesis

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[13] Ibid., p. 51.

will be upon an explanation of socialization to one particular role as a process of role learning.[14]

Orville Brim has constructed a theory of personality development based upon the role perspective in which he provides an explanation of socialization as a process.[15] He defines socialization as a "process of learning through which an individual is prepared with varying degrees of success, to meet the requirements attached to recognized positions or statuses in society laid down by other members of society for his behavior in a variety of situations."[16] Thus, socialization is an interactive process whereby a person's behavior is modified to conform with the expectations held by counter role partners. An individual

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[14]In the past few years, several men have suggested the role perspective and socialization to roles as a fruitful area of research, but not much has been done in this field. Sewell states that "socialization research guided by the psychoanalytic approach has been quite barren in terms of its empirical findings." He goes on to note that:

> ". . . there seems little doubt that the psychoanalytic approach dominated the study of socialization and to a marked extent other approaches. The study of the modes by which parents and other socialization agents deal with needs not so directly derivable from libidinal drives was relatively neglected. Moreover, the influence of social structure variables on either socialization practices or subsequent behavior was largely overlooked or was limited to the differences in the way social classes handled infant-training. There was considerable neglect of problems of role-learning. . . New work on socialization includes the social role approach and social system theory."

William H. Sewell, "Some Recent Developments in Socialization Theory and Research," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 349 (September, 1963), 167.

[15]Orville G. Brim, "Socialization through the Life Cycle," Socialization after Childhood: Two Essays (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966).

[16]Ibid., p. 4.

holding a position has expectations of how people in reciprocal positions should behave toward him and an understanding of what others expect of him. There are sets of reciprocal requirements regulating the behavior of individuals toward each other depending on their positions in the system. These requirements are learned through interaction in a variety of social situations and through the ability to take the role of the other.

From this perspective, the problem becomes one of discovering the norms of behavior established by the group for a position, and predicting variation from these standards. Brim notes three important contingencies which determine an individual's behavior or internalization of the role: (1) knowledge of the social situation, (2) ability to meet the requirements of the role, and (3) motivation to perform the role successfully and accept the goals of the group to the degree the situation requires.[17] He goes on to explain that the individual must know what is expected of him (both in behavior and in values), must be able to meet the role requirements, and must desire to practice the behavior and pursue the appropriate ends. Brim then develops the following paradigm using the three concepts of knowledge, ability, and motivation by cross-classifying them with values and behavior.[18]

	Behavior	Values
Knowledge	A	B
Ability	C	D
Motivation	E	F

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[17] Ibid., p. 25.

[18] Ibid.

The behavior cells (A, C, and E) indicate respectively that the individual knows what behavior is expected of him, is able to carry out the behavior, and is motivated to behave in the appropriate ways. The cells under values (B, D, and F) indicate respectively that the individual knows what ends he should pursue, is able to hold the appropriate values, and is motivated to pursue the designated values. The emphasis in socialization during the life cycle moves from motivation to ability and knowledge, and from a concern with values to a concern with behavior.

The three variables, knowledge of the role demands, ability to meet the role demands, and motivation to do so, describe the role-learning process. The explanations of why individuals may vary in role performances or values can be attributed to ignorance of the expected values or the expected behavior, varying degrees of ability to learn the proper values or behavior, and varying motivation to learn proper values and to behave in the proper ways.[19]

II. THEORETICAL APPLICATION

This thesis will emphasize the role perspective, as an approach to parental socialization. Role theory will be used in an effort to explain changes in parental role performance over time. In other words, the focus will be on socialization of the parent through role acquisition in the family setting with an emphasis upon the process of acquiring

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[19] Ibid., p. 26.

the knowledge and abilities which enable the parent to perform this role with less anxiety and at the same time to change his behavior.

At this point, it might be valuable to examine this approach according to the role theory constructs developed by Biddle and Thomas. The basic area of concern is persons and their behavior (specific behavior of aggregates of subjects), and the focus is upon the role as a link between social structure and behavior. The term role encompasses many subtle behaviors. Thus, using Biddle and Thomas' classification, the emphasis is upon the overt-behavior roles of differentiated aggregates of parents in their parental roles. The role variable under consideration in this thesis is ordered in terms of a unipolar scale of role learning, which ranges from no knowledge of or ability to perform the role at one extreme to complete knowledge of and ability to perform the role at the other extreme.

The adult must learn new roles as he moves to different positions in society. When socialization is seen as internalization of the role, a contemporary system of interaction between the child and the parent becomes the focus of attention. Socialization is not a one-way flow of information from the parent to the child, but interaction between parent and child, each developing a perception of their role through interacting with the other. Not only does the parent socialize the child, but the child socializes the parent. With this model, interest is focused upon the role as a link between social structure and behavior with an emphasis upon learning experiences.

Brim's three aspects of role internalization lead one to expect that a parent's knowledge of the social situation and his ability to meet the requirements of his role will increase through experiencing the role. It can be seen from this statement that the emphasis is upon cells A and C in the paradigm developed by Brim (see page 9 of this thesis), or the changes in parental role behavior due to an increase in knowledge and ability. The assumption is that the parent knows the values to be pursued in his parental role, that he wants to pursue them with the socially approved means, and that what remains to be done is to work out in interaction with the child what is the appropriate behavior.

Assuming most parents are motivated to socialize their children in a way that will best equip them to function in society, one can predict that experiencing the parental role will result in new definitions of the situation (role prescriptions) and a change in overt role behavior. The parent will socialize later-born children differently than first-born children because of increased knowledge about the parent role gained through experiencing the role. Of interest here are specific kinds of changes that take place in the role of the parent with these behavior changes viewed as an index of changes in parental role attributable to redefinitions arising out of experienced interaction. The parent will also feel more sure of himself after experiencing the parent role, which will result in less parental anxiety when he deals with later-born children than when he deals with first-born children.

The above theoretical approach will be the focus of an effort to discover some of the effects of one aspect of the social system upon parents' behavior toward their children. This will be accomplished by measuring the application of parental reactive norms[20] by the parent in controlling the behavior of children having different ordinal positions. Does the parent change his role behavior in specific situations as the number of children increases, and if so, in what ways? The effect of the social system upon parental feelings of anxiety will also be measured. Does the parent feel less anxious about his role as the number of children increases? This study will apply Brim's theoretical constructs by hypothesizing a relationship between particular aspects of parental role behavior and an increase in interaction due to an increase in the length of time the parent has experienced the role, and by hypothesizing a relationship between parental anxiety and an increase in interaction due to an increase in the length of time the parent has experienced the role.

This change will be reflected in parental behavior in terms of both quantitative and qualitative use of parental reactive norms as well as a change in perception of anxiety for self and spouse. More specifically, these predictions will be considered by hypothesizing that

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[20]Parental reactive norms are norms enforced by the parents through sanctions (usually entail negative sanctions applied for behavior contrary to the norm.) This idea is borrowed from a paper written by Cora Martin and Alexander Clark, "Social Class and Parental Values: A Critical Reappraisal," (unpublished paper written at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1966).

the parent allows more physical independence and uses fewer reactive norms with later-born children than with first-born children. The parent discovers that it is not necessary to restrict the child's physical independence to the extent he did with his earlier-born children. Similarly, for a qualitative analysis, parental reactive norms are classified as heteronomous, meaning subject to another's control, and autonomous, meaning subject to one's own control. Piaget classified parental reactive norms into autonomous and heteronomous controls, but never studied these in light of the child's ordinal position.[21] Here the prediction is that a smaller proportion of autonomous to heteronomous controls will be applied by parents to punish later-born children than to punish first-born children. This prediction is based upon the reasoning that the parent will tend to spend less time explaining to or reasoning with later-born children (autonomous control) and more often simply tell the child what to do (heteronomous control), because he has learned it is a simpler form of control to administer. Finally, the hypothesis that less anxiety will be felt by the parent who has experienced the role in the past will be examined. This prediction is based upon the reasoning that the parent discovers he is over-anxious about his first children. With later-born children, the parent is more sophisticated and knowledgable about child-rearing, thus a decrease in his anxiety feelings takes place.

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[21]J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child (New York: Free Press, 1948).

HYPOTHESES

Reactive norms directed by parents towards the first child, and each succeeding child, differ both quantitatively and qualitatively. In quantitative terms, parents allow each successive child more physical independence.

Hypothesis I: For each successive child, the application of reactive norms by the parent to limit physical independence will decline.

In qualitative terms, parents use proportionately fewer autonomous than heteronomous controls on later-born children than on first-born children.

Hypothesis II: The proportion of autonomous to heteronomous controls, applied by parents through reactive norms, will decrease after the first child.

Actually experienced roles lead to less anxiety. As the parent gains a more accurate perception of the parental role through experiencing it, less anxiety will occur.

Hypothesis III: For each successive child, parental anxiety as regards his parental role, will decline.

III. INFLUENCE OF SAME SEX AND OPPOSITE SEX ROLES

Brim notes that many of the studies of the parent-child social system have analyzed the roles of parents without any further specification of the role on the basis of sex differences. He suggests that it would be more profitable to conceive of each type of parent-child

relation, such as father-daughter, mother-son, etc., as a separate social system, as the role behavior of members in each system might be somewhat different. Each system is then conceived to be part of a larger more general system -- such as the father-child or the parent-child system. Valuable research can be done, he asserts, to specify the types of role elements which are general and those which are specific.[22]

Consistent with this line of reasoning, Parsons and Bales advance the hypothesis that the father's role in the nuclear family is generally that of an adaptive and instrumental person, whereas the mother's tends to be integrative and expressive.

> The instrumental-expressive distinction we interpret as essentially the differentiation of function, and hence of relative influence, in terms of "external" vs. "internal" functions of the system. The area of instrumental function concerns relations of the system to its situation outside the system, to meeting the adaptive conditions of its maintenance of equilibrium, and "instrumentally" establishing the desired relations to external goal-objects. The expressive area concerns the "internal" affairs of the system, the maintenance of integrative relations between the members and regulation of the patterns and tension levels of its component units.[23]

They note that the male is socialized to the instrumental role, receiving most of his role training (knowledge and ability) at this level, while the female is socialized to the expressive role, receiving most of her role training (knowledge and ability) at this level. This role structure is roughly represented by the following four-fold figure.

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[22]Orville G. Brim, "The Parent-Child Relation as a Social System: Parent and Child Roles," Child Development, 28 (September, 1957), 343-364.

[23]Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955), pp. 46-47.

	Instrumental	Expressive
Father and Son	+	-
Mother and Daughter	-	+

*A plus indicates high instrumental or expressive and a minus indicates low instrumental or expressive.

FIGURE 1

INSTRUMENTAL AND EXPRESSIVE ROLES
IN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY*

It is apparent that directly related to the instrumental and expressive roles are sex roles. The father and son are socialized to the male role receiving most of their role training (knowledge and ability) at this level, while mother and daughter are socialized to the female role, receiving most of their role training (knowledge and ability) at this level. This role structure is roughly represented by the following four-fold figure.

	Male	Female
Father and Son	+	-
Mother and Daughter	-	+

*A plus indicates high male or female role knowledge and ability and a minus indicates low male or female role knowledge and ability.

FIGURE 2

SEX ROLES IN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY*

Both of these important aspects (or sub-roles) of the parental role are considered in this thesis. A combination of these two basic factors (or roles) results in eight possible parental role types represented by Figure 3. This figure indicates that fathers have the greatest amount of knowledge and ability in the instrumental role at the son level (A) and the least amount in the expressive role at the daughter level (D). Mothers, on the other hand, have the greatest amount of knowledge and ability in the expressive role at the daughter level (H) and the least amount in the instrumental role at the son level (E). The other four possibilities (B, C, F, and G) fall somewhere in between.[24]

	Instrumental	Sex		Expressive	Sex	
Father						
Son	(A)	+	+ High	(B)	-	+ Middle
Daughter	(C)	+	- Middle	(D)	-	- Low
Mother						
Son	(E)	-	- Low	(F)	+	- Middle
Daughter	(G)	-	+ Middle	(H)	+	+ High

*High indicates high degree of role knowledge and ability, middle indicates middle degree of role knowledge and ability, and low indicates low degree of role knowledge and ability.

FIGURE 3

BASIC STRUCTURE OF PARENTAL ROLE
IN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY*

[24]The uncommitted statement is made that these possibilities fall somewhere in between as it is not known whether the sub-roles are of equal importance or if one is more important than the other.

Early in life boys begin their socialization to the instrumental and male sex roles. Girls are socialized to the expressive and female sex roles. Thus, the individual gains knowledge of and ability in these specific roles (which become an essential part of the parental role) prior to the acquisition of the parental role.[25] Females enter the parental role with prior knowledge of and ability in the expressive and daughter roles which necessitates fewer behavioral changes for them, in this aspect of the role, than for males. Males, on the other hand, enter the parental role with prior knowledge of and ability in the instrumental and son roles which necessitates fewer behavioral changes for them, in this aspect of the role, than for females.

The emphasis of this research is upon the use of parental reactive norms directed towards children in the nuclear family which is generally considered an expressive function. If the above explanation is valid, in the expressive role (1) The father should have the least prior parental role knowledge and ability in dealing with his earlier-born daughters, thus the greatest change with later-born daughters, (2) The knowledge and ability of both the mother and the father in dealing with earlier-born sons should fall somewhere in the middle, thus requiring a

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[25]This argument should not be confused with Merton's discussion of anticipatory socialization., Social Theory and Social Structure, (rev. ed.), (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 265-271. He refers to the fact that individuals may acquire new behaviors characteristic of a position of which they are about to move, through anticipating what these new behaviors are. On the other hand, this emphasis is upon knowledge and ability gained through prior role experiences in situations which are similar to the role one is about to acquire or the situation one is about to experience.

medium amount of change with later-born sons, and (3) The mother should have the most prior parental role knowledge and ability in dealing with her earlier-born daughters, thus the least change with later-born daughters.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the first chapter, the parent-child social system was viewed from the perspective of "role theory." Particular emphasis was given to the socialization of the parent to the parental role. This chapter will present a survey of the pertinent literature.

I. SOCIALIZATION

Much socialization research is based upon the work of Freud and related psychological theories of personality which emphasize childhood socialization. Early life experiences are believed to be fundamental to the development of personality traits as enduring characteristics of the individual.[1] The ideas of child development research (maturation, physical and mental development, etc.) have been combined with concepts stemming from clinical theories of personality and have resulted in some notable studies of childhood socialization.[2] However,

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[1]A survey of the field of child development has been written by Lawrence K. Frank, "The Beginnings of Child Development and Family Life Education in the Twentieth Century," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 8 (October, 1962), 1-28.

[2]See Kurt Lewin, A Dynamic Theory of Personality, translated by Donald K. Adams and associates (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1935), Neal Miller and John Dollard, Social Learning and Imitation (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), and Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1957).

only recently has role-learning been given systematic attention in studies of socialization of children.[3]

The studies which have dealt with adult socialization, on the contrary, have tended to use the framework of role theory. Socialization was conceptualized as learning new roles in adapting to changes of social status. These adult socialization studies however have been primarily descriptive, dealing with areas such as anticipatory socialization,[4] occupational role learning,[5] development of sex-role identification (instrumental and expressive roles),[6] deviant role acquisition,[7] the rehabilitation role as adult socialization,[8]

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[3]See Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Parental Power, Legitimation and Its Effects on the Adolescent," Sociometry, 26 (March, 1963), 50-65 and Robert D. Hess, "The Adolescent: His Society," Review of Educational Research, 30 (February, 1960), 5-12.

[4]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 265-271.

[5]Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1958), Howard S. Becker, Everett C. Hughes, Blanche Greer, and Anselm L. Strauss, Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), and M. Lee Taylor and Ronald J. Pellegrin, "Professionalization, Its Functions and Dysfunctions for the Life Insurance Occupation," Social Forces, 38 (December, 1960), 110-114.

[6]Ruth E. Hartley, "A Developmental View of Female Sex-Role Identification," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 10 (1964), 3-16.

[7]Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960).

[8]David Landy and Henry Wechsler, "Rehabilitation, Socialization, and Pathway Organizations," Journal of Social Issues, 16 (1960), 3-7 and 70-78.

socialization to old-age roles,[9] and socialization to new statuses in industrial settings.[10]

Sarbin noted that:

> Controlled experimentation in the learning of roles has not yet begun. Anecodotal material is available which provides evidence for the plausibility of the hypothesis that adult role behavior depends on the prior acquisition of role expectations. Especially cogent are the reports of situations in which the absence of the opportunities for learning to enact roles appropriate to defined positions leads to deviant conduct.[11]

Even in the area of descriptive studies of adult socialization many gaps occur.

> Even on the descriptive level, what is known on adult socialization is rather scant -- especially in comparison with what is known on childhood and adolescence. Practically no good research on socialization into the marital role exists -- despite the fact that numerous books on marriage and family contain 'insightful advice' on adjustment to the marriage partner.[12]

This dearth of research on adult socialization to the family roles, and more particularly the parental role, provides a small empirical base for continuing work. However, some research exists which can be interpreted as pointing toward certain hypotheses dealing with parental role behavior.

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[9]Irwin Deutscher. "Socialization for Post-Parental Life," Human Behavior and Social Processes, Arnold Rose (ed.), (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), pp. 506-525.

[10]Erving Goffman, Asylums (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961).

[11]Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," The Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey (ed.), (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1959), p. 227.

[12]William H. Sewell, "Some Recent Developments in Socialization Theory and Research," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 349 (September, 1963), 175-176.

II. ORDINAL POSITION AND PARENTAL BEHAVIOR

Researchers have investigated a large number of personality variables which are alleged to be associated with birth order. Many of these studies note that various personality attributes result from differential parental treatment accorded children of different ordinal positions. However, most of the studies focus upon child personality differences, rather than the parental behavioral differences, which allegedly result in the differences directed towards children of different ordinal positions.[13]

Not all of the literature is concerned with the effects of the interaction on the child. There is some evidence on differences in parental behavior related to the child's ordinal position. Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, in a study of patterns of child rearing, surveyed 379 mothers of five-year-old children. The table on the following pages is from their article and summarizes their findings.[14]

The authors note that the differences they find are only provisional, because there are other aspects of family life that vary with ordinal position. For example, the differences noted in the table reflect not only the influence of the child's birth order, but

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[13]A review of many of the studies of family size and birth order in relation to personality characteristics has been written by John A. Clausen and Judith R. Williams, "Sociological Correlates of Child Behavior," Child Psychology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), Chapter II.

[14]Robert R. Sears, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Harry Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1957), p. 409.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF CHILD TRAINING IN RELATION TO THE ORDINAL POSITION OF THE CHILD

(Adapted from Table XI:3 in Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, Patterns of Child Rearing, p. 409)

	Only	Oldest	Middle	Youngest	F	p
Percentage breast-fed	42%	47%	42%	30%		
Median duration of breast feeding for those breast-fed (in months)	1.4	2.8	2.3	2.2	3.10	<.05
Median age at beginning of bowel training (in months)	9.6	9.0	11.0	9.9	3.40	<.05
Percentage rated high on:						
Severity of weaning	42%	26%	30%	43%	3.88	.01
Permissiveness for aggression toward siblings	--	27%	18%	15%	4.08	<.01
Restrictions of physical mobility	24%	18%	14%	15%	2.24	<.10
Giving child regular jobs	12%	12%	24%	5%	6.64	<.01
Keeping track of child	39%	32%	23%	32%	4.45	<.01
Praise if children play well together for a time	--	41%	36%	52%	3.23	<.05
Use of deprivation of privileges	41%	44%	39%	28%	3.85	.01
Mother finding time to play with child	78%	74%	57%	71%	3.93	.01
Percentage delighted when mother found she was pregnant	74%	68%	49%	40%	9.80	<.01
Percentage delighted when father learned wife was pregnant	72%	72%	58%	57%	3.95	.01

TABLE I (continued)

	Only	Oldest	Middle	Youngest	F	p
Who is the disciplinarian (when both parents are present)?						
Primarily father	24%	37%	29%	29%		
Shared equally	27%	33%	29%	26%	3.76	.01
Primarily mother	49%	30%	42%	45%		
Who is stricter with child?						
Mother	38%	20%	30%	23%		
Equally strict	28%	39%	28%	34%	3.25	<.05
Father	34%	50%	42%	43%		

also the effect of family size, age-gap between each child and his next-older or next-younger sibling, parent's age, etc. Although these influences cannot be eliminated from the findings, the data are significant in that they investigate and find differences in parental roles by ordinal position of the child. Parents restrict the physical mobility of only and first-born children to a higher degree than later-born children, and they also keep track of only and first-born children to a higher degree than later-born children at this age.

Laske conducted a longitudinal study of parent behavior toward first and second children, by studying and comparing the behavior patterns of 46 mothers as related to their first-and second-born children.[15] She interprets her data as supporting the conclusion that mothers' behavior toward first as contrasted with second children is on the average more restrictive and coercive.

Another study was conducted by Gewirtz in which he interviewed forty-two mothers of three and four-year-old children about their methods of child-rearing. He discovered that second-and later-born children were treated more permissively than were first or only children. Pediatric advice requiring rigorous control of the feeding process was more often disregarded and the children had more say about the way they were treated. Mothers discovered they were over-anxious about their child's health, and they let the children have less

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[15]Jean K. Laske, "Parent Behavior Toward First and Second Children," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 49 (1954), 97-131.

restricted play. Less ritual and ceremonial attention was given the child at bedtime; in all he was taken more casually and occasioned less concern.[16]

There is evidence from these studies that a relationship exists between parental behavior and the ordinal position of the child. This relationship is in the direction of the parent allowing later-born children more physical independence. Directly related to this increase in physical independence, some authors have discovered a decrease in the anxiety feelings of the parents about their later-born children. These authors offer the explanation that the parent allows more physical independence with later-born children, because they have less anxiety about the child.

Gewirtz, in the study cited above, indicated that mothers' feelings of anxiety about their child-rearing practices are lower with later-born children than with first-born children. With later-born children, mothers were less anxious about their own skills and less concerned about the health and well-being of their children. Mothers evidently discovered they were over-anxious about their child's health.

Schachter also notes that a mother is more ill at ease and more

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[16]J. L. Gewirtz, "Dependent and Aggressive Interaction in Young Children," (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1948). In an article by Robert R. Sears, "Ordinal Position in the Family as a Psychological Variable," American Sociological Review, 15 (1950), 397-401.

worried with her first child than she is with her later children.[17] He states that by the time she has her second child she is certainly more blase and sophisticated about the business of child rearing. However, he offers no evidence to support this statement.

This review of the literature has emphasized the importance of the child's ordinal position as it is related to parental behavior. It was noted by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin[18] that a comprehensive treatment of the birth-order variable must include a consideration of other variables directly related to ordinal position. The importance of the sex of the parent and child, the differences of family size, the age of parents, and the socio-economic position of the family are variables which may have an influence on the results of a study dealing with ordinal position.

III. SEX RELATED ROLES

Parsons describes the father's role in the nuclear family as being that of an instrumental person, whereas the mother's tends to be expressive. He notes that the father and son roles (relative to the mother and daughter roles) are high on "instrumentality -- hence low on expressiveness" and the mother and daughter roles (relative to the father and son roles) are high on "expressiveness -- hence low on

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[17]Stanley Schachter, The Psychology of Affiliation (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 43.

[18]Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, op. cit., pp. 408-410.

instrumentality."[19] If this is the case, then one would expect to find differences between certain role behaviors of each and different expectations held for sons and daughters.

There are properties of roles shared by both parents, when dealing with sons and daughters, which allow one to speak of the parental role generally. However, there are also specific roles associated with sex differences of the parents and parental behavior towards same-sex and cross-sex children. There is evidence which indicates that the task of punishing a child falls within the realm of a specific parental role. For example, it is interesting to note that both Radke and Stott have discovered that mothers punish more frequently than fathers.[20] Aberle and Naegele indicate that fathers are more demanding for their sons than for their daughters,[21] and Sears finds a tendency of mothers to be a little more severe with daughters than with sons.[22] If parents are more severe or demanding with same-sex

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[19]Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955), pp. 46-47.

[20]M. J. Radke, The Relation of Parental Authority to Children's Behavior and Attitudes (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1946), and L. H. Stott, "Home Punishment of Adolescents," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 57 (1940), 415-428.

[21]D. F. Aberle and K. D. Naegele, "Middle-class Father's Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 22 (1952), 366-378.

[22]R. R. Sears, J. W. Whiting, V. Nowles, and P. S. Sears, "Some Child-Rearing Antecedents of Aggression and Dependency in Young Children," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 47 (1953), 2. See Orville Brim for a summary of some of the research done on the parent-child as a social system and particularly the different ways parents treat children of the same and opposite sex. Op. cit., pp. 351-354.

children, then controlling for the sex of the parent and child will factor out these sex role differences and provide a more accurate indication of ordinal position differences. It may be discovered that the relationship between parental punishment and the child's ordinal position is dependent upon specific sex-related parental roles.

IV. FAMILY SIZE

Family size is an important variable in the parent-child social system and is, of course, related to ordinal position. It is conceivable that differences in parental behavior may be due to differences in family size rather than differences in the ordinal position of the child. If this is the case, it might be expected that when family size is held constant, the child's ordinal position will not stand out as the important variable.

V. SOCIAL CLASS

Social class has received considerable attention in studies of child-rearing.[23] However, recent findings indicate that there are few, if any, class differences in child-rearing practices. Both Bronfenbrenner

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[23]For a summary of 25 years of research relating social class to child-rearing practices, see Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class Through Time and Space," Readings in Social Psychology, Maccoby, Newcomb, and Hartley (ed.), (New York: Holt, 1958), 400-425. Bronfenbrenner concludes "In the past few years, there have been indications that the gap between the social classes may be narrowing."

and Sewell[24] indicate that the latest research shows that any previous gap which might have existed between child-rearing practices of lower and middle-class mothers is narrowing. Even Kohn does not find social class differences in parental behavior.[25] Finally, Martin discovers very few class differences in parental sanctioning behavior.[26] If social class is an important factor in parental behavior, it might be expected that when this variable is held constant, the child's ordinal position will not stand out as the important variable.

VI. OTHER VARIABLES

Other variables may also have a direct effect upon parental behavior. For example, the spacing of children, the personality configurations of the parents or children, and families with multiple births, half-siblings, or where an older sibling died in infancy. Likewise, there is the matter of the parent's age. In this study, all the children whose child-rearing is being examined, are in the

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[24]William H. Sewell, "Social Class and Childhood Personality," Sociometry, 24 (December, 1961), 340-351. Sewell notes that "Studies of child-rearing in relation to social class, made since the publication of the Chicago studies, have found fewer class-related differences than might have been expected."

[25]Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Parent-Child Relationships: An Interpretation," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (1963), 471. Kohn states in a footnote that his own studies do not show social class differences in parental disciplining behavior.

[26]Cora Ann Martin, "The Functional Theory of Social Class Differences in Child-Rearing: A Critical Appraisal," (unpublished PH.D. thesis, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas, 1965).

seventh grade. On the average, then, a parent whose youngest child is in the seventh grade will be older than a parent whose oldest child is in the seventh grade. Sears, Maccoby, and Levin encountered these problems and state the case very well:

> We cannot hope to untangle this complex web of influences and thus discover a "pure" pattern of child-rearing practices that were consistently related to ordinal position alone. From a practical standpoint, however, we can compare . . . positions and see what appear to have been the differences among them, whatever the reasons, even though we may remain skeptical that it was birth order *per se* that determined the mothers' different practices. It is important to remember that any such variable as sex of child or ordinal position can only be an *index* of common cultural factors that lead -- possibly -- to somewhat consistent child-rearing behavior by the mother.[27]

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[27]Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

CHAPTER III

STUDY DESIGN

I. POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The families in this study were selected by a random sample of all white[1] parents who had children born in 1954[2] and who were enumerated in the Omaha, Nebraska Public School District Census for 1966.[3] The population consisted of 5,897 families. The sample was restricted in that families with only one child were eliminated for this analysis. The study deals with ordinal positions of the children and thus requires more than one child in the family. Finally, since the point of view of both parents was desired, families where parents were separated, divorced, or one parent was missing were eliminated from the sample.

The initial sample consisted of 388 couples. Of these 14.2 per cent (55) could not be contacted.[4] Of the 333 families contacted,

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[1]Negro families were eliminated from the population sampled, because there was reason to believe an individual's responses may have varied due to belonging to this racial subgroup. The sample was not large enough to allow a separate analysis of Negro responses.

[2]As most of these children were enrolled in the seventh grade at the time of the interview, they have been referred to as the seventh-grade child.

[3]These records included public, private, and parochial school children who attended school in the Omaha Public School District. Those who attended school in District Sixty-Six, which was a separate suburban school district partially located within the city limits, were not included.

[4]These families had either moved (42), their address could not be located (8), or they could not be found at home (5).

31.2 per cent (104) did not meet the selection criteria,[5] and 16.2 per cent (54) refused to participate in the study. The final sample consisted of 175 couples or 350 respondents, representing 45.1 per cent of the original sample and 52.6 per cent of all families contacted. The refusals (54) represented 23.6 per cent of the respondents plus the refusals (229). This rate was not high when one considers that both the husband and the wife had to be interviewed at the same time. When the non-respondents were plotted on a map of the city, they were not concentrated in one area.[6]

II. PROCEDURES

Interviewing was conducted in the latter part of 1966, after each couple received a letter explaining the study and asking for their cooperation.[7] Interview teams of two (usually one graduate student and one undergraduate student) called upon the family within a few days. The interviews took place at the respondent's home and lasted about forty-five minutes.[8] Both parents were interviewed simultaneously in

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[5]Included families where a spouse was missing because of death, divorce, separation, or illness (40), families where respondents could not get together (37), and other ineligible families because of race, twins, retarded child, only child families, etc. (27).

[6]See Appendix A. Only one census tract had three refusals and no more than two refusals were in any of the other tracts.

[7]See Appendix A for a copy of the letter.

[8]The interviewing was done as part of a research seminar at the University of Omaha. Each class member was able to include questions on the schedule and the collection of data in this manner provided each person with a larger and more representative sample to work with than would have been possible had each student gathered data alone. It was also possible to interview both parents at the same time.

separate rooms. The same questions were asked of each and the interview focused upon the same child.[9] The respondent was encouraged to answer the questions honestly and informed several times that there were no right or wrong answers. All respondents were asked the same questions in the same order to insure comparability of the responses. At least three attempts were made to interview each couple in the sample. All of the interviewees were contacted by phone after the interview to insure that the interview had actually taken place.

In the interview, the parents were questioned concerning their behavior in dealing with their seventh-grade child. The ideal way to gather the data would have been to observe their behavior and compare the way the same respondents acted toward subsequent children of a fixed age.[10] As has often been the case in scientific studies, the

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[9]In many of the past family studies, only the wife was interviewed with the assumption that her responses alone constituted valid measurement of the family structure and interaction and that the degree of agreement between spouses was great enough to make dual testing unnecessary. For example, see Robert O. Blood, Jr. and Donald M. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives (New York: The Free Press, 1960), p. 273. Scanzoni noted that this assumption was not based upon sound methodological principles and he discovered: "When identical responses are compared, couples are found to agree on 50 per cent of the items. When general direction of responses is compared, they agree on 75 per cent of the items." John Scanzoni, "A Note on the Sufficiency of Wife Responses in Family Research," Pacific Sociological Review, 8 (Fall, 1965), 109-115.

[10]The interview was used as a substitute for direct observation of parental behavior which introduced the possibility of error, because the parent may not have told the interviewer about his real behavior, but only ideal behavior. However, by interviewing a parent, the researcher was able to acquire in a matter of minutes information about parental behavior which would have required hundreds of hours of direct observation. Also, few people would have been willing to let a sociologist observe the private aspects of their family life.

ideal was not possible because of a lack of time. As an alternative the decision was made to control for the age of the child, asking questions about how the respondents would deal with their seventh-grade child. The results of this study should be considered in light of the fact that they were a comparison of the way parents felt they would react towards their seventh-grade child at the time of the interview. These responses were then related to the child's ordinal position.

Johnson and Leslie have noted that in many studies of child-rearing, methodologically inadequate indices of child-rearing values have been used. The assumption of these studies has been that values, as expressed by the respondent, provided an adequate measure of parental behavior. However, these authors found this assumption to be empirically invalid.[11] For this reason, the questions for this study were designed to measure parental perception of their behavior, rather than their values.

In the interview, each respondent was asked to place himself in a specific hypothetical situation, (e.g., one in which the child had disobeyed), and tell the interviewer what he thought he would do in this situation. Hypothetical questions placed each respondent in the same situation, avoiding the vagueness of such terms as honesty, obeying, etc.,

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[11]Johnson and Leslie, "Methodological Notes on Research in Child-Rearing and Social Class," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 11 (1965), 345-358. For example, middle-class mothers responded very permissively to the most general value statement, "A mother should encourage her school-age child to make most of his own decisions," but apparently were not willing to let them make the "wrong decision," at least concerning spending their allowances. Perhaps middle-class mothers had more knowledge of the ideal values and could better verbalize them, yet behaved similarly to working-class mothers.

as well as allowing the respondent to answer the questions without admitting his child misbehaved.[12]

III. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Reactive norms. Reactive norms were the stated responses of the parent to a situation in which the child had transgressed the norms set by the parent. It was held that reactive norms presented a measure of the actual behavior of the parent, as it was his description of his reaction to a specific situation, rather than what he felt was ideal behavior in that situation.[13]

Physical independence. Physical independence was defined as a situation in which the parent indicated he would have either talked to the child about his apparent transgression of the norm or merely ignored the child's transgression of the norm. Responses in which the parent said he would have given in, ignored the act, explained the situation, etc., were classified as non-punishment responses which allowed the child physical independence. Physical dependence, on the other hand, was defined as a situation in which the parent indicated he would have punished the child for his transgression of the norm and included physical punishment, isolation, restriction of activities, being deprived of some privilege, etc.

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[12]See page 42 for a list of these questions.

[13]Reactive norms were operationally classified in two different ways -- one way for a quantitative analysis and one way for a qualitative analysis. It should be noted that these classifications were not independent of each other and that they were developed to consider different hypotheses.

Autonomous and heteronomous controls. Parental reactions to hypothetical situations were also classified by the type of control used and the presumed intent of the parent when punishing. Autonomous controls referred to internal controls such as being sent to his room to reflect on behavior, activity restriction, having to make restitution, and showing the child the implications of his misbehavior. Heteronomous controls, on the other hand, referred to external controls such as spanking, scolding, threatening, and insistence on obedience. Piaget noted, in his classification of controls, that under autonomous controls, the child was encouraged to internalize the laws set by the parents, but under heteronomous controls the child was forced to obey because the parents had made the laws.[14]

Anxiety. Two classifications of anxiety were developed. First of all, those parents who saw themselves as being anxious always, often, or sometimes when dealing with the seventh-grade child were classified as high anxiety persons. Those parents who saw themselves as being anxious seldom or never were classified as low anxiety persons. Secondly, those parents who were seen by their spouse as being anxious always, often, or sometimes when dealing with the seventh-grade child were classified as high anxiety persons. Those parents who were seen by their spouse as being anxious seldom or never were classified as being low anxiety persons.

Sex differences. Some of the theory and literature indicating the importance of the specific roles of father and son or daughter and mother

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[14]J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child (New York: Free Press, 1948).

was emphasized in Chapters I and II. Because important differences between these sex-related roles have been discovered, each specific sex role was given separate consideration. Thus, the sex-related roles were not allowed to confuse the results of this research.

Ordinal position. Two classifications of the child's ordinal position were developed. For the first and third hypotheses, ordinal position was divided into three categories: (1) first-born, (2) second-born, and (3) third-born or above. For the second hypothesis, ordinal position was dichotomized into first-born and later-born children.

IV. METHODS

A measure of ordinal position and sex was obtained by asking the parent the age and sex of every child in the family. This allowed the classification of each interview child according to his ordinal position and sex. The sex of the parent was also noted in the interview. The sex of the parent and the child, as well as the ordinal position of the child, were held constant in all three hypotheses.

Reactive norms were measured by parents' responses to six hypothetical situations. Two separate but not independent indices of reactive norms were developed, one to measure quantitative differences and one to measure qualitative differences.

Quantitative differences in reactive norms. The first index of reactive norms was developed to measure the quantitative differences in these norms when directed toward the child to limit physical independence. It required the separate classification of parental reactions to two

hypothetical situations, each of which described a "physical liberty" taken by the child without parental permission. Data for the first hypothesis were derived from two frequency distributions of parental responses to the following hypothetical situations.

1. Suppose you give ------- permission to go to the park with some friends, and find out later that he (she) has actually gone downtown instead of to the park. What would you most likely do when he (she) comes home?

2. Suppose you are going to visit friends on a Sunday afternoon and --------, who knows you plan to leave in ten minutes, goes out to play. When it's time to leave you can't find him (her). After 30 minutes you locate him (her) at a friend's house. What would you most likely do?

Each parent's answers to the two questions were independently classified as being a non-punishment or punishment response and placed in separate frequency distributions. The hypothesis predicted that the responses and frequency distributions from these two questions would show a decrease in the per cent of punishment responses and an increase in the per cent of non-punishment responses as ordinal position of the child increased.

Qualitative differences in reactive norms. The second classification of reactive norms was developed to measure the qualitative differences in reactive norms directed toward the child. It required the separate classification of parental reactions to six hypothetical situations, each of which described fairly typical pre-adolescent norm transgressions. Each response was classified as being either a heteronomous or an autonomous response. A scale was developed by placing each respondent in one of the following two categories:

(1) Heteronomous response parent, which included any parent who indicated he would use heteronomous controls 50 per cent or more of the time when controlling the interview child in the six hypothetical situations and (2) Autonomous response parent, which included any parent who indicated he would use heteronomous controls below 50 per cent of the time when controlling the interview child in the six hypothetical situations. Data for the second hypothesis were derived from a frequency distribution of parents classified by this scale which was developed from parental responses to the following hypothetical situations.

1. Suppose you give ------ permission to go to the park with some friends, and find out later that he (she) has actually gone downtown instead of to the park. What would you most likely do when he (she) comes home?

2. Suppose you are going to visit friends on a Sunday afternoon and ---------, who knows you plan to leave in ten minutes, goes out to play. When it's time to leave you can't find him (her). After 30 minutes you locate him (her) at a friend's house. What would you most likely do?

3. Suppose you look out of the window and you see ------ get angry and haul off and hit a neighbor without a good reason. What would you most likely do?

4. Suppose ------ has been expecting to go swimming on Saturday, and it becomes impossible for some good reason. When you inform him (her) that he (she) can't go he (she) begins to cry and runs from the room, slamming the door very hard behind him (her). What would you most likely do?

5. Imagine that you discover ------ snitching pocket money from your (your wife's) purse. What would you most likely do?

6. Suppose ------ leaves his (her) personal belongings lying all over the house for you and your (wife/husband) to pick up. What would you most likely do?

Each respondent was separately classified as being either an autonomous or a heteronomous response parent and placed in the frequency distribution according to his classification by this scale. The second hypothesis predicted that the scale developed from these six questions would show an increase in the per cent of heteronomous response parents and a decrease in the per cent of autonomous response parents after the first child.

High and low anxiety. Using a Likert-type item, each parent was asked to classify himself as to how often he felt unsure when he dealt with the interview child, and then to classify his spouse in the same way. Data for the third hypothesis were derived from two frequency distributions of parental responses to the following questions.

1. Do you ever feel unsure of yourself when you deal with ------? Would you say that this happens always, often, sometimes, occasionally, or never?

2. Do you think your husband (wife) is ever unsure of himself (herself) when he (she) deals with ------? Would you say that he (she) feels unsure always, often, sometimes, occasionally, or never?

Each parent's answers to these questions were independently classified as being either a high anxiety or a low anxiety response and placed in separate frequency distributions. The hypothesis predicted that the responses and frequency distributions from these two questions would show an increase in the per cent of low anxiety parents and a decrease in the per cent of high anxiety parents as ordinal position of the child increased.

Other variables. A comprehensive treatment of the birth-order variable must have considered other variables directly related to birth-

order. The simultaneous control of these variables would have required an extremely large sample size. The permutations of sex of parent and child, in combination with the large number of birth-order positions and family sizes, would have yielded an extremely large number of categories. Other test variables of importance would have included age of parents and socio-economic position of the family. The ideal way of considering the original variables would have been to control all other related test variables at the same time. However, the sample size of this study was too small to permit such an analysis. Therefore, when the results of the original variables were significant, other test variables were controlled separately to give an indication of how these variables affected the significance of the original results.

In order to control the social class variable, it was necessary to divide the sample into class categories. The Edwards Occupational Scale[15] divided gainful workers into a hierarchy of six main categories:

1. Professional Persons
2. Proprietors, Managers, and Officials
3. Clerks and Kindred Workers
4. Skilled Workers and Foremen
5. Semi-Skilled Workers
6. Unskilled Workers

The first three categories differed from the last three and were considered white collar occupations. The last three categories were classified as blue collar jobs. The significant difference between

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[15]Alba M. Edwards, Population: Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940, U.S. Bureau of Census (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943). For the assumptions and a description of this scale, see Edward Gross, Work and Society (New York: Crowell Co., 1958), pp. 54-59.

the two categories was that white collar workers were segregated from the factory and used their heads in their work while blue collar workers were segregated from the office and used their hands in their work. This scale of social class was used by assigning each parent to the class of blue collar or white collar on the basis of the husband's occupation. The effect of the test variable of social class upon the significance of the original variables was then considered with this white-collar, blue-collar occupational classification.

The family size test variable was considered by dividing the sample into two categories -- families with two children and families with three children or more. The effect of the test variable of family size upon the significance of the original variables was then considered with this classification of family size.

Lastly, the test variable of parental age was controlled by placing each parent in one of two age categories according to his present age -- 40 years old and below and above 40 years old.[16] The effect of the test variable of parental age upon the significance of the original variables was then considered with this classification of parental age.

It should be recognized that controls such as those above were not completely adequate in considering the effect of other variables

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[16]With this breakdown, the parents were separated into about two equal periods of possible child-bearing age with fifteen years in each -- 15 to 30 years old at birth of child and 30 to 45 years old at birth of child.

upon the significance of the original variables. There may have been an interacting relationship between several variables (such as class, family size, and age of family) or some other important variables may have been ignored. Adequate testing of theory has been highly dependent upon the cumulative nature of scientific findings which have been based on relatively narrowly defined and focused researches which tested specific hypotheses. The testing of hypotheses has not proved or disproved theories, but merely added evidence about theoretical perspectives. If the control of the above variables showed only slight differences from the original predictions, these findings would lend support to the hypotheses.

V. STATISTICAL TEST

The relationships among the variables in each of the hypotheses were considered by a simple comparison of percentages. Chi square was used to test the significance of the findings. Summary tables including percentages, number of respondents, chi squares, degrees of freedom, and p values have been included in the body of the study with the findings. References to the tables in Appendix B from which the information was derived were included in the tables. A (+) has been used to indicate the relationship was in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) has been used to indicate the relationships were in both directions, and a (-) has been used to indicate the relationship was in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This chapter focuses upon the results of the study and is organized in terms of the three hypotheses. The emphasis is upon parental response differences, by ordinal position of the child, in (1) the quantitative use of reactive norms, (2) the use of qualitative reactive norms, and (3) feelings of anxiety.

I. QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN REACTIVE NORMS

The findings in regard to quantitative differences in parental reactive norms directed towards children of different ordinal positions are summarized in Tables II and III. Columns one, two and three of these tables show the per cent of punishment responses given by fathers and mothers by ordinal position and sex of the children. Columns four, five, six, seven, and eight indicate respectively, the number of persons, chi square values, degrees of freedom, p values, and the direction of the relationships of the data. Column nine indicates the tables in Appendix B from which this information is derived.

In the question dealing with the child's going downtown instead of to the park (Table II), the per cent of fathers' punishment responses increases slightly as ordinal position of sons and daughters increases. The per cent of punishment responses of mothers directed towards first-born as compared to second-born sons increases; however, when second-born

TABLE II

QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR CHILD'S GOING DOWNTOWN INSTEAD OF TO THE PARK, BY SEX OF PARENT AND BY ORDINAL POSITION AND SEX OF CHILD

	Ordinal Position 1	2	3+	N	x^2	df	p	dr*	Table**
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
FATHER'S PUNISHMENT RESPONSES									
Ordinal Position of All Children	48%	56%	60%	172	1.6320	2	<.50	(-)	XI
Ordinal Position of Sons	46%	60%	66%	91	2.5285	2	<.30	(-)	XIII
Ordinal Position of Daughters	50%	52%	53%	81	.0436	2	<.98	(-)	XV
MOTHER'S PUNISHMENT RESPONSES									
Ordinal Position of All Children	64%	62%	68%	171	.4305	2	<.90	(-)	XVII
Ordinal Position of Sons	67%	70%	64%	89	.1956	2	<.98	(0)	XIX
Ordinal Position of Daughters	61%	56%	72%	82	1.7702	2	<.50	(0)	XXI

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

**See Appendix B for the tables from which this information is derived.

are compared with third-born or above a decrease takes place. On the other hand, the per cent of punishment responses of mothers directed towards first-born as compared to second-born daughters decreases; however, when second-born are compared with third-born or above an increase takes place. Column seven on the table shows that none of these relationships in either direction are significant at the .05 level.

The second question deals with the child's getting lost just before the family is to leave home (Table III). In this table, the per cent of fathers' punishment responses decreases as ordinal position of the sons and daughters increases. In the father-daughter system, there is a 20 per cent decrease in punishment responses from first ordinal position to second ordinal position and a 13 per cent decrease from second ordinal position to third or above ordinal position. This relationship, within the father-daughter system, is significant at less than .05. However, in the father-son system, the relationship is not significant. The per cent of punishment responses of mothers directed towards first-born as compared to second-born sons and daughters increases and an increase is also found in third-born or above daughters over second-born daughters. However, a decrease takes place when second-born boys are compared with third-born or above boys. None of the relationships in the mother systems are significant at the .05 level.

In the second question, it is discovered that the relationship between daughter's ordinal position and father's punishment in the

TABLE III

QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR CHILD'S GETTING LOST JUST BEFORE THE FAMILY IS TO LEAVE HOME, BY SEX OF PARENT AND BY ORDINAL POSITION AND SEX OF CHILD

	Ordinal Position 1	2	3	N	x^2	df	p	dr*	Table**
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
FATHER'S PUNISHMENT RESPONSES									
Ordinal Position of All Children	40%	29%	20%	167	5.4061	2	<.10	(+)	XII
Ordinal Position of Sons	35%	32%	26%	87	.6521	2	<.80	(+)	XIV
Ordinal Position of Daughters	46%	26%	13%	80	7.0451	2	<.05	(+)	XVI
MOTHER'S PUNISHMENT RESPONSES									
Ordinal Position of All Children	23%	28%	27%	168	2.3541	2	<.50	(-)	XVIII
Ordinal Position of Sons	32%	33%	24%	87	1.1136	2	<.70	(+)	XX
Ordinal Position of Daughters	14%	23%	30%	81	2.0452	2	<.50	(-)	XXII

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

**See Appendix B for the tables from which this information is derived.

father-daughter system is significant. However, this relationship may be due to variables other than ordinal position of the daughter. Table IV summarizes the effects of three other variables -- social class, family size, and parental age -- upon the father-daughter social system. It is not possible to compute a chi square on the data for the specific father-daughter social system when another variable such as social class is introduced because the sample is too small. There are two alternative ways of considering the importance of these variables. Table IV shows the per cent differences between responses for children of different ordinal positions within the father-daughter system, with the three variables of social class, family size, and parental age controlled.

The only inconsistency in the direction of these relationships is in the punishment responses of white collar fathers towards second-born as compared with third-born or above daughters. There is a 3 per cent increase in punishment responses, rather than a decrease as observed in the overall finding. However, certain relationships are more pronounced when the test variables are controlled. (1) With blue collar fathers, there is a decrease of 21 per cent in punishment responses between first and second-born daughters and a 32 per cent decrease between second-and third-born or more daughters. With white collar fathers, there is a decrease of 18 per cent in punishment responses between first-and second-born daughters and a 3 per cent increase between second-and third-born or more daughters. (2) With fathers of two children families, there is a decrease of 38 per cent in punishment responses between first-and second-born daughters. With fathers of

TABLE IV

QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS DIRECTED TOWARDS DAUGHTERS, BY SOCIAL CLASS, FAMILY SIZE, AND FATHER'S AGE

	Ordinal Position				
	1	2	3+	N	dr*
OVERALL	46%	26%	13%	81	(+)
EFFECT OF OTHER VARIABLES					
SOCIAL CLASS					
White Collar	31%	13%	16%	54	(+)
Blue Collar	67%	46%	14%	27	(+)
FAMILY SIZE					
Two Children	60%	22%		19	(+)
Three or More Children	33%	28%	16%	62	(+)
FATHER'S AGE					
40 or Below	44%	33%	17%	34	(+)
Above 40	50%	20%	15%	47	(+)

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

three children families or more, there is only a 5 per cent decrease in punishment responses between first- and second-born daughters. (3) With fathers 40 years old or less, there is a decrease of 11 per cent in punishment responses between first- and second-born daughters and a 16 per cent decrease between second- and third-born or above daughters. With fathers above 40 years old, there is a decrease of 30 per cent between first- and second-born daughters and a 5 per cent decrease in punishment between second- and third-born or above daughters.

A second way of considering the importance of these variables is to consider their effect upon the father-child system and assume that if they do not effect this relationship, they will not effect the father-daughter relationship either. Table V summarizes the effects of social class, family size, and father's age upon the relationship within the father-child system. The relationships are more significant in the blue collar ($<.20$), two children, and above 40 ($<.30$) categories than in the white collar ($<.70$), three or more children families ($<.50$), and 40 or below categories ($<.70$).

II. QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN REACTIVE NORMS

The findings in regard to qualitative differences in parental reactive norms directed towards children of different ordinal positions are summarized in Table VI. Columns one and two of the table show the per cent of autonomous control responses given by fathers and mothers by ordinal position and sex of the children. Columns three, four, five, six, and seven indicate respectively, the number of persons, chi square

TABLE V

QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS DIRECTED TOWARDS CHILDREN, BY SOCIAL CLASS, FAMILY SIZE, AND FATHER'S AGE

	Ordinal Position					
	1	2	3+	x^2	p	dr*
OVERALL	40%	29%	20%	5.4061	<.10	(+)
EFFECT OF OTHER VARIABLES						
SOCIAL CLASS						
White Collar	26%	20%	17%	.7674	<.70	(+)
Blue Collar	57%	40%	26%	4.3939	<.20	(+)
FAMILY SIZE						
Two Children**	53%	15%		--	--	(+)
Three or More Children	32%	33%	21%	2.2694	<.50	(+)
FATHER'S AGE						
40 or Below	40%	28%	29%	1.1484	<.70	(+)
Above 40	38%	29%	18%	3.0241	<.30	(+)

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

**Chi square cannot be computed for this relationship as the cells are not large enough.

TABLE VI

QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS, BY SEX OF PARENT AND BY ORDINAL POSITION AND SEX OF CHILD

	Ordinal Position 1	2+	N	x^2	df	p	dr*	Table**
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
AUTONOMOUS RESPONSE FATHERS								
Ordinal Position of All Children	57%	56%	175	.0217	1	<.90	(+)	XXIII
Ordinal Position of Sons	61%	54%	91	.3581	1	<.70	(+)	XXIV
Ordinal Position of Daughters	52%	57%	84	.1834	1	<.70	(-)	XXV
AUTONOMOUS RESPONSE MOTHERS								
Ordinal Position of All Children	69%	62%	175	.6689	1	<.50	(+)	XXVI
Ordinal Position of Sons	75%	60%	91	1.8329	1	<.20	(+)	XXVII
Ordinal Position of Daughters	61%	64%	84	.0673	1	<.80	(-)	XXVIII

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

**See Appendix B for the tables from which this information is derived.

values, degrees of freedom, p values, and direction of the relationships of the data. Column eight indicates the tables in Appendix B from which this information is derived.

The per cent of autonomous control responses is lower for both mothers and fathers with later-born boys than with first-born boys. Just the opposite is observed with girls. The per cent of autonomous control responses of mothers and fathers is lower with first-born girls than with later-born girls. Column six on the table shows that none of these relationships in either direction are significant at the .05 level.

III. PARENTAL DIFFERENCES IN ANXIETY

The findings in regard to the feelings of parental anxiety as expressed by the parents in dealing with children of different ordinal positions are summarized in Tables VII and VIII. Columns one, two, and three of these tables show the per cent of high anxiety responses given by fathers and mothers by ordinal position and sex of the children. Columns four, five, six, seven, and eight indicate respectively, the number of persons, chi square values, degrees of freedom, p values, and direction of the relationships of the data. Column nine indicates the tables in Appendix B from which this information is derived.

In the question concerned with the parents' self perceptions of their anxiety when dealing with the seventh-grade child (Table VII), the per cent of fathers' anxiety responses, when dealing with first-born as compared with second-born sons, decreases; however, when second-born

TABLE VII

RESPONDENT'S OWN PERCEPTION OF HIS PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY SEX OF PARENT AND BY ORDINAL POSITION AND SEX OF CHILD

	Ordinal Position 1	2	3+	N	x^2	df	p	dr*	Table**
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
FATHER'S ANXIETY									
Ordinal Position of All Children	31%	18%	20%	175	3.1032	2	<.30	(+)	XXIX
Ordinal Position of Sons	32%	12%	23%	91	2.8089	2	<.30	(+)	XXXI
Ordinal Position of Daughters	30%	22%	18%	84	1.2853	2	<.70	(+)	XXXIII
MOTHER'S ANXIETY									
Ordinal Position of All Children	41%	39%	33%	175	1.0183	2	<.70	(+)	XXXV
Ordinal Position of Sons	36%	38%	44%	91	.4806	2	<.80	(-)	XXXVII
Ordinal Position of Daughters	48%	41%	21%	84	5.1830	2	<.10	(+)	XXXIX

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

**See Appendix B for the tables from which this information is derived.

are compared with third-born or above an increase takes place. The per cent of anxiety responses of mothers when dealing with sons decreases as ordinal positions increase. Anxiety responses of both fathers and mothers decrease, with later-born daughters as compared to earlier-born daughters. Column seven on the table shows that none of these relationships in either direction are significant at the .05 level.

The second question is concerned with the parent's perception of his or her spouse's anxiety (Table VIII). In this table, the per cent of anxiety responses about fathers decreases as the ordinal position of both sons and daughters increases. In the father-daughter system, there is an 18 per cent decrease in anxiety responses from first ordinal position to second ordinal position and a 21 per cent decrease from second ordinal position to third or above ordinal position. This relationship, within the father-daughter system, is significant at less than .01. However, the father-son relationship is not significant. The per cent of anxiety responses about mothers decreases as the ordinal position of sons increases; however, the per cent of anxiety responses is relatively stable, as the ordinal position of daughters increases. None of the relationships in the mother systems are significant at the .05 level.

In the second question, it is discovered that the relationship between daughter's ordinal position and mother's perception of father's punishment is significant. However, this relationship may be due to variables other than ordinal position of the daughter. Table IX summarizes the effects of three other variables -- social class, family size, and parental age -- upon the father-daughter social system. It is not possible to compute a chi square on the data for the

TABLE VIII

RESPONDENT'S PERCEPTION OF SPOUSE'S PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY SEX OF PARENT AND BY ORDINAL POSITION AND SEX OF CHILD

	Ordinal Position 1	2	3+	N	x^2	df	p	dr*	Table**
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
FATHER'S ANXIETY									
Ordinal Position of All Children	42%	27%	14%	174	12.4914	2	<.01	(+)	XXX
Ordinal Position of Sons	37%	25%	18%	90	3.0609	2	<.30	(+)	XXXII
Ordinal Position of Daughters	48%	30%	9%	84	11.0394	2	<.01	(+)	XXXIV
MOTHER'S ANXIETY									
Ordinal Position of All Children	35%	28%	26%	173	1.2128	2	<.70	(+)	XXXVI
Ordinal Position of Sons	43%	26%	26%	89	2.4610	2	<.30	(+)	XXXVIII
Ordinal Position of Daughters	26%	30%	26%	84	.1022	2	<.80	(0)	XL

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

**See Appendix B for the tables from which this information is derived.

TABLE IX

MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF FATHER'S PARENTAL ANXIETY IN DEALING WITH DAUGHTERS, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER, SOCIAL CLASS, FAMILY SIZE, AND FATHER'S AGE

	Ordinal Position				
	1	2	3+	N	dr*
OVERALL	48%	30%	9%	84	(+)
EFFECT OF OTHER VARIABLES					
SOCIAL CLASS					
White Collar	43%	19%	4%	57	(+)
Blue Collar	56%	45%	29%	27	(+)
FAMILY SIZE					
Two Children	45%	11%		20	(+)
Three or More Children	50%	39%	9%	64	(+)
FATHER'S AGE					
40 or Below	47%	32%	0%	36	(+)
Above 40	50%	27%	11%	48	(+)

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

specific father-daughter social system when another variable such as social class is introduced because the sample is too small. There are two alternative ways of considering the importance of these variables. Table IX shows the differences between mothers' responses for children of different ordinal positions within the father-daughter system, with the three variables of social class, family size, and parental age controlled.

There is not a single inconsistency in the direction of these relationships. However, certain relationships are more pronounced when the test variables are controlled. (1) With white collar fathers, there is a decrease of 24 per cent in anxiety responses between first- and second-born daughters and a 15 per cent decrease between second- and third-born or more daughters. With blue collar fathers, there is a decrease of 11 per cent in anxiety responses between first- and second-born daughters and a 16 per cent decrease between second- and third-born or more daughters. (2) With fathers of two children families, there is a decrease of 34 per cent in anxiety responses between first- and second-born daughters. With fathers of three children families or more, there is only an 11 per cent decrease in anxiety responses between first- and second-born daughters. (3) With fathers 40 years old or less, there is a decrease of 15 per cent in anxiety responses between first- and second-born daughters and a 32 per cent decrease between second- and third-born or above daughters. With fathers above 40 years old, there is a decrease of 23 per cent in anxiety responses between first- and

second-born daughters and a 16 per cent decrease between second- and third-born or above daughters.

A second way of considering the importance of these variables is to consider their effect upon the father-child system and assume that if they do not effect this relationship to any great extent, they will not effect the father-daughter relationship either. Table X summarizes the effects of social class, family size, and father's age upon the relationship within the father-child system. The relationships are more significant in the white collar (<.01), three or more children families (<.01), and 40 or below (<.02) categories than in the blue collar (<.70), two children families (<.05), and above 40 (<.10) categories.

TABLE X

MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF FATHER'S PARENTAL ANXIETY IN DEALING WITH CHILDREN, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF THE CHILD, SOCIAL CLASS, FAMILY SIZE, AND FATHER'S AGE

	Ordinal Position 1	2	3+	x^2	p	dr*
OVERALL	42%	27%	14%	12.4914	<.01	(+)
EFFECT OF OTHER VARIABLES						
SOCIAL CLASS						
White Collar	39%	23%	8%	11.0553	<.01	(+)
Blue Collar	41%	33%	26%	1.1116	<.70	(+)
FAMILY SIZE						
Two Children	47%	13%		4.4366	<.05	(+)
Three or More Children	39%	32%	14%	9.5600	<.01	(+)
FATHER'S AGE						
40 or Below	42%	27%	0%	8.1108	<.02	(+)
Above 40	43%	28%	17%	4.7920	<.10	(+)

*A (+) indicates the relationship is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, a (0) indicates the relationships are in both directions, and a (-) indicates the relationship is in the opposite direction of that predicted by the hypothesis.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A summary of this research, in the form of an interpretation of the findings, is the focus of the final chapter. Included in the last part of this chapter are some recommendations for further research in the area of socialization. In this thesis, adult socialization is viewed as the acquisition of new roles as the individual moves to different positions in society. A contemporary system of interaction between the child and parent is the focus of attention when socialization is seen as internalization of the role. Socialization is not a one-way flow of information from the parent to the child, but interaction between parent and child, each developing a perception of their role through interacting with the other.

In this study, an effort is made to discover some of the effects of one aspect of the social system upon parents' behavior toward their children by measuring the application of parental reactive norms by the parent in controlling the behavior of children having different ordinal positions. The effect of the social system upon parental feelings of anxiety is also considered. Three hypotheses are developed to consider socialization from this perspective: (1) For each successive child, the application of reactive norms by the parent to limit physical independence will decline, (2) The proportion of autonomous to heteronomous controls, applied by parents through reactive norms, will decrease after the first child, and (3) For each successive child, parental anxiety as

regards his parental role, will decline. The question to be considered next is what the empirical evidence gathered in this research indicates about the hypotheses and the role perspective in general.

INTERPRETATION

The chapter on findings emphasizes two relationships which are significant at better than the .05 level: (1) Fathers indicate they give later-born daughters more physical independence than earlier-born daughters and (2) Mothers indicate they think fathers feel less anxiety with later-born daughters than with earlier-born daughters. The prediction of the first and third hypotheses are partially supported by this data in the father-daughter social system. The questions considered in the following paragraphs are (1) How can these empirical results be explained from the role perspective? and (2) What support does this evidence offer towards the acceptance or rejection of the role perspective as an explanation of adult socialization?

At a first glance, it seems that these data offers little support for the role perspective. Out of twenty relationships, only two are significant at the .05 level or better. However, a closer consideration of the results indicates that they are not necessarily contrary to this perspective. The important question is, why does the data support the hypotheses, for the specific father-daughter system, with the exclusion of all others?

The focus of the role perspective, in this research, is on socialization of the parent through role acquisition, with an emphasis

upon the process of acquiring the knowledge and abilities which enable the parent to perform the parental role. Experiencing the parental role results in new definitions of the situation and a change in overt role behavior. Role learning is considered at different stages in the process of parent socialization by measuring parental behavior towards children of various ordinal positions.

The emphasis of this research is upon the use of parental reactive norms directed towards children in the nuclear family which is generally considered an expressive function. When a male first becomes a parent, the expressive aspect is relatively new to him. Thus, one would expect a father's behavior to change to a greater degree than a mother's, after experiencing some aspect of the parental role. Each parent also has a greater amount of prior role learning within his own sex. Fathers have more knowledge of the son role and mothers have more knowledge of the daughter role.

Consistent with this line of reasoning are the findings of the above research. It is expected that fathers will gain the least prior role knowledge and ability in the expressive function with the opposite sex child. Thus, the greatest change in expressive parental role behavior should take place in the father-daughter social system. The research findings indicate that fathers use fewer reactive norms on later-born than on earlier-born daughters to limit physical independence. They have the least prior experience in this situation and thus make the greatest changes in their responses about their behavior. Not only do their responses about their behavior change, but mothers see fathers as

being less anxious with later-born daughters. As the father gains a more accurate perception of the expressive aspects of the parental role through experiencing it, less anxiety in dealing with his daughters occurs.

A word of caution is necessary as the variables of social class and family size somewhat affect the relationships between the daughter's ordinal position and the father's stated use of reactive norms and his anxietal state as seen by the mother. These two test variables cannot be completely factored out of the original relationships because the sample is too small; however, some controls are attempted. These controls indicate that blue collar fathers change in their stated use of reactive norms to a greater degree than white collar fathers. They also show that, when comparing first- and second-born daughters, fathers of two children families change in their stated use of reactive norms and mothers' perception of their feelings of anxiety also change to a greater extent than fathers of three children or more families. With these data, it is impossible to assess the exact effects of these variables upon the original findings. However, it should be noted that the control of these variables indicates the relationships between ordinal positions of daughters and fathers stated use of reactive norms and feelings of anxiety as perceived by mothers are partially affected by family size and social class.

This interpretation of the significant results provides at least a partial explanation of the data from the role perspective. But what about the data which are not significant at the .05 level? A consideration of these results, which deal strictly with the expressive

role broken down by sex differences, may prove to be valuable. If the above explanation is valid, in the expressive role (1) The father should have the least prior parental role knowledge and ability in dealing with his earlier-born daughters, thus the greatest change with later-born daughters, (2) The knowledge and ability of both the mother and the father in dealing with earlier-born sons should fall somewhere in the middle, thus requiring a medium amount of change with later-born sons, and (3) The mother should have the most prior parental role knowledge and ability in dealing with her earlier-born daughters, thus the least change with later-born daughters.

To discover if the relationships between a child's ordinal position and parental statements of behavior and anxiety support the above interpretation, a comparison of percentage changes within each table is developed. The five figures on the next page are a graphic presentation of the percentage results as presented in Tables II, III, VI, VII, and VIII in the last chapter. Percentage changes in perceived behavior and anxiety are on the vertical axis and ordinal positions are on the horizontal axis. Of course, only the data within each table are compared, data between tables are not comparable. The lines labeled "H" represent the change of fathers towards daughters and are expected to show the highest change and should be the longest. The lines labeled "M" represent the change of both mothers and fathers towards sons and are expected to show medium change and should be medium in length. The lines labeled "L" represent the change of mothers towards daughters and are expected to show the least change and should be the shortest.

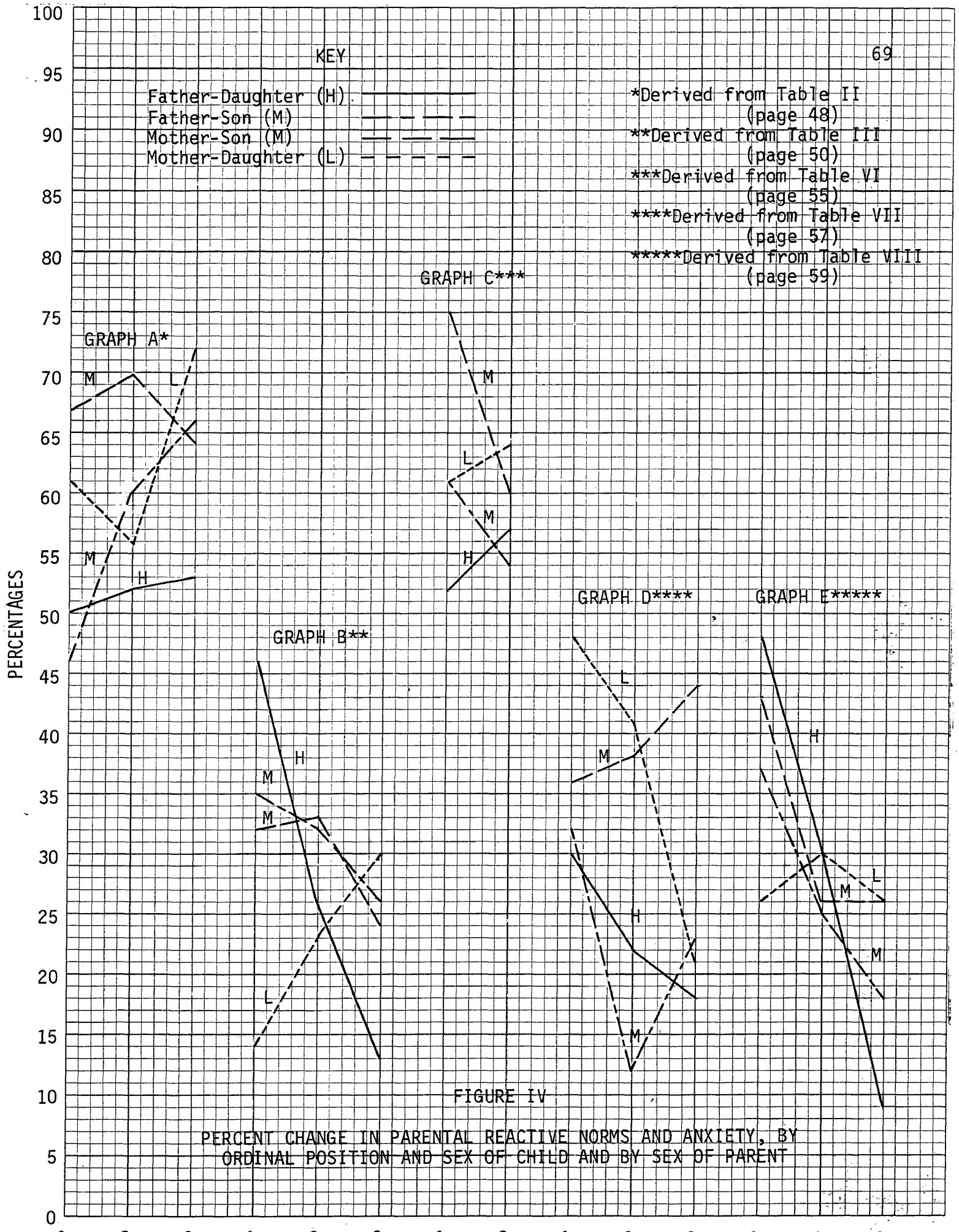

FIGURE IV

PERCENT CHANGE IN PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS AND ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION AND SEX OF CHILD AND BY SEX OF PARENT

It can be seen from the graphic presentation that there are several findings contrary to the predicted relationships. The most unexpected results are in the father-daughter system where two of the graphs (A and C) show that fathers change the least with daughters rather than the most. Also in graphs A, B, and D, the changes within the mother-daughter system are greater than changes in other systems, which are unexpected. Graph E, on the other hand, follows the prediction completely.

There is a tendency to over-generalize from the results of limited studies of socialization and the family. Further interpretation of these data is beyond the scope of this research and lies in the area of speculation.

In summary, the findings indicate that significant changes in quantitative parental reactive norms for limiting physical independence and expressed feelings of anxiety take place in the father-daughter relationship. As the daughter's ordinal position increases, the father's reactive norms and mother's perception of father's anxiety decreases. These findings are explained by noting two important aspects of the parental role -- instrumental and expressive roles and sex roles. It is held that these roles provide prior parental role knowledge and ability for all systems except the father-daughter system when the expressive aspect of the parental role is considered. The father is required to make the greatest change, as he has the least prior role knowledge and ability in dealing with his daughter at the expressive

role level. However, complete support for this explanation is lacking in the data for two reasons: (1) Some of the data from questions designed to consider these relationships do not show significant changes in fathers' behavior or expressed anxiety and even show changes in the opposite direction and (2) The significant relationships between the daughter's ordinal position and the father's stated use of reactive norms and feelings of anxiety are affected by social class and family size.

II. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As a research project develops, one begins to see many ways in which future research can be enhanced by avoiding certain mistakes. The following is an evaluation of some of the methods used in this study and includes suggestions of ways continuing research can avoid certain methodological limitations encountered in this research. Toward the end of this chapter, suggestions for future research dealing with the general role perspective are offered. An overall appeal is made for future research in role and socialization to emphasize the empirical testing of hypotheses developed from role theory variables as an explanation of the process of socialization.

The question of the validity of using one indicator as an index of another indicator is an important problem which all social scientists must consider when developing the methodology of a study. The adequacy of the interview as a tool to obtain data about the family is often questioned. Yarrow asks: "Can we expect the mother to report

interaction of which she is a part and on which the culture has placed distinct values?"[1] Walters makes the same observation about interviewing fathers and husbands and indicates that family research is in need of designs which stress direct observation to avoid the pitfalls of the interview technique.[2] One cannot be sure that respondents answer truthfully or accurately about their values or behavior when interviewed. Future family research may be greatly improved by adopting methods of observation such as those developed by Bales with his Interaction Process Analysis. However, the interview has several advantages which makes it a valuable tool to the social scientist. By interviewing a parent, the researcher acquires information in a few minutes which would otherwise require many hours of direct observation to acquire. Also, few people are willing to let a sociologist observe the private aspects of their family life. Thus, it is suggested that when the interview technique is used, some of its limitations be minimized by adopting the practice of asking questions which place the respondent in hypothetical situations. Bell criticizes the use of retrospective parental attitude and behavior questions.[3] Hypothetical questions ask

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[1]Marian Yarrow, "Problems of Methods of Parent-Child Research," Child Development, 34 (March, 1963), 215-226.

[2]James Walters, "A Review of Family Research in 1962," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (August, 1963), 337.

[3]W. Bell, "Retrospective Attitude Studies of Parent-Child Relations," Child Development, 29 (June, 1958), 323-338.

the parent to place himself in the situation at the present time and tell the interviewer what he thinks his behavior would be in that situation, thus avoiding the necessity for retrospection on the part of the respondent. Hypothetical questions also help to place all parents in the same situations and allows them to answer the questions without admitting their child misbehaves. A final suggestion for improving the interview technique is to ask respondents about their behavior rather than their values. Johnson and Leslie note that measuring parental values, as expressed by the respondent, does not provide an adequate measure of parental behavior.[4]

In the same article, Johnson and Leslie emphasize some of the hazards of using one or two individual items as an index of child-rearing practices, as is done to consider the first hypothesis in this study. Data from the authors' research, as well as from other research, are used to illustrate the hazards involved in the use of single items to assess either values or behavior in this area. The authors discover that answers to one or two questions cannot adequately classify respondents, as they may act differently in a different situation. Future research, which deals with the classification of parents according to their behavior, should avoid the use of only one or two items whenever possible. The validity of an index is greatly

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[4]Johnson and Leslie, "Methodological Notes on Research in Child-Rearing and Social Class," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 11 (1965), 345-358. See page 37, footnote 11 of this study for an example from Johnson and Leslie.

enhanced when six to eight questions are developed to classify respondents.

Generalizations from the data of this research are limited in that they pertain only to white parents of seventh-grade children in Omaha with stable families of two or more children. It is desirable that future research be based upon a national sample whenever possible; however, research of a more limited scale is also valuable in evaluating the generality of these results.

Throughout this study, an emphasis is made upon the importance of controlling such variables as social class, family size, and parental age. However, the simultaneous control of important variables requires a very large sample. Whenever possible, future family researchers should control test variables to discover their effects upon the original findings. Variables considered in this research which have an effect upon parent-child behavior include the sex of parents and children, ordinal positions of children, social class, and family size. Other variables not considered in this study, but which may effect parent-child behavior include personality configurations of the parents or children, the spacing of children, the number of brothers and sisters, etc. The use of longitudinal studies for family research in which the same parent-child relationships are tapped at different periods of time will eliminate the necessity of comparing the behavior of different parents and children and control for personality differences.

As noted in the first chapter, the role perspective is relatively new and not developed enough to even be considered a theory. However,

it is gaining in importance:

> A few years ago, only impressionistic and anecdotal materials were available to document the self-role-interaction scheme of human conduct. In fact, Kluckholm and Murray (1948, 268) were constrained to say: '. . . in spite of the obvious importance of role training and role playing for personality formation, this subject has barely been opened up at an empirical level.' The number of empirical investigations cited in this chapter indicates that the subject has 'opened up.'[5]

The interrelated concepts in the area of role suggest hypotheses, but there is no unified theory. This lack of theory makes it difficult to consider the role perspective from an empirical standpoint; however, the interplay of theory and research is absolutely necessary in adding to the respectability and predictive power of this approach. Because a theory is not fully developed is no excuse for not considering its empirical validity and testing of the theory may lead to strengthening it. Only as the social scientist meaningfully combines both research in and partial theories of role will scientific knowledge be extended in this area.

Biddle and Thomas have laid the groundwork for the development of the role perspective into role theory. They have developed classificatory categories of persons, behaviors, and persons and their behaviors. The authors note three general tasks which deserve high priority in the development of role theory.

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[5]Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," The Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey (ed.), (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1959), 227.

> First, the large and complex domain that is role theory will have to be analyzed and more clearly defined. Second, the now partially articulate vocabulary of role will have to be made more precise denotatively, more comprehensive of all the relevant phenomena requiring particular designation, and more firmly established as a single, agreed-upon technical language. And third, the theoretical and empirical knowledge in the field will need to be reviewed, collated, organized, appraised, and formulated into general statements.[6]

The classificatory concept is better suited for descriptive purposes while concepts for variables are better suited to theoretical purposes and the testing of hypotheses. Role analysists have given less thought to variables than to classificatory concepts even though concepts for variables are important and give the key notions in many of the hypotheses and theories found in role theory.

The role perspective is the most widely accepted explanation of adult socialization. Brim has emphasized three role variables of importance in the process of socialization. Future research in the area of role should emphasize role variables such as those developed by Brim. Descriptive studies of role acquisition are numerous; however, the development and testing of hypotheses from the role perspective is relatively uncommon. The process of role acquisition and maintenance as developed by Brim has a great deal of potential for explaining both child and adult socialization. However, the following word of caution is offered by Brim:

> A brief appraisal of selected publications of the past two decades on parent and child roles indicates that there has been wide variation in the positions taken in these publications with

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[6]Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas (eds.), Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), p. 17.

> respect to several issues. Thus, studies have been variously concerned with prescriptive or performance aspects of roles, have used often widely differing characteristics of role behavior in the analysis, have varied in the degree of specificity utilized in studying roles, and have further differed in the sources of information drawn upon and in the age of the members in the parent-child system studied. In addition, most of the studies have not been clear or consistent in their consideration and use of motivational, behavioral or effectual aspects of the roles. The result is that many of the findings of studies of parent-child role behavior are not comparable to each other, and it may be also that some of the disagreements in generalizations about such roles arises from this fact.[7]

Thus, future research should not ignore the classificatory concepts, but instead, carefully specify what aspect of the role is being considered according to these concepts of role and the system with which one is concerned.

A final suggestion is that the study of the parent-child social system be approached as a contemporary system of interaction between the child and parent, rather than a preparatory system for the child with a one-way flow of interaction from the parent to the child.

In summary, it is recommended that future research in the area of socialization emphasize role variables and the process through which one passes in the acquisition of roles. Only as these variables and the process through which one passes in the acquisition of roles. Only as these variables become more clearly defined and are empirically tested will the role perspective be developed to a theoretical state and gain in its potential to predict and control human behavior. Socialization, seen as role acquisition, may then explain a great deal of behavior which could not be explained in the past.

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[7]Orville Brim, "The Parent-Child Relation as a Social System: Parent and Child Roles," Child Development, 28 (September, 1957), 364.

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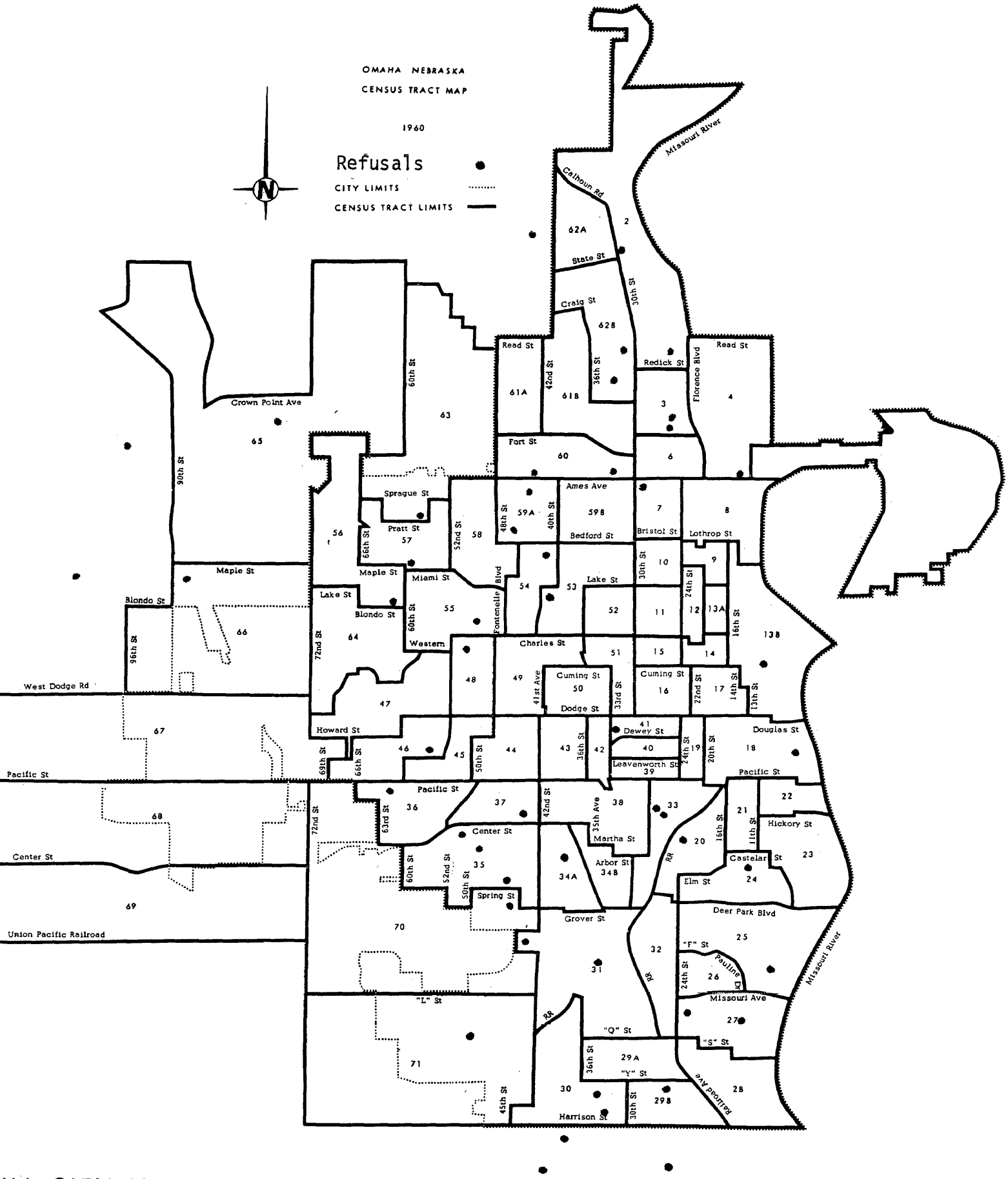
APPENDIX A



HA CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT

MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY OF OMAHA
OMAHA, NEBRASKA 68101
402 / 553-4700

We are conducting a scientific survey designed to study Omaha parents and their patterns of raising children. Your cooperation is appreciated for we feel that you can make an important contribution to the scientific understanding of this area of family life. We think also that you will find that this is a very interesting experience.

Two graduate students from the University of Omaha will contact you within the next few days. We would like the opportunity to interview both of you at the same time. The interview will take about 30 to 45 minutes. Information that you give us will be used for scientific purposes, and your answers will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Cora A. Martin

Cora A. Martin, Ph.D.
Director, Research on Family Life

APPENDIX B

TABLE XI

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR CHILD'S GOING DOWNTOWN INSTEAD OF TO THE PARK, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	25	52.1	23	44.2	29	40.3
Punishment	23	47.9	29	55.8	43	59.7
TOTAL	48	100.0	52	100.0	72	100.0

N =172
x^2=1.6320
df=2
P <.50
dr (-)

TABLE XII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR CHILD'S GETTING LOST JUST BEFORE THE FAMILY IS TO LEAVE HOME, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	29	60.4	35	71.4	56	80.0
Punishment	19	39.6	14	28.6	14	20.0
TOTAL	48	100.0	49	100.0	70	100.0

N =167
x^2=5.4061
df=2
P <.10
dr (+)

TABLE XIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR SON'S GOING DOWNTOWN INSTEAD OF TO THE PARK, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	15	53.6	10	40.0	13	34.2
Punishment	13	46.4	15	60.0	25	65.8
TOTAL	28	100.0	25	100.0	38	100.0

N_2=91
x^2=2.5285
df=2
P <.30
dr (-)

TABLE XIV

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR SON'S GETTING LOST JUST BEFORE THE FAMILY IS TO LEAVE HOME, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	17	65.4	15	68.2	29	74.4
Punishment	9	34.6	7	31.8	10	25.6
TOTAL	26	100.0	22	100.0	39	100.0

N_2=87
x^2=6521
df=2
P <.80
dr (+)

TABLE XV

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR DAUGHTER'S GOING DOWNTOWN INSTEAD OF TO THE PARK, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	10	50.0	13	48.1	16	47.1
Punishment	10	50.0	14	51.9	18	52.9
TOTAL	20	100.0	27	100.0	34	100.0

N =81
x^2= .0436
df=2
P <.98
dr (-)

TABLE XVI

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR DAUGHTER'S GETTING LOST JUST BEFORE THE FAMILY IS TO LEAVE HOME, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	12	54.5	20	74.1	27	87.1
Punishment	10	45.5	7	25.9	4	12.9
TOTAL	22	100.0	27	100.0	31	100.0

N =80
x^2=7.0451
df=2
P <.05
dr (+)

TABLE XVII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR CHILD'S GOING DOWNTOWN INSTEAD OF TO THE PARK, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	18	36.0	19	38.0	23	32.4
Punishment	32	64.0	31	62.0	48	67.6
TOTAL	50	100.0	50	100.0	71	100.0

N_2=171
x^2= .4305
df=2
P <.90
dr (-)

TABLE XVIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR CHILD'S GETTING LOST JUST BEFORE THE FAMILY IS TO LEAVE HOME, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	36	76.6	36	72.0	32	73.2
Punishment	11	23.4	14	28.0	19	26.8
TOTAL	47	100.0	50	100.0	71	100.0

N_2=168
x^2=2.3541
df=2
P <.50
dr (-)

TABLE XIX

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR SON'S GOING DOWNTOWN INSTEAD OF TO THE PARK, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	9	33.3	7	30.4	14	35.9
Punishment	18	66.7	16	69.6	25	64.1
TOTAL	27	100.0	23	100.0	39	100.0

N_2=89
x^2= .1956
df=2
P <.98
dr (0)

TABLE XX

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR SON'S GETTING LOST JUST BEFORE THE FAMILY IS TO LEAVE HOME, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position					
	1		2		3+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Non-Punishment	17	68.0	16	66.7	29	76.3
Punishment	9	32.0	8	33.3	9	23.7
TOTAL	25	100.0	24	100.0	38	100.0

N_2=87
x^2=1.1136
df=2
P <.70
dr (+)

TABLE XXI

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR DAUGHTER'S GOING DOWNTOWN INSTEAD OF TO THE PARK, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Non-Punishment	9	39.1	12	44.4	9	28.1	$N = 82$
Punishment	14	60.9	15	55.6	23	71.9	$x^2 = 1.7702$
TOTAL	23	100.0	27	100.0	32	100.0	$df = 2$
							$P < .50$
							dr (0)

TABLE XXII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUANTITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS FOR DAUGHTER'S GETTING LOST JUST BEFORE THE FAMILY IS TO LEAVE HOME, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Non-Punishment	19	86.4	20	76.9	23	69.7	$N = 81$
Punishment	3	13.6	6	23.1	10	30.3	$x^2 = 2.0452$
TOTAL	22	100.0	26	100.0	33	100.0	$df = 2$
							$P < .50$
							dr (-)

TABLE XXIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position			
	1		2+	
	N	%	N	%
Heteronomous	22	43.1	55	44.4
Autonomous	29	56.9	69	55.6
TOTAL	51	100.0	124	100.0

N_2=175
x^2= .0217
df=1
P <.90
dr (+)

TABLE XXIV

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position			
	1		2+	
	N	%	N	%
Heteronomous	11	39.3	29	46.0
Autonomous	17	60.7	34	54.0
TOTAL	28	100.0	63	100.0

N_2=91
x^2= .3581
df=1
P <.70
dr (+)

TABLE XXV

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN FATHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position			
	1		2+	
	N	%	N	%
Heteronomous	11	47.8	26	42.6
Autonomous	12	52.2	35	57.4
TOTAL	23	100.0	61	100.0

N_2=84
x^2= .1834
df=1
P < .70
dr (-)

TABLE XXVI

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position			
	1		2+	
	N	%	N	%
Heteronomous	16	31.4	47	37.9
Autonomous	35	68.6	77	62.1
TOTAL	51	100.0	124	100.0

N_2=175
x^2= .6689
df=1
P < .50
dr (+)

TABLE XXVII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position 1		2+	
	N	%	N	%
Heteronomous	7	25.0	25	39.7
Autonomous	21	75.0	38	60.3
TOTAL	28	100.0	63	100.0

N =91
x^2=1.8329
df=1
P <.20
dr (+)

TABLE XXVIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES IN MOTHER'S PARENTAL REACTIVE NORMS, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position 1		2+	
	N	%	N	%
Heteronomous	9	39.1	22	36.1
Autonomous	14	60.9	39	63.9
TOTAL	23	100.0	61	100.0

N =84
x^2= .0673
df=1
P <.80
dr (-)

TABLE XXIX

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF FATHER'S PERCEPTION OF HIS PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N_1=175
High	16	31.4	9	17.6	15	20.5	x^2=3.1032
Low	35	68.6	42	82.4	58	79.5	df=2
TOTAL	51	100.0	51	100.0	73	100.0	P <.30
							dr (+)

TABLE XXX

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF FATHER'S PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N_2=174
High	21	42.0	14	27.4	10	13.7	x^2=12.4914
Low	29	58.0	37	72.6	63	86.3	df=2
TOTAL	50	100.0	51	100.0	73	100.0	P <.01
							dr (+)

TABLE XXXI

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF FATHER'S PERCEPTION OF HIS PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							$N=91$
High	9	32.1	3	12.5	9	23.1	$x^2=2.8089$
Low	19	67.9	21	87.5	30	76.9	df=2
TOTAL	28	100.0	24	100.0	39	100.0	$P < .30$
							dr (+)

TABLE XXXII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF FATHER'S PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							$N=90$
High	10	37.0	6	25.0	7	17.9	$x^2=3.0609$
Low	17	63.0	18	75.0	32	82.1	df=2
TOTAL	27	100.0	24	100.0	39	100.0	$P < .30$
							dr (+)

TABLE XXXIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF FATHER'S PERCEPTION OF HIS PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N_2=84
High	7	30.4	6	22.2	6	17.6	x^2=1.2853
Low	16	69.6	21	77.8	28	82.4	df=2
TOTAL	23	100.0	27	100.0	34	100.0	P <.70
							dr (+)

TABLE XXXIV

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF FATHER'S PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N_2=84
High	11	47.8	8	29.6	3	8.8	x^2=11.0394
Low	12	52.2	19	70.4	31	91.2	df=2
TOTAL	23	100.0	27	100.0	34	100.0	P <.01
							dr (+)

TABLE XXXV

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF HER PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							$N_{}$=175
High	21	41.2	20	39.2	24	32.9	x^2=1.0183
Low	30	58.8	31	60.8	49	67.1	df=2
TOTAL	51	100.0	51	100.0	73	100.0	P <.70
							dr (+)

TABLE XXXVI

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF FATHER'S PERCEPTION OF MOTHER'S PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF CHILD

	Child's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N =173
High	18	35.3	14	28.0	19	26.4	x^2=1.2128
Low	33	64.7	36	72.0	53	73.6	df=2
TOTAL	51	100.0	50	100.0	72	100.0	P <.70
							dr (+)

TABLE XXXVII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF HER PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N_2=91
High	10	35.7	9	37.5	17	43.6	x^2=.4806
Low	18	64.3	15	62.5	22	56.4	df=2
TOTAL	28	100.0	24	100.0	39	100.0	P <.80
							dr (-)

TABLE XXXVIII

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF FATHER'S PERCEPTION OF MOTHER'S PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF SON

	Son's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N_2=89
High	12	42.9	6	26.1	10	26.3	x^2=2.4610
Low	16	57.1	17	73.9	28	73.7	df=2
TOTAL	28	100.0	23	100.0	38	100.0	P <.30
							dr (+)

TABLE XXXIX

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF MOTHER'S PERCEPTION OF HER PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N_2=84
High	11	47.8	11	40.7	7	20.6	x^2=5.1830
Low	12	52.2	16	59.2	27	79.4	df=2
TOTAL	23	100.0	27	100.0	34	100.0	P <.10
							dr (+)

TABLE XL

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGES OF FATHER'S PERCEPTION OF MOTHER'S PARENTAL ANXIETY, BY ORDINAL POSITION OF DAUGHTER

	Daughter's Ordinal Position						
	1		2		3+		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Anxiety							N_2=84
High	6	26.1	8	29.6	9	26.5	x^2=.1022
Low	17	73.9	19	70.4	25	73.5	df=2
TOTAL	23	100.0	27	100.0	34	100.0	P <.80
							dr (0)