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THE DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF PATERNAL INVOLVEMENT ON FATHER-CHILD INTERACTIONS

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ABSTRACT

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Research suggests that paternal participation in childrearing directly enhances child development, and indirectly benefits children via a family environment characterized by happier marriages and better parenting relationships between mothers and fathers. However, as men become more involved in fathering, many may experience interrole conflict, which may compromise the marital relationship, the parenting alliance, and the overall quality of father-child interactions.

This study used questionnaire and observational data from 56 families with a 3-4 year old child to assess the usefulness of a path model proposing these interrelationships. Results indicated that paternal involvement in childcare predicted more positive parenting alliances between mothers and fathers. Although fathers' involvement in childcare and positive parenting alliances were predicted to enhance father-child interactions, both predicted less positive father-child interactions. Additionally, fathers' commitments to both work and family did not predict greater interrole conflict, and did not compromise overall marital harmony or father-child interactions.

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CHAPTER 1

Review of the Literature

Introduction

In Emile, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1750) writes:

> A father. . . has no right to be a father if he cannot fulfill a father's duties. Poverty, pressures of business, mistaken social prejudices, none of these can excuse a man from his duty. . . if a man of any natural feeling neglects these sacred duties, he will repent it with bitter tears and will never be comforted. . . .Is there any man so stupid that he cannot see how all this hangs together? (p. 25)

Rousseau's attitude towards fatherhood was a revolutionary one in 1750, and did not receive widespread serious consideration again until the social revolution of the 1960s. The two centuries in between can be characterized by a fairly fixed pattern of childrearing--that is, if a woman became a mother, she accepted a recognized set of responsibilities and obligations that were different from the responsibilities and obligations of the father. A father was obliged to contribute financial support for his offspring, and a mother was expected to give up whatever interfered with her availability to care for her child.

Most men and women in contemporary Western society have moved away from strictly traditional roles assigned on the basis of gender. Although women have historically been required to choose between parenthood and having another occupation, today most women have abandoned that expectation, and believe instead that they have the right to enjoy both. (For some families, the right to concurrent motherhood and employment is less a privilege than an economic

necessity.) The changes in the roles of women (and for mothers particularly) have prompted changes in women's and men's understanding of what fatherhood entails. Although most couples identify the mother as the primary child caregiver, Pleck (1977) reported a national survey indicating that the average American working man is getting more involved in child care, especially when his wife is also employed. Recent research demonstrates a new interest in fathering as a fulfilling and useful role for men. Research suggests that paternal participation in childrearing directly enhances the child's cognitive (Pedersen, Rubenstein, & Yarrow, 1973, 1979; Radin & Epstein, 1975; Radin, 1981), psychological (Reuter & Biller, 1973; Baumrind & Black, 1967) and moral development (Rutherford & Mussen, 1968). In addition to the direct effects paternal participation in childrearing has on child development, research suggests indirect benefits as well. Gronseth (1978) reports positive associations between paternal involvement in childrearing (defined as both psychological investment and actual performance of family work) and marital harmony. Easterbrooks and Emde (1988) report a positive relationship between marital quality and positive parenting attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, it seems fathers' involvement in childrearing can benefit children directly, and in addition, may benefit them indirectly via a family environment reflecting happier marriages and better parenting relationships between mothers and fathers.

Nevertheless, because most fathers maintain their traditional roles as full participants in the paid labor force, they experience competing demands for their time and energy. Thus, as men become more involved in fathering, many experience role overload. Work versus family conflicts become salient for men who cannot successfully integrate their competing roles. The difficulty inherent in

distributing a finite amount of personal resources between two distinct and important life spheres may create or exacerbate marital tension, and increase parenting stresses. These conflicts may engender a poorer marital relationship and parenting alliance, which may in turn negatively affect the overall quality of father-child interactions.

This research study will use cross-sectional data to assess the usefulness of a model proposing this sequence of events.

Changing Families, Changing Roles

The topic of changing gender roles has received considerable research attention, but more of this work concerns changes in women's roles than in men's. There has been much more emphasis on the movement of women into the labor force than on men's movement into the domestic sphere (Coverman & Sheley, 1986); however, the 1980s have produced a dramatic increase in research investigating paternal participation in childrearing and family work. The current research interest in fathers' participation in child care and household chores has been ignited primarily by the massive entry of women, especially women with children, into the paid labor force. Dual-earner families are becoming the norm where they once were the exception, comprising 51.8% of families with children under 6 in 1985, as compared to only 36.6% as recently as 1975 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1985). And, as more married women with children work outside the home and share the breadwinning responsibility, more married men reciprocate by performing some of the child care and housework.

Research on the relationship between mothers' employment status and fathers' actual participation in family work yields inconsistent findings (Hoffman, 1983; Russell & Radin, 1983). Family work, in this context, is comprised of

child-rearing and housework. Some experts have argued that the husbands of employed women will tend to shoulder more of the child-care tasks but make few changes in the amount of housework they perform (Hoffman, 1974). However, several empirical studies employing diverse methodologies have found limited or no parental sharing of child care even when mothers are employed. Regardless of the child-care task investigated, and even in dual-career families, few instances of total paternal or even shared responsibility for child-care can be identified (Ericksen, Yancey, & Ericksen, 1979; Gecas, 1976; St. John-Parsons, 1978). Adults acknowledge that fathers should increase their participation in child-rearing as their wives increase their employment responsibilities, but these attitudes do not seem to be reflected in fathers' actual behavior. We can conclude that regardless of employment status or number of hours worked, mothers assume the major responsibility for child-care tasks.

There is also controversy over whether the traditional division of housework changes when the wife is employed. Most researchers agree that when wives do not participate in the paid labor force, their husbands perform very few household tasks, and those they do perform are traditional masculine jobs, e.g., yardwork, car repairs, moving furniture, and household maintenance (Robinson, 1977; Stafford, Backman, & DiBona, 1977). Employed wives decrease the amount of time they spend on housework by half. However, while husbands of employed women may slightly increase their contributions to housework (Beckett & Smith, 1981) the increase is essentially negligible as the wives still spend three to six times as many hours on housework as do their husbands (Carlson, 1984). Clearly, men's involvement in the traditional "woman's sphere" if occurring at all,

is lagging far behind women's entry into the traditional "man's sphere" (Coverman & Sheley, 1986).

Although fathers are significantly less involved with their children than mothers, and rarely perform more than 25% of the total housework, some research has focused on the factors common to fathers who do actively participate in family work. Barnett and Baruch (1987) report that determinants of paternal participation in family work include: mothers' employment status (the number of hours worked, flexibility of her work schedule, and overall job satisfaction), family structure (how many children and of what ages), parental sex-role attitudes (each parent's beliefs regarding breadwinning and childrearing responsibilities), and parental socialization (the quality of fathering each parent received when s/he was a child). They report that in both dual-earner and traditional families, fathers spend significantly less time with their children than mothers do, spend much less time performing household and childcare tasks, and very rarely do fathers consistently assume responsibility for any family work (that is, men may perform a variety of family-oriented tasks, but rarely is the father consistently responsible for remembering, planning or scheduling a certain task). However, a minority of men reported higher levels of parental involvements, and the determinants of that participation varied depending on the wives' employment status. In dual-earner families, wives' work-related variables and sex-role attitudes were important predictors of fathers' participation. In single-earner families, fathers' attitude toward the quality of fathering they received as children was the most consistent predictor (Barnett & Baruch, 1987). As the authors write:

> For these two groups of fathers, maternal employment status serves primarily to create the conditions under which other variables emerge as significant predictors; maternal employment status thus

> moderates or conditions the relationship between particular determinants and particular forms of paternal involvement (p. 37).

So, in families with employed mothers, the number of hours the wife worked per week was the strongest single predictor of fathers' actual participation in family work, perhaps reflecting involvement that is less voluntary and more controlled by the wives' employment-related needs (Radin, 1981). In addition, mothers' liberal attitudes towards men's sex roles was a strong predictor of paternal participation, whereas women with traditional sex-role attitudes were married to men who did not participate actively in family work. These findings suggest that in dual-earner families, men's participation in the family sphere depends, at least in part, on the wife's attitudes and needs.

In families with nonemployed wives (that is, in the absence of external constraints associated with wives' employment) fathers who were dissatisfied with the fathering they received as children tended to be more involved with their own children than fathers who reported satisfaction. It appears that these fathers try to compensate for perceived deprivation rather than imitate their fathers' patterns (Radin, 1981). Yet for both dual-earner and traditional families, neither men's sex-role attitudes nor work responsibilities were related to paternal participation: this suggests that even liberal men and men with few work constraints may not become actively involved in family work unless their wives desire their involvement (Barnett & Baruch, 1987).

Women's attitudes towards men's participation in family work can determine the extent and nature of paternal participation (Feldman, Nash, & Aschenbrenner, 1983). The same studies that show a majority of men wanting to be more involved in fatherhood also reveal that 60%-80% of women do not want their husbands to be more involved than they currently are (Pleck, 1982; Quinn &

Staines, 1979). Lamb (1987) outlines several reasons for this attitude: wives may feel that their husbands are incompetent; wives may experience conflict about working and maintain a full homemaker role in order to reduce their own intrapsychic discomfort; and/or wives are unwilling to relinquish family work because it represents their one arena of power and authority over their husbands. Lamb notes that women's attitudes towards paternal involvement have changed very little over the last 15 years. He suggests that even among women who welcome paternal involvement, their ambivalence creates ambiguous expectations for men. Ambiguity in role expectations prevents men's attitudinal changes from becoming actual changes in behavior. Lamb suggests that as women's expectations for men's attitudes and behavior become more clear, men's attitudes and behavior will be more congruent, and paternal participation in family work will increase.

The Benefits of Paternal Involvement in Family Work

What are the potential outcomes of paternal involvement? Paternal participation in family work benefit the father-child relationship in direct and indirect ways. There is a growing body of literature examining the many positive benefits that involved fathers bring to their children. The active father not only enhances his child's cognitive, emotional and social development, but also builds a relationship in which positive father-child interaction takes place. Additionally, when fathers take on a major responsibility for caregiving, there may be greater equality and satisfaction in the marital relationship. Furthermore, the parenting relationship between mothers and fathers is likely to improve when both partners display high commitment to their parent role. Thus, overall family harmony may increase. The literature examining these phenomena will be reviewed separately.

The Father-Child Relationship

Because of the limited role fathers have historically taken in child-rearing, research on the consequences of involved fathering is rare. Many studies address the negative consequences of father absence (Radin, 1981; Biller, 1974, 1981; Shinn, 1978; Hetherington, 1982) and from these studies one can infer the importance of the father in the lives of his children. The studies that examine the impact of involved, nurturing fathers acknowledge their formative role in the development of children, and establish that a father's involvement with children is very meaningful to him (Fein, 1978; Greenberg & Morris, 1974) and has significant psychological consequences for the child (Lamb, 1976).

A review of father-infant literature reveals that according to Freudian theory, the father was no more than an occasional mother substitute. However, attachment theory argues that the selection of an infant's attachment figure would be determined by the extent of an infant's exposure to an adult and the adult's responsiveness to the infant's needs. Lamb (1976) argues that although mothers are the major attachment object for 70% of infants, the preference for mothers over fathers fades during the infants' second year. Research indicates that fathers of newborns are active participants in the family triad and were as likely to interact with the baby as was the mother (Parke & O'Leary, 1976). However, the actual time fathers spend interacting with their infants on a daily basis ranges from only 37.7 seconds (Rebelsky & Hanks, 1971) to 30 minutes (Pedersen, 1979). Lewis (1982) recognizes that fathers do spend less time with their infants than do mothers, but states that fathers can and do care well for their children when required to do so. Comparisons of mothering and fathering behaviors reveal more similarities than differences: both mothers and fathers can soothe infants in

distress, serve as attachment figures, and both sexes endorsed nurturing as a major parenting responsibility. Differences in parenting styles include: mothers verbalize and smile more than fathers (Pedersen, 1980), mothers engage in social play while fathers engage in vigorous motion play (Belsky, 1980), and that mothers held infants more for caregiving and fathers held infants more for play purposes (Lamb, 1977; Parke, 1980). At 3 months, Parke and Sawin (1980) found some convergence in parent-infant interaction, indicating each parent adopted some of his or her partner's behaviors.

The toddler period is a particularly good time to assess father-child relations. Toddlerhood is a time of reciprocal increased interest and interaction between fathers and their children (Lamb, 1977). From a theoretical standpoint, father-child interactions at this developmental period are especially important because they decrease the symbiotic nature of the typical infant-mother relationship, and provide a model for sex-role development. Assessments of the quality of attachment, children's affect, and toddler's problem-solving suggest that the quality and quantity of fathering impacts the very young child's development (Easterbrooks & Goldberg, 1984). Qualitative (attitudes, behavioral sensitivity, nurturance) and quantitative (amount of time spent with child, participation in caregiving) aspects of parenting are positively related to the development of children for both mothers and fathers. Children of highly involved fathers exhibit optimal task competence, and secure attachments within the father-child dyad and beyond that relationship (Easterbrooks & Goldberg, 1984). Furthermore, Easterbrooks and Goldberg found that although both qualitative and quantitative fathering characteristics are associated with healthy child development, in general qualitative fathering characteristics are more salient.

In addition, father involvement was more strongly related than the mother's involvement to positive affect and optimal problem-solving; mothers' parenting characteristics were more highly associated with security of attachment. Goldberg and Easterbrooks make clear the complex nature and interdependencies of relationships within the family system, and conclude that "sensitive fathering, like sensitive mothering, is important for toddler development" (1984).

For pre-school children, the fathering relationship continues to be important. Although the psychological literature suggests that mothers are the most skilled parents, Frankel and Rollins (1983) report that fathers are not only as skilled as mothers in roles of teacher and playmate to their young children, but that they tend to use stylistically similar modes of interaction. Based on previous research findings, it was expected that parents' behaviors would vary as a function of their own sex (Margolin & Patterson, 1975), but this expectation was not supported. The major parental difference was found to depend on the type of task in which the parent and child engaged: mothers delivered more approval, disapproval and general feedback to their child in a teaching task while fathers delivered more in a play setting (Frankel & Rollins, 1983). Overall, the most important variable that influences parent-child interactions is not a parental variable, but appears to be the child's sex. In general, parents of both sexes were performance- and task-oriented with their sons (more controlling, more strategic, and giving more feedback on behavior) and more cooperative with daughters.

The nature of parent-child relationships obviously changes as the child develops. The physical care, play, and cognitive, social and emotional needs of school-aged children differs markedly from those of infants, toddlers, and preschool children. Control, achievement, and competition become salient issues

(Block, 1978), and verbal communication is a dominant feature of parent-child interactions. Baumrind's (1982) hypothesis that, overall, mothers will interact more frequently with their children, be more directive and more dominant and assertive than fathers has been supported by numerous studies (Patterson, 1982; Russell & Russell, 1987). Mothers interact more frequently with their children in the context of caregiving and family management (Patterson, 1982; Russell & Russell, 1987). Fathers' interactions with their children occur more often within a physical play context, but as the child grows older, physical play activities decrease and verbal/social play increases (Russell & Russell, 1987). Fathers do not appear to be more involved in cognitive or achievement-oriented interaction, nor do they respond more positively than mothers to competitiveness and autonomous achievement in their children. In general, fathers are no more firm, restrictive or negative than mothers, although fathers do respond more negatively than mothers to dependent child behaviors (especially for sons). Fathers and children engage in more physical affection than do mother-child dyads (Bronstein, 1984; Russell & Russell, 1987).

Despite these stylistic differences in parenting, few overall differences were found in children's responses to parents. Consistent with Lamb's (1981) attachment hypothesis, children show little difference in their affective reactions to mothers versus fathers, despite the major differences in the qualitative and quantitative aspects of mothering and fathering. In general, many fathers cultivate positive relationships with their children, and although they do not appear to take major responsibility for their day-to-day care, fathers make a significant contribution to their child's optimal development. Russell and Russell (1987) note that as the child grows older caregiving demands become less important, and given

the strong positive affective quality of father-child relationships, fathers are in a position to exert considerable influence on their children. For children of all ages, fathers' nurturance, warmth and closeness facilitate sex-role development, emotional competence, and cognitive achievement (Radin, 1978, 1981, 1982). Clearly, fathers' involvement directly impacts children's development from infancy through adolescence and beyond.

Family Harmony: Marital Satisfaction and the Parenting Alliance

In addition to directly enhancing a child's cognitive, psychological and sex-role development, paternal involvement affects children's development through a second, more indirect path: a harmonious family environment characterized by the marital satisfaction of both parents and a strong parenting alliance. Hawkins (1968) defines marital satisfaction as subjective feelings of happiness experienced by a spouse when considering all aspects of marriage. Marital satisfaction has been shown to decline sharply at the birth of the first child (Belsky, Spanier, & Rovine, 1983) and tends to remain low unless parents restore an acceptable degree of romance and leisure-time companionship with each other, resolve the new set of stresses associated with child-rearing, and successfully negotiate the transition to parenthood.

The parental role for men appears to be particularly subject to the influences of marital satisfaction, and in turn, marital satisfaction (especially for wives) tends to reflect the degree of paternal involvement and satisfaction in childcare. Belsky et al. (1983) hypothesize that even though the birth of children creates far more work, the overwhelming responsibility for its management lies with the women; husbands are not expected to greatly increase their contribution to household functioning as a result of the addition of children to the family. But

given the time-consuming demands made by parenthood and the concurrent stresses of maternal employment, time spent in joint leisure activities is sacrificed. Belsky et al. suggest that time spent nurturing the marital relationship is lost unless fathers participate in family work. According to Kingston and Nock (1986), time shared in joint leisure activities is one key determinant of marital satisfaction in dual-earner families. In this model, marital satisfaction depends largely on fathers' willingness to shoulder a significant amount of childcare responsibilities.

Another plausible explanation for the link between paternal involvement and marital satisfaction for both spouses is that sharing parental roles increases common interests shared by each spouse, and prevents "growing apart" (Hoffman, 1983). Traditional families in which the husband involves himself solely in his job and the wife invests herself completely in family work can lead to different interests, outlooks, recreational preferences, and priorities (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Hoffman & Manis, 1978; Spanier, Lewis, & Cole, 1975) which decreases marital satisfaction. Hoffman (1983) notes that although most couples state that their children bring them closer together as spouses, the couples reporting marital deterioration frequently explain that having children moved each spouse into separate spheres, and that common interests and companionship gradually eroded. When fathers maintain high level of involvement in their children, the distinct spheres of employment and family life move closer together, and marital satisfaction based on shared interests and mutual appreciation remains high.

This explanation is consistent with other research noting the association between marital satisfaction and paternal involvement and satisfaction in childcare. Gronseth (1978) reports greater marital equality (i.e, evenly distributed

power in decision-making, both partners fulfilling the roles of economic provider and parent) in families with highly involved fathers, and that greater equality leads to greater marital satisfaction. His research links high levels of paternal involvement with reduced family tension, reduced conflict, and greater marital harmony for both husbands and wives. However, these couples generally identified equalitarian marriage as a preferred lifestyle and both husbands and wives worked part-time and truly shared parenting responsibilities. Consequently, it is likely that in this group, neither husbands nor wives experience intrapsychic ambivalence about the mens' involvement in family work. Under these relatively unusual circumstances, paternal participation in family work is a clear determinant of marital satisfaction.

Thus, there is some evidence supporting the belief that an important correlate of marital satisfaction is paternal participation in family work. It seems likely that when fathers participate more in family work, they ease the role overload experienced by their wives. Sharing household and childcare responsibilities reduces the strain on mothers (especially employed mothers) and increases the common interests shared by both spouses. Paternal participation in family work increases the fathers' and mothers' confidence in the fathers' ability to perform family work, which encourages men to maintain a high level of involvement in fathering (Goldberg, 1977; Lamb & Easterbrooks, 1981). In sum, paternal involvement contributes to marital satisfaction and a family atmosphere characterized by less conflict and more warmth, and in this way indirectly benefits the child.

Marital satisfaction is one component of overall family harmony: another is the parenting alliance. Although a positive parenting alliance is correlated with

marital satisfaction, it is not the same construct (Frank, Jacobson, Hole, Justkowski, & Huyck, 1986). A positive parenting alliance provides a resource on which a parent can depend for affirmation and support; it enables parents to better satisfy their child's needs and meet the challenge of parenting more successfully. Additionally, an effective parenting alliance buffers experiences of stress and allows the parents and the family to be flexible in response to change (Frank, Jacobson, & Hole, 1988). The parenting alliance "encompasses interactions that pertain to child rearing. . . and consists of the capacity of a spouse to acknowledge, respect, and value the parenting roles and tasks of the partner". It "plays a critical role in the continuous unfolding of the parenthood experience. It performs a sustaining function for the individual partner as each responds continuously to the developmental progression of the child" (Cohen & Weissman, 1984, p. 33).

The parenting alliance is likely to be affected by the degree to which fathers are involved in parenting. Kotelchuck (1976) reports that fathers who are highly invested in parenting, and prioritize their family roles over work commitments, perceive themselves to be more skilled in child-care; consequently, these men maintain an increased level of involvement and satisfaction in their roles as fathers. Additionally, their spouses perceive them to be more skilled in child-care, and report greater satisfaction with their husbands' contributions to family work (Parke, Hymel, Power, & Tinsley, 1980). Furthermore, it is likely that more involved fathers understand and respect their partner's caregiving role more, and appreciate the inherent difficulties in parenting. Because the parenting alliance stresses mutual satisfaction with one's partner's parenting abilities, and the degree to which one respects one's partner and shares parenting

responsibilities, fathers who are highly involved in parenting (and consequently more likely to respect their wives, and be respected in that role by their wives) may enjoy a stronger parenting alliance than men who are uninvolved in childcare.

Paternal involvement and a positive parenting alliance may be linked, but they are not necessarily the same construct. Spouses define parenthood in a style concordant with their individual needs, their needs as a couple, and the needs of their family (Fein, 1978). Defining the fathering role is easier when the husband and wife are in agreement about the ideal extent of involvement, but it is the agreement rather than an absolute degree of paternal involvement that fosters a strong parenting alliance. However, high father involvement and a strong parenting alliance tend to co-occur partly because as mothers' employment pressures increase, women require more involvement of their husbands at home. In general, the father and mother negotiate the parenting alliance together, but partly due to the strain of mothers' double role as full-time wage-earner and primary child caregiver, and also because of changing sex-role attitudes and expectations associated with higher educational levels, it is likely that a stronger parenting alliance would occur in the context of high levels of paternal involvement and investment in childcare.

Researchers agree that positive marital and parenting relationships and optimal child development are interrelated. In their review of marital and parenting literatures, Easterbrooks and Emde (1988) note that marital quality and parental competence are positively related, that marital conflict and increased parental negativity toward children tend to co-occur (Johnson & Lobitz, 1974) and that positive marital adjustment facilitates sensitive parenting and better child adjustment. Mothers and fathers are more nurturant and responsive toward their

children when the interaction between parents is warm and supportive (Pedersen, Anderson, & Cain, 1980). Similarly, a positive parenting alliance increases mothers' satisfaction with parenthood, and improves the quality of mother-infant interactions (Frodi, Lamb, Frodi, Hwang, Forsstrom, & Corry, 1981; Owen, Chase-Lansdale, & Lamb, 1982). Additionally, sharing of positive affect between parents and child was strongly related to the extent of parental agreement about child discipline and control, more effective communication between family members, and to marital harmony. In turn, marital harmony was strongly associated with child compliance (Easterbrooks & Emde, 1988). For fathers, marital adjustment was related to warmth and nurturance in their roles as parents, and to a lack of negative affect associated with fathering. The authors acknowledge that marital and parent-child relationships are interdependent in the family system, and that some child characteristics (temperament, perinatal risk status, gender) may encourage marital distress. However, they suggest that in most cases, marital quality largely determines the family environment in which children are reared, and is a primary factor in family happiness. Easterbrooks and Emde argue that generally "parents who have satisfying supportive marital relationships will be more available to respond sensitively to the needs of their child, and will provide a warmer affective climate in the home, and will constitute more positive role models, thereby facilitating optimal child development. Correspondingly, a negative or discordant marital relationship may be a source of stress. . . rendering them less available for sensitive parent-child interactions" (1988, p. 84). Floyd (1988) notes that both marital satisfaction and a positive parenting alliance are associated with better overall family functioning, and we can expect family harmony to contribute to the quality of father-child interactions.

Marital and parent-child relationships are interdependent, and a positive family climate encourages optimal child development.

The Costs of Paternal Participation in Family Work

Although fathers' involvement in family work can yield some direct and indirect benefits, the consequences of increased father involvement may not all be positive. As more men become involved fathers, the difficulties inherent in simultaneously managing work and family roles emerge as a reality of contemporary Western family life. The roles of worker, parent, and in most cases, spouse, are interdependent in terms of time, energy and commitment necessary for an adequate performance. Men and women attempting to perform all three roles often experience role asynchrony (Voydanoff, 1980). This strain can be due to overload (when the total activity required of one or more roles is greater than an individual can handle comfortably or adequately) or to interference (when expectations for an individual are contradictory or in conflict). As women continue to ascribe importance to their participation in the paid labor force, as family economic considerations necessitate a second income, and as men desire more involvement in child care, new work and family cross-pressures will create interrole conflict for men. Work versus family conflicts may decrease marital satisfaction and erode the parenting alliance, and decreased family harmony may compromise the benefits associated with high paternal involvement in family work.

Interrole Conflict

Until the late 1970s, organizational research and family studies were relatively distinct areas with little overlap. This reflected, and perpetuated, the

myth of compartmentalization between family life and the world of paid employment. Two or three decades ago, when most of our traditional ideas about family and work were developed, employment rates for women were low, divorce rates were low, household participation for men was low, and gender roles were clearly defined (Orthner & Pittmen, 1986). Yet since the mid-1970s, the two major sources of psychological investment in adults' lives have been in conflict. Characteristics of the work environment contribute to family stress (Olson et al., 1983), household task performance (Beck & Beck, 1979), marital companionship (Orthner & Axelson, 1980), and overall marital quality (Clark et al., 1978). Juggling the demands of competing life roles has become a common experience for many American adults.

For women, work versus family conflicts have been extensively studied. The emergence of widespread employment outside the home for mothers has implications for the division of labor inside the home; however, most investigations into the allocation of household labor and child care demonstrate that wives retain the primary responsibilities for family work (Warner, 1986; Seccombe, 1985). For single-earner families, resource theory has been used to explain family role organization; resource theory suggests that the greater the amount or value of resources contributed by a spouse, the greater is his/her power within the relationship, and this power is then translated into the ability to avoid unpleasant or demeaning tasks (such as housekeeping). Yet in dual-earner families, many women who develop commitments to the paid labor force also maintain primary responsibility for family work, and struggle with the difficulty of fulfilling both roles. Resource theory suggests that because both spouses make more comparable financial contributions to their family, we would expect both

spouses to share power more equally, and it seems likely that employed mothers will use their power to reduce role strain: they may expect their husbands to perform more family work.

By expecting their husbands to perform more family work, women will reduce the role strain they experience. However, when additional responsibilities are shifted to men, it seems likely that men will experience some of the role overload that women sought to reduce. Furthermore, some men have sincere ambitions and commitments in both the work and family arenas simultaneously. It is often assumed that highly valued roles will be given priority in the allocation of time and energy; because only a limited amount of these resources is available, high commitment to both career and family produces conflict and stress (Skinner, 1983; Price-Bonham & Murphy, 1980). Thus, there is some evidence that suggests that for some men, becoming more involved in family work (either for externally- or internally-driven reasons) can create work versus family conflicts.

Work versus family conflicts for men are more difficult to examine than for women. Few research studies examined the effect of role squeeze on men because it is a relatively new phenomenon. Clark, Nye, and Gecas (1978) examined husbands' experiences of work versus family conflicts more closely, and evaluated three alternative hypotheses: work-committed men perform family duties either 1) less extensively, 2) less adequately, or 3) more efficiently. They report data suggesting that husbands' work time did not significantly reduce participation in family work, and that wives' marital satisfaction did not decrease when husbands reported a high commitment to work. The authors explain that when not occupied by work, men tended to ignore their own leisure pursuits, friends, etc., in favor of their family commitments, and the high proportion of

non-work time spent on family tasks satisfied themselves and their spouses. Additionally, wives of work-committed men had lower expectations for their husbands' participation at home. However, younger wives of work-involved husbands report feeling dissatisfied and neglected; moreover, increased education and employment among wives was strongly associated with higher family role expectations for men. Clark, Nye, and Gecas conclude that as educational and employment levels of women continue to increase, more women will have high marital and family role expectations for their husbands, and consequently more will be dissatisfied with husbands who either cannot resolve interrole conflict or who do so by maintaining commitments only to their jobs.

Fathers' Involvement with Work

Although maternal employment and women's experience of interrole conflict receives attention in the research literature, the literature on men's employment and its impact on the family focuses on extreme examples, such as extended unemployment or father absence. The dearth of studies examining how time is allocated by husbands between their work and their families reflects three dominant traditional ideologies: (1) men's personal worth and masculinity are defined primarily by occupational success; (2) asymmetrical boundaries exist for men and women as they perform family and work roles; and (3) men make their most important contribution to their families through success at work. These three ideologies have downplayed the importance of men's active involvement with their families, and have precluded many men's involvement as fathers.

Historically, men have taken their role of primary wage-earner seriously, and today many adults continue to believe personal worth is inextricably linked to professional success. This belief especially affects men. Economic success is

equated with power, influence, tangible symbols of wealth, prestige and status. Adult males, especially married men and men with children, have traditionally had little alternative to this definition of success for proving their worth and their masculinity. According to this traditional conceptualization, physical strength and sexual prowess are also symbols of masculinity, but the role of economic provider is primary if the adult male wishes to be perceived as an adequate man (Brenton, 1966). In turn, stereotyped masculine characteristics such as aggressiveness, competitiveness, and unemotionality increase the likelihood of occupational success. Therefore, a reciprocal relationship is created between occupational success and masculinity, and many men and women do not distinguish these two phenomena. The qualities described as traditionally masculine are believed to be incompatible with the tenderness and nurturing necessary to be a good parent, and the pursuit of occupational success leaves little energy or time left for active parenting. The popularity of this ideology demanded that men commit themselves wholeheartedly to their careers, and ignore the costs that this commitment necessitated. Consequently, little research has been done that explores the costs of men's primary role as worker and the impact that has on family functioning.

Some researchers suggest that high levels of commitment to the paid labor force directly reduces the opportunities to participate in domestic roles (Aldous, 1969); popular literature characterizes husbands as men whose involvement in work results in social and emotional neglect of their families. Blood and Wolfe (1960) demonstrated that the degree of a husband's household task participation was inversely related to the extent of his work time. They concluded that being the primary breadwinner and being an invested parent are partially incompatible roles for men. Pleck (1977) conceptualizes the interdependence between work and

family roles in a model that describes the reciprocal interaction between these roles for men and women; his theory is consistent with what Rapoport and Rapoport (1965) originally speculated: the realms of work and family are closely intertwined, and that one's involvement with either sphere must affect involvement with the other. Pleck makes the important observation that the boundary between work and family has been, and continues to be, asymmetrically permeable for males and females. He notes that for women, the demands of the family role are permitted to intrude into the work role more than the work role is allowed to interfere with family responsibilities, whereas for men, the opposite is true.

It is obvious that women's family obligations affect their professional lives. Most research indicates that having children disrupts women's established work patterns (Martins & Roberts, 1984). Women experience economic losses (missed promotions, training opportunities, and lower pay) as well as occupational downgrading (taking jobs that are less financially or psychologically rewarding because they allow women to fulfill domestic obligations) as they attempt to combine employment and parenthood. Men have experienced none of these penalties in the labor force because of their status as parents. Men do not lose time from their careers because of the births of their children, as women do. Generally men do not curtail their work hours to match their children's school schedules, as mothers might. In fact, while women deemphasize their employment as the number of their children rises, men's hours in paid labor reflects an opposite pattern: they work longer hours (Young & Wilmott, 1973) and consequently, have less time for parenting.

Asymmetrically permeable boundaries suggest that the constraints of a man's professional responsibilities may impede his ability to function fully as a father, husband, and co-homemaker. Whereas women have sacrificed their careers because of their status as mothers, men have restricted participation as fathers and husbands in favor of their work obligations. Therefore, men have had to show their concern for their family precisely by working long hours and climbing the career ladder, although intense career involvement gradually erodes marital and father-child relationships (Keniston, 1965). Research by Frank et al. (1986) suggests that men reporting high occupational commitment display a parenting style characterized as role-focused (i.e., the parent desires their child to be a good citizen and a contributing member to society) rather than child-focused (i.e., the parent enjoys and accepts the child for who s/he is). It seems likely that a child-focused parent would enjoy a more emotionally intimate relationship with their child than a role-focused parent; consequently, men (and women) may achieve high occupational commitment at the expense of their relationship with their children. In conclusion, intense commitment to occupational success can cost men (and women) their psychological well-being. Brenton (1966) writes:

> By depending so heavily on his breadwinning role to validate his sense of himself as a man, instead of also letting his roles as husband, father, and citizen of the community count as validating sources, the American male treads on psychically dangerous ground. It's always dangerous to put all of one's psychic eggs into one basket (p. 194).

Although the work ethic remains strong in American culture, and men continue to be judged in terms of their occupational success, there are indications that today's men are placing less emphasis on work achievement. Pleck and Lang (1979) have summarized the findings of numerous research studies, and virtually all agree that there is a clear bias toward men's and women's commitments to

family life. They conclude that "men's family role is far more psychologically significant to them than is their work role" (p. 1). As early as 1957, family roles almost uniformly were rated more important than job roles by both men and women (Douvan, 1978). So, men are reporting that they value their family life more than their work, and that they derive their major life satisfactions from their roles as husband and father. However, the shift away from work toward family involvement may be an attitudinal one, with behavioral changes yet to follow. Although Pleck and Lang (1979) argue that "men's family behavior is beginning to change, becoming increasingly congruent with the long-standing psychological significance of the family in their lives" (p. 1), it appears that men still retain the importance of their role as the family's major economic provider. This suggests that, although men may be increasing their involvement as husbands and fathers, they have not yet decreased their intense commitments to breadwinning. Given a finite amount of time and energy, this trend is likely to produce interrole conflicts, which may significantly impact couples' marital satisfaction and parenting alliance.

Family Harmony: Marital Satisfaction and the Parenting Alliance

As some research has demonstrated, highly involved fathers can not only enhance their relationships with their children, but also can strengthen marital and parenting relationships with their partners. Yet, other researchers suggest that the benefits associated with paternal participation can be negated by interrole conflict. Work versus family conflicts place competing demands on women's and men's time. In Gronseth's (1978) study, paternal participation at home increased marital satisfaction for both wives and husbands, but it is important to note that in Gronseth's sample, all parents worked part-time and shared parenting roles

equally. In contrast to his findings, Russell (1982) states that although 40% of parents report an improved marital relationship as father participation in family work increases, 50% of parents describe their marital relationships as suffering because of increased tension, more conflict and too little time together as father involvement in parenting increases. Because at least half of Russell's families were dual-earner couples, it is possible that the increase in marital tension he reports is associated with role overload.

Ladewig and McGee (1986) emphasize that both husbands and wives report that wives' experience of role overload has a negative impact on her marital satisfaction. Lamb, Pleck, and Levine (1978) review several studies examining role overload and marital adjustment, and conclude that there is a relationship between amount of family work for which employed women are responsible and reported marital satisfaction (Bailyn, 1970), and that marital happiness increases in proportion to paternal participation (Staines et al., 1978). It appears that role overload and marital happiness show an inverse relationship. Mothers who report less marital satisfaction appeared more irritable and less nurturant with their infants, and mothers who reported low parenting satisfaction engaged in more negative vocalizations and expressions of negative affect as well (Goth-Owens, Stollak, Messe, Peshkess, & Watts, 1982). It seems likely that role strain for husbands would decrease marital satisfaction as it does for wives.

For women, the positive relationship between marital satisfaction and paternal involvement in family work is clear. In contrast, some studies argue that for men, marital dissatisfaction encourages men to participate in family work. Goth-Owens, Stollak, Messe, Peshkess, and Watts (1982) report a consistent inverse relationship between marital happiness and fathers' involvement in

parenting. They suggest that the fathering role may depend on men's satisfaction with the spousal relationship, and that the most maritally satisfied men demonstrate the least involvement with their infants. Although some maritally unhappy men evidence higher rates of "inept" fathering behavior (awkward holding, inability to soothe child) others evidence more positive fathering behavior (tender holding, responsive vocalizations, expressions of affect). Researchers explain these results via a compensation hypothesis (Vincent, 1980): some men who are dissatisfied with their marriages seek interpersonal gratification through other dyadic family relationships, namely, the parent-child dyad. A second explanation may be that men are unhappy in their spousal relationships in part because of their high degree of involvement with their infants; this may reflect levels of paternal involvement that are determined by the mother's needs, yet distress the father. The authors did not explore role overload as a possible factor in this pattern. It seems plausible that role overload results in marital dissatisfaction in men who are highly involved fathers, especially if the level of their involvement in family work is determined by wives' needs and if the men have difficulty integrating their roles as breadwinner and parent.

Thus, paternal participation can enhance or detract from marital satisfaction. Similarly, whether increased paternal participation enhances or weakens the parenting alliance depends on the tensions and conflicts generated by role sharing. Some research suggests that interrole conflict between couples weakens their parenting alliance. Roles sharing brings the separated worlds of work and family together, which can be problematic. The traditional allocation of paid work to husbands and family work to wives decreases competition and provides each parent with an arena of power and authority. As these domains

merge, couples must negotiate responsibility in both, and this can lead to conflict and increased family tension. For men who do not enjoy active parenting, or who resent their wives' participation in the paid labor force it is likely that serious conflicts will emerge. However, even for couples who genuinely desire equitable role sharing, negotiating the daily decisions that comprise family life can produce more frequent conflicts. If increased paternal participation creates family conflict, weakens the parenting alliance and detracts from marital satisfaction, overall family harmony will be compromised.

Summary

We have seen that families must balance their commitments to work in the paid labor force and providing adequate care for their children. For women, who function as the primary caregiver for most families, and who since the 1960s have flooded the employment ranks, the work/family conflicts are pervasive. This major social change has been the focus of much social science research in the 1970s and 1980s. Because few men juggle a double load, less research has been completed on work versus family conflicts for men.

However, as women move away from the traditional role of full-time homemaker, more women expect their husbands to increase their participation in family work. Additionally, as gender-based expectations for men gradually become more flexible, men are more likely to become involved in active fathering. Paternal participation in child care may be one important component that builds the foundation for a strong parenting alliance and increases marital satisfaction. These family factors can directly enhance father-child interactions, and indirectly enhance father-child interactions via a harmonious family environment.

However, the cost of high levels of paternal involvement may be role squeeze: men who maintain their traditional role as breadwinner and simultaneously strengthen their commitment to their children may experience significant work versus family conflicts. The stress created by role strain has been correlated with marital dissatisfaction (i.e., a role-strained man may believe that he and his wife have little time left for marriage-enriching activities), so it is possible that highly involved fathers who experience role conflicts will also experience a decrease in marital satisfaction. In addition, some research suggests that when couples experience interrole conflict, their parenting alliance may weaken as well (i.e., a role-strained husband may perceive his wife as doing less than her share of family work). Interrole conflict may reduce family harmony and indirectly compromise the quality of father-child interactions.

CHAPTER 2

Research Hypotheses

The purpose of this research was to evaluate a model examining the relationships between paternal involvement in childrearing, fathers' work involvement, work versus family conflicts, family harmony (the parenting alliance and marital satisfaction) and the quality of father-child interaction. Coded videotapes of father-child interaction were used to evaluate the quality of the dyadic relationship; self-report measures were used to examine fathers' involvement in childrearing, involvement in work, work versus family conflicts, the parenting alliance and marital satisfaction. In testing the overall model, the following hypotheses were explored:

1. Men who are more actively involved in fathering will interact with their preschool children in more positive ways.
2. Paternal involvement enhances family harmony so that men who are more involved in parenting will be part of more positive parenting alliances, and will enjoy more positive marital relationships.
3. Family harmony is directly related to positive father-child interactions. Therefore, paternal involvement indirectly affects the father-child relationship via family harmony.
4. Many fathers who are highly involved in both parenting and work may experience more conflict between their family and work roles than men who do not report high involvement in both life spheres.

5. Work versus family conflict will have a negative effect on the quality of the parenting alliance and on marital satisfaction, and hence will directly compromise father-child interactions.

CHAPTER 3

Method

Subjects

Data for this study was collected as part of a larger study of family factors in children's health. A total sample of 56 predominantly white, middle-class families was recruited for this research project. All participants in this study were recruited through a pediatrics clinic serving families of children currently between 3 and 4 years of age. Children were identified as potential subjects if they had no other chronic illnesses besides otitis media, lived in intact families, had parents who had completed high school, had at least one parent working full-time, and had no more than 3 siblings. Families were not specifically selected for the presence or absence of illness; rather, frequency of illness was treated as an interval variable so that all subjects who met other criteria were eligible. Because this research project required a substantial time commitment for families, each family was compensated $75 following completion of all phases of the study.

Procedures

Potential subjects were identified via computer printouts of patient names and addresses, and contacted by letter and by telephone. Participants completed an extensive battery of questionnaires assessing family functioning, parenting, health attitudes and coping behaviors, and management of the competing demands of work and family. Additionally, the child's cognitive and language development was assessed, and parent-child interactions were videotaped. Data were collected

at the subjects' homes and at the Michigan State University Psychological Clinic, where videotaped recordings of free-play and structured dyadic and triadic interactions were made. Data were collected by a trained team of graduate and undergraduate students, who were blind to the target child's health status. For each family, data collection was completed within three weeks.

Measures

These five constructs were measured: paternal involvement in childcare, paternal involvement in work, mothers' employment status, fathers' work/family conflict, marital harmony (the quality of the parenting alliance and the marital relationship), and the overall quality of the father-child interaction.

Paternal Involvement

Paternal involvement was assessed both attitudinally and behaviorally. The Involvement in Parenting Questionnaire (Appendix A) was developed by researchers for use in a study of the changing relationships between young adults and their parents. Researchers using this measure report face validity as well as an alpha value of .63 (Frank, Laman, & Huyck, 1983). The "Involvement in Parenting" questionnaire contains six items measuring attitudinal involvement in childcare ("I try to spend as much time as possible with my children." "What's happening with my children has a lot to do with how I feel about my own life.") Adults respond on a Likert scale in which 1 indicates strong disagreement and 4 equals strong agreement. Mean response for fathers equalled 3.3, with a standard deviation of .42. The father's report on this questionnaire yielded an involvement score. In addition, the Family Tasks Questionnaire (Appendix B) contains four items relevant to behavioral involvement in parenting ("Who takes care of the

children's daily living needs as they arise?" "Who provides the children with support when they have problems?" "Who teaches values, ideas, and beliefs to the children?" and "Who expresses physical affection toward the children?"). Mothers' and fathers' reports on these four items were significantly correlated with one another ($r(54) = .47$; $p < .000$) and the composite score for the two parents on this measure was not significantly correlated with fathers' attitudinal involvement ($r(55) = -.07$; $p < .59$). Mean response for mothers' equalled 2.5, with a standard deviation of .05; mean response for fathers' equalled 2.7, with a standard deviation of .04. All three scores were transformed into z-scores and combined into a single indicator of paternal involvement in childcare.

Paternal Involvement in Work

Paternal involvement in work was also measured both attitudinally and behaviorally. The Involvement with Work Questionnaire (alpha = .74, Appendix C) was developed for an earlier study on relationships between young adults and their parents. It is a ten-item questionnaire to evaluate how involved an adult is in his/her work role ("One of the most important things about me is how successful or unsuccessful I am at work." "I think relatively little about work when I am not on the job.") This questionnaire yields a score reflecting fathers' attitudes about work. The mean score for men on this questionnaire was 2.3, with a standard deviation of .43. Fathers' scores on this questionnaire were combined with a standardized score for the number of hours fathers spent at work. Fathers' mean number of hours per week spent at work ranged from 40-50. The correlation between fathers' attitudes about work and fathers' time spent at work was .38 ($p < .008$).

Mothers' Employment Status

Mothers were asked how many hours per week they worked outside the home in order to evaluate their employment status. For the purposes of this study, mothers' employment status was treated as an interval variable. Responses ranged from zero hours per week (N=16) to 71 hours per week (N=1), and the mean range of hours spent at work was 30-40 hours per week.

Fathers' Work/Family Conflict

Interrole conflict was assessed by an eight item Role Conflict Questionnaire (Appendix D) measuring the degree of conflict between fathers' experience of the obligations of work and family ("After work I come home too tired to do some of the things I'd like to do." "My work schedule seldom conflicts with my family life." "My family accepts how often I am preoccupied with my work while I am at home."). The "Role Conflict Questionnaire" was based on the Quality of Employment Survey (Quinn & Staines, 1978); Koppleman et al. (1983) modified this measure of role conflict based on research by Pleck (1980) and he reports adequate validity and reliability on his altered version, with alpha coefficients ranging from .80 to .89.

Marital Harmony

Family harmony was defined by the quality of the parenting alliance and marital satisfaction as reported by mothers and fathers. One measure will be used to assess the strength of the parenting alliance, and another to examine marital satisfaction; these two scores will be combined into one rating of family harmony. The quality of the parenting alliance was assessed by a 31-item General Parenting Alliance scale of the Family Experience Questionnaire (Frank, Jacobson, Hole,

Justkowski, & Huyck, 1986; Appendix E), measuring the overall strength and effectiveness of the parenting alliance. Adults respond to items on a 4-point Likert scale where 1 represents strong disagreement and 4 represents strong agreement. The scale has high levels of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha > .90), and good test-retest reliability (.86). High scores on this scale indicate that respondents value their spouse's parenting abilities ("My spouse has a good feel for the kids and what they might need"), feel supported by the spouse ("My spouse backs me up as a parent"), believe that parenting enhances their marital relationship ("Parenting has brought my spouse and me closer together"), and believe that the spouse assumes a fair share of the parenting responsibilities ("My spouse makes too many demands on me as a parent (-)"). The mean score for mothers on the General Parenting Alliance subscale was 3.0, with a standard deviation of .33; the mean score for fathers equalled 3.3, with a standard deviation of .32. Marital satisfaction was assessed by mothers' and fathers' ratings on the dyadic satisfaction subscale of the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (Spanier 1976; Appendix F). In addition to the dyadic satisfaction scale (which assesses overall satisfaction with the relationship and one's commitment to it), the 32-item Dyadic Adjustment Scale evaluates three other components of dyadic adjustment: dyadic consensus (agreement in important matters in the relationship), dyadic cohesion (activities jointly undertaken) and affectional expression (encompassing the physical, verbal and sexual expressions of affection). Content, criterion-related, and construct validity for the Dyadic Adjustment Scale is high; the overall scale yields a Cronbach's alpha of .96. The alpha for the dyadic satisfaction subscale is .77. Pearson correlation coefficients indicate that for these data, mothers and fathers evaluate their parenting alliance similarly ($r = .28$, $p. < .03$)

and rate their marital satisfaction similarly ($r = .64$, $p < .000$). The mean score for mothers' marital satisfaction was 37, with a standard deviation of 6.9; fathers' mean for marital satisfaction was 38, with a standard deviation of 5.5. Mothers' and fathers' reports on the General Parenting Alliance Scale and the dyadic satisfaction scale were standardized and combined into a single indicator of marital harmony.

Quality of the Father-Child Interaction

The overall quality of the father-child relationship was measured by applying Belsky's (unpublished, 1987) coding system to a 15-minute videotaped interactions between a father and his child (Appendix G, Appendix H, and Appendix I). A taped behavioral sample is comprised of three five-minute segments: one child-directed play session, one father-directed play session, and one clean-up session. The taped sessions were held in a playroom equipped with a table, chairs for the parent and child, and various age-appropriate toys (a doctor's kit, waffle blocks, a puzzle, a truck carrying wooden animals, "Mr. Potato-Head", and/or crayons and paper). Throughout the session, the parent wore an earphone allowing him to hear instructions from an experimenter who observed the entire session from behind a one-way mirror. For the first five-minute interval, parents were given the following directions: "Nod if you can hear me. Tell (child's name) that s/he can play with any toy s/he wishes. Let (child's name) play any way s/he wants, and you follow his/her lead." After five minutes passes, parents were told: "Nod if you can still hear me. That was fine. Now tell (child's name) that it is your turn to choose the game. Keep (child's name) playing your game according to your rules." The final five-minute segment required clean-up: "Nod if you can hear me. That was fine. Now tell (child's name) that we are

finished playing for now, and it is time to put the toys away. Tell your child you want him/her to put all the toys away, and make sure s/he cleans up."

These videotapes were coded according to Belsky's (1987) scoring system by a team of reliable coders. Two clinical psychology graduate students served as primary coders, and a third clinical psychology graduate student assisted in establishing and maintaining reliability. After thoroughly reviewing and understanding the coding manual, categories, and behavioral examples of each category, the team of coders discussed and coded single-minute intervals taken from pilot tapes. When coders established reliability for each category at a minimum of .70, they coded single-minute intervals from pilot tapes without group discussion. Again, when coders achieved .70 reliability for each category, coders then proceeded to code an entire pilot tape. When coders demonstrated sustained reliability of .70 for each category over pilot tapes, coders began to code actual data. Rater drift was prevented by periodic group accuracy checks: every fifth tape was coded by both primary coders and reliability was calculated to ensure maintained reliability of at least .70.

In deriving single scores reflecting the quality of the father-child interactions, the unit of analysis was considered to be the dyad. An overall "quality of father-child interaction" score was derived by assessing each code's contribution to the overall alpha: for all scores combined, codes yielding negative item correlations were omitted, as were codes in which neither the item total correlations nor the multiple correlations equaled .40. All categories satisfying these criteria were used in calculating a single "quality" score for each dyad.

CHAPTER 4

Results

Data analyses included three phases: preliminary analyses to operationalize the outcome variables in the hypothesized path model; path analysis (or a series of multiple regression analyses to test the proposed model) and finally, post-hoc analyses to clarify observed relationships between variables.

Preliminary Analyses: Construction of the Outcome Variables

An overall score for the quality of father-child interactions was based on both the father's and child's behaviors. The Belsky scoring system includes 9 parent coding categories and 15 child coding categories. One parent behavior coding category (Negative Affect) and two child behavior coding categories (Degree of Distress and Strange Behaviors) were eliminated because these codes demonstrated extremely low frequency of occurrence. Table 1 shows frequencies for the remaining behavioral coding categories. Coding categories that reflect more positive father behaviors (Positive Affect, Facilitates Self-Regulation) and child behaviors (Mastery/Skill/Competence, Cognitive Sophistication, Positive Affect, Verbal Interaction with Parent) were coded more frequently; conversely coding categories that reflect more negative father behaviors (Undermines Child's Functioning, Negative Feedback, Unresponsive/Unavailable/Undercontrolling, Demands Self-Relevance) and child behaviors (Distancing from Parent, Transgressions, Dependency/Need for Help) occurred very infrequently. All remaining codes were transformed into z-scores. The z-scores for 11 codes

Table 1

Frequencies for Father and Child Behavior Variables.

Code Name	1.00-1.99	2.00-2.99	3.00-3.99	4.00-5.00
Father Variables				
Undermines Child's Functioning	52	0	0	0
Negative Feedback	52	0	0	0
Positive Feedback	49	3	0	0
Positive Affect	0	22	29	1
Unresponsive/Unavailable/ Undercontrolling	51	1	0	0
Facilitates Self-Regulation	1	42	9	0
Demands Self-Reliance	52	0	0	0
Intrusive/Overcontrolling	49	3	0	0
Child Variables				
Mastery/Skill/Competence	0	4	38	11
Cognitive Sophistication	4	41	8	0
Focused Attention/ Involvement	0	1	17	35
Cooperation/Compliance	36	17	0	0
Positive Affect/Enthusiasm Comfortableness	0	30	22	1
Distancing from Parent	53	0	0	0
Negative Affect	48	4	1	0
Transgressions	54	0	0	0
Disobedience	48	4	0	0
Verbal Interaction with Parent	0	29	21	3
Seeks Proximity to Parent	52	1	0	0
Dependency/Need for Help	53	0	0	0
Organized Transitions	53	0	0	0

NOTE: All frequency scores are averaged across the total number of minutes for each father-child dyad.

(Unresponsive/Unavailable/Undercontrolling, Negative Feedback, Demands Self-Reliance, Undermines Child Functioning, Parent Negative Affect, Intrusive/ Overcontrolling, Dependency/Need for Help, Distancing from Parent, Child Negative Affect, Transgressions, and Disobedience) were reverse-scored (i.e., multiplied by -1) because they were presumably indicative of less positive interactions. Of the remaining 21 coding categories, two parent behavior codes (Unresponsive/Unavailable/Undercontrolling and Undermines Child Functioning) and one child behavior code (Seeks Proximity to Parent) demonstrated considerable skew; to reduce skew extreme scores (>3 or < -3) were set equal to +/-3. Finally, a multiple correlation was computed and codes were eliminated from scale construction if (a) for the code in question, both the item total correlation and the multiple correlations were less than .40, or (b) the item total correlation was negative. One parent behavior code (Intrusive/Overcontrolling) and two child behavior codes (Dependency/Need for Help and Organized Transitions) were discarded because the item total correlations were negative. One child behavior code (Seeking Proximity to Parent) was discarded because the item total correlation and multiple correlation coefficients were less than .40. (See Table 2 for item-total correlations and multiple correlations.) The final scale included seven codes for fathers' behaviors (Positive Affect, Positive Feedback, Negative Affective Feedback, Facilitates Self-Regulation, Demands Self-Reliance, Undermines Child Functioning and Unresponsive/Unavailable/ Undercontrolling) and ten codes for child's behaviors (Focused Attention/ Involvement, Cognitive Sophistication, Sense of Mastery/Skill/Competence, Cooperation/Compliance, Verbal Interaction with Parent, Distancing from Parent, Positive Affect/Enthusiasm/Comfortableness, Negative Affect, Transgressions,

Table 2

Quality of Father-Child Interaction Scale: Reliability/Analysis/Item-Total Statistics.

Code Name	Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation
Father Variables		
Undermines Child's Functioning	.37	.62
Negative Feedback	.64	.81
Positive Feedback	.22	.70
Positive Affect	.54	.66
Unresponsive/Unavailable/ Undercontrolling	.17	.73
Facilitates Self-Regulation	.06	.60
Demands Self-Reliance	.19	.42
Intrusive/Overcontrolling	-.17	.41
Child Variables		
Mastery/Skill/Competence	.69	.84
Cognitive Sophistication	.42	.64
Focused Attention/ Involvement	.78	.75
Cooperation/Compliance	.41	.39
Positive Affect/Enthusiasm Comfortableness	.66	.70
Distancing from Parent	.60	.83
Negative Affect	.66	.85
Transgressions	.24	.49
Disobedience	.57	.83
Verbal Interaction with Parent	.18	.62
Seeks Proximity to Parent	.03	.16
Dependency/Need for Help	-.18	.69
Organized Transitions	-.10	.35

and Disobedience). The alpha for the overall scale measuring quality of father-child interactions was .84. In addition, separate scales were computed for fathers' behavior based on the seven codes (alpha = .65) and child behavior based on the ten codes (alpha = .85). The correlation between the two scales was .43 ($p < .01$).

Test of the Research Model

The research model proposes a chain of interrelated factors that impact on the quality of father-child relationships. Path analysis was used to determine the adequacy of the predicted model in accounting for the variance in the quality of father-child interactions. Each variable was regressed on the preceding variables in the model. Quality of father-child interactions was regressed on family harmony, and paternal involvement in childcare; marital harmony was regressed on fathers' interrole conflict, paternal involvement in childcare, and the interaction between paternal involvement and mothers' employment status; and fathers' interrole conflict was regressed on the interaction between fathers' involvement in work and paternal involvement in childcare. (In order to test the hypothesized interactions, both main effects were also included in the regression analyses.)

Table 3 shows univariate correlations among the variables in the predicted model. Figure 1 shows the path coefficients for the model, and the amount of variance (indicated by the total R2) accounted for in each of the predicted variables by each of the exogenous variables. None of the predicted relationships were statistically significant. Moreover, including all antecedent variables in predicting the quality of father-child interactions did not account for significantly more variance than that associated with the two antecedent variables in the predicted model.

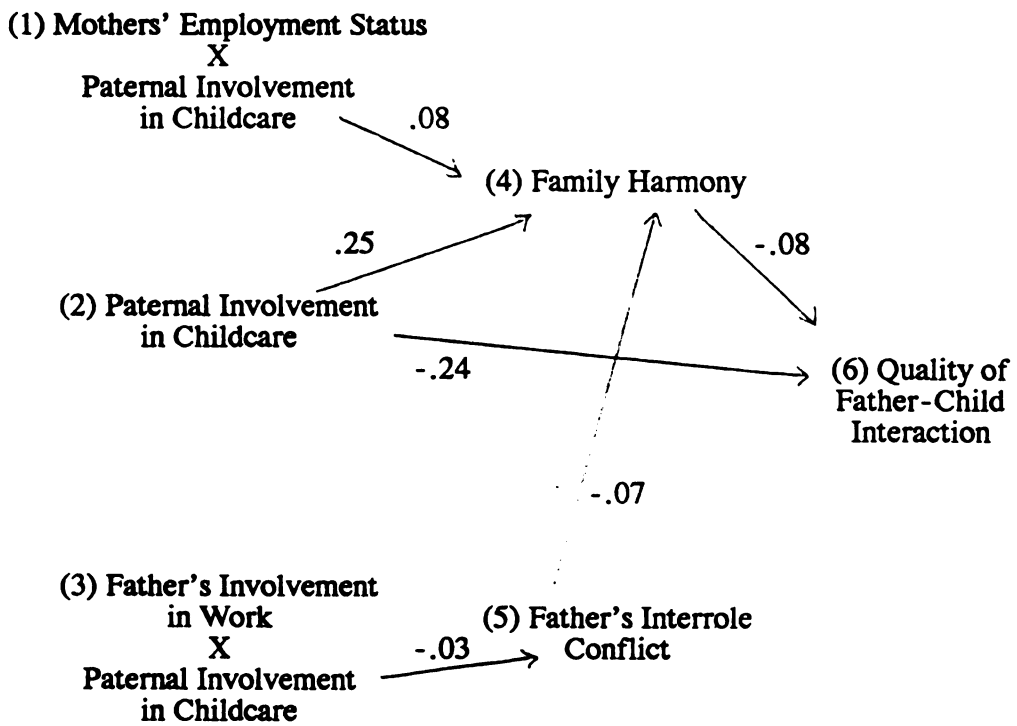
Table 3

Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Predictor and Criterion Variables: Predicted Path Model.

	CRITERION VARIABLES		
PREDICTOR VARIABLES	Family Harmony	Role Conflict	Quality of Father-Child Interactions
Mothers' Employment Status	-.08 (55)	-.06 (55)	-.10 (53)
Fathers' Partic. in Childcare	.28* (56)	-.07 (56)	-.26 (53)
Fathers' Work Involvement	-.07 (56)	.38** (56)	.14 (53)
Family Harmony	--	-.07 (56)	-.14 (53)
Interrole Conflict	--	--	-.05 (53)

Key: * $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

Figure 1. Predicted Path Model and the Total R2 (Explained Variance) for the Predicted Model.



$R^2_{6.2,4} = .07$ $R^2_{5.3} = .00$ $R^2_{4.1,2,5} = .08$

Post-Hoc Analyses

One possible explanation for the many nonsignificant relationships in the predicted model is that the predictor and outcome variables were composite variables: that is, variables were constructed by combining several scores into a single indicator of interest. Inspection of a correlation matrix showing relationships among the component parts of the predictor and outcome variables suggested ways in which the strength of a number of the observed relationships in the predicted model might be improved. This included (a) using the parenting alliance score (averaged across mothers and fathers) alone as a measure of marital harmony rather than the combined score based on both the parenting alliance and marital satisfaction scales; and (b) using the father interaction scale alone as a measure of the quality of the father's interactions with his child rather than the compound interaction variable based on the father's and child's behaviors combined (i.e., fathers' behavior was viewed as mediating the relationship between the parenting alliance and child's behavior with the father). In addition, the attitudinal measure of paternal involvement was not related to the composite of mothers' and fathers' reports of fathers behavioral participation in child care ($r = -.03$); and, it was behavioral involvement rather than attitudes that was significantly related to other variables in the model. For this reason, paternal involvement in the post-hoc model was measured by the behavioral variable alone.

Table 4 shows univariate correlations among the variables used in the post-hoc analyses. Path coefficients for the post-hoc model are shown in Figure 2. Analyses following the incorporation of these changes demonstrated stronger links between variables, but not necessarily in predicted directions. As can be seen in Table 4, both fathers' behavioral involvement in childcare and the parenting

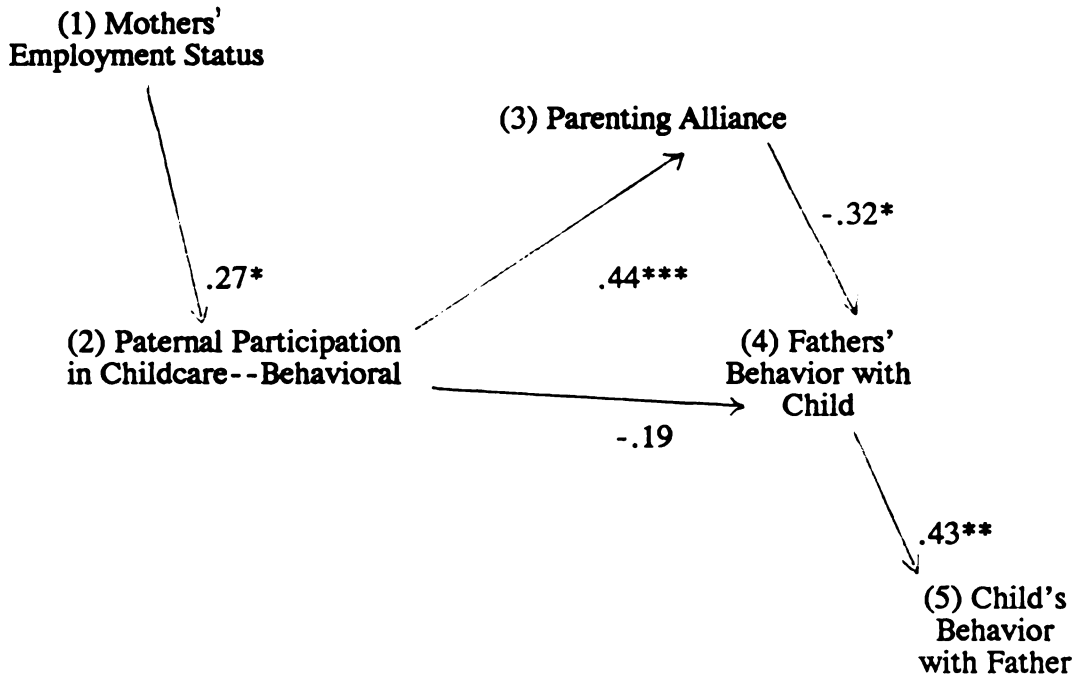
Table 4

Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Predictor and Criterion Variables: Post-Hoc Path Model.

	CRITERION VARIABLES			
PREDICTOR VARIABLES	Fathers' Partic. in Childcare	Parent Alliance	Fathers' Behav. with Child	Child's Behav. with Father
Mothers' Employmt. Status	.27* (55)	.04 (54)	-.09 (51)	-.13 (52)
Fathers' Partic. in Childcare	--	.44*** (55)	-.33* (52)	.-20 (53)
Parenting Alliance	--	--	.-41** (51)	-.21 (52)
Fathers' Behav. with Child	--	--	--	.43** (52)

Key: * = p < .05
** = p < .01
*** = p < .001

Figure 2. Results for the Post-Hoc Path Model.



$R^2$2.1 = .07*	$R^2$3.2 = .19***	$R^2$4.2,3 = .19**	$R^2$5.4 = .18**

Key: * = .05
** = .01
*** = .001

alliance are negatively related to the quality of father-child interactions. However, when both variables are considered simultaneously, only the relationship between the parenting alliance and quality of father-child interactions remains statistically significant. Fathers' behavioral involvement in childcare is not directly related to the quality of the father's behavior in relation to his child, nor to the child's behavior in relation to the father. However, the fathers' behavioral involvement in childcare indirectly affects the fathers' behavior in relation to the child via its effect on the parenting alliance. Hence, these data indicate a positive relationship between fathers' behavioral involvement in childcare and the parenting alliance, and a negative relationship between the parenting alliance and the quality of fathers' behavior with their children. In contrast to the parenting alliance, marital satisfaction was unrelated on the one hand to paternal involvement in childcare ($r = .08$) and on the other hand to the quality of father's interactions with the child ($r = -.01$). Moreover, neither the parenting alliance nor marital satisfaction were directly related to the quality of the child's behavior in relation to the father, although the parenting alliance indirectly affected the child's behavior via it's effect on the father's behavior. One less critical change in the model was that post-hoc inspection of the correlation matrix indicated a positive relationship between mothers' employment status and paternal involvement. In addition, as the beta weights for the predicted model show, the effect of the interaction between fathers' involvement with work and fathers' involvement in childrearing on fathers' interrole conflict was nonsignificant. However, fathers' work involvement alone was significantly correlated with fathers' interrole conflict ($r = .38$, $p < .01$). Consequently, it appears that the interaction term is less useful than a single measure of father's work involvement

to demonstrate a relationship between father's work involvement and their interrole conflict. However, because interrole conflict demonstrates no significant effect on either marital satisfaction or the parenting alliance, this piece of the model can be eliminated because it appears to have had no effect on the outcome variables of interest.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the adequacy of a model that hypothesized relationships between paternal involvement in childrearing, fathers' work involvement, mothers' employment status, men's interrole conflict, family harmony, and the quality of father-child interaction. The hypotheses to be explored included: (1) the relationship between paternal involvement in childrearing and quality of father-child interaction; (2) the relationship between paternal involvement in childrearing and overall family harmony; (3) the relationship between family harmony and the quality of father-child interactions; (4) the relationship between high levels of involvement with both work and family life, and the implications for interrole conflict; and (5) the relationship between interrole conflict and overall family harmony.

None of the relationships were supported by data from initial analyses of the predicted model. One possible explanation for the nonsignificant relationships is that the predictor and outcome variables were composite variables: that is, variables were constructed by combining several scores into a more global indicator of interest. Specifically, three composite variables were of special interest: a) paternal involvement in childrearing, comprised of an attitudinal and a behavioral component; b) family harmony, comprised of the parenting alliance and marital satisfaction as reported by both partners; and c) overall father-child interactions, comprised of fathers' and children's behavior. Although these three

constructs were originally defined as unitary, post-hoc analyses examined the contributions of their components, and demonstrated the utility of using component parts over the unitary variables. In fact, the behavioral measure of fathers' involvement in childcare (rather than the combined behavioral and attitudinal measures) and the parenting alliance (rather than the combined parenting alliance and marital satisfaction measures) proved to be significantly related to father-child interactions (when defined by the fathers' behavior alone). To evaluate the quality of father-child interactions, the unit of analysis was originally considered to be the dyad; however, it became apparent that fathers' behavior was more affected by family variables than was children's behavior, and that children's behavior appeared to be reactive to that of their fathers.

A major prediction in this research was that there would be a positive relationship between paternal involvement in childcare and quality of the father-child relationships: that is, men who are more actively involved in fathering would interact with their preschool children in more positive ways. It seemed likely that paternal involvement would foster warm and enjoyable father-child interactions. This prediction was not supported by the data.

One possible explanation for the failure to find this is that as fathers become more involved in their parenting role, fathers may become less playful and more directive during interactions with their young children. Although many researchers argue that fathers' and mothers' parenting styles are more similar than dissimilar (Lamb, 1977; Parke, 1980), others contend that fathers' and mothers' parenting behavior differs significantly because the roles they perform with their children differ significantly as well. According to Frankel and Rollins (1983) mothers deliver more approval, disapproval and general feedback to their children

because they engage in more teaching and direct caregiving tasks; in contrast, fathers engage in more play-oriented tasks that are recreational and nondirective. Baumrind (1982), too, hypothesizes that mothers are more directive, more dominant and more assertive than fathers because they interact more frequently with their children as teachers and primary caregivers, and that fathers enjoy relationships with their young children based largely on recreational activities (especially physical play). Therefore, the negative relationship between paternal involvement and positive father-child interactions suggested by these data may simply reflect a decrease in fathers' "playmate" role and a simultaneous adoption of the role traditionally assumed primarily by mothers. Highly involved fathers may simply be more directive, more dominant and more assertive. Thus, as fathers become more involved with their children, play- and recreation-based activities become less central to the father-child relationship and father-child interactions may be perceived less positively. It is important to emphasize that although father-child interactions may become less positive as paternal participation in childcare increases, behaviors communicating negative affect occurred so rarely that they were omitted from data analyses. Additionally, other negative factors behaviors reflecting unresponsiveness, negativism, and demandingness occurred only infrequently. This may be due, at least in part, to the fact that our community sample of fathers is a relatively healthy group compared, for example, to fathers selected from clinically-identified populations. Hence, as normal fathers become more involved with their children, father-child interactions may become less positive, but do not necessarily become more negative. Including families that evidence greater distress might increase the frequency with which

negative behaviors occur but for this sample, fathers' behavior is largely skewed in a positive direction.

Paternal involvement in childcare was predicted not only to enhance father-child interactions but also to be associated with greater marital harmony such that men who are more involved in parenting would be part of more positive parenting alliances and would enjoy more positive marital relationships. As predicted, paternal involvement in childcare, when defined in terms of parents' reports of the fathers' behaviors, had a significant and positive effect on the parenting alliance. In fact, paternal involvement in childcare was highly correlated with both fathers' and mothers' perceptions of the parenting alliance ($r = .33$, $p < .01$ and $r = .45$, $p < .000$, respectively), which suggests that as fathers assume a more involved parenting role, they gain respect and appreciation from their spouses, and in addition, value and appreciate their spouses' parental abilities more fully. These findings imply that paternal involvement is important to both parents' evaluation of their parenting relationship, and may reflect the phenomena noted by Hoffman (1983): when fathers maintain a high level of involvement in their children, spousal satisfaction based on shared interests and mutual appreciation remains high.

Interestingly, although mothers' reports of fathers' actual contributions to childcare are correlated with mothers' and fathers' report of a strong parenting alliance, paternal involvement in childcare does not directly predict greater marital satisfaction. Rather, a stronger and more positive parenting alliance is generally associated with greater marital satisfaction, and hence mediates the relationship between paternal involvement and marital satisfaction. In most cases, raising children arouses parental conflicts that necessitate negotiation: areas of particular

difficulty for some parents include how to discipline, what expectations are for the child's behavior, to what extent parents assume instrumental and expressive roles, etc. Whether and to what extent these conflicts are resolved will undoubtedly affect couples' perceptions of their marital relationship. Thus, it is understandable that the parenting alliance is particularly salient to the couples' perceptions of their overall dyadic satisfaction. Lamb and Easterbrooks (1981) suggest that when fathers are actively involved in parenting, they reduce role strain felt by mothers, which promotes a harmonious family atmosphere. These results are also consistent with Gronseth's (1978) hypothesis: there may be less marital conflict and increased family harmony in families that evenly distribute child-rearing responsibilities between spouses. This may be especially true for this sample: for young couples, the parenting alliance and marital satisfaction are more clearly differentiated subsystems, whereas in families with older children, the two subsystems may demonstrate more overlap (Frank, Jacobson, & Hole, 1988). Nevertheless, although men's behavioral contribution to childcare does not directly affect either partner's marital satisfaction, paternal involvement in childcare enhances overall marital harmony via a strong and positive parenting alliance.

The data from this research on the relationship between paternal involvement in childcare and the parenting alliance are consistent with results found in several previous studies. However, it was expected that one of the benefits of a positive parenting alliance would be enhanced father-child interactions: it seemed likely that, as Easterbrooks and Emde (1988) found, a positive parenting relationship would foster more nurturant and responsive father-

child interactions. However, the data from this research reveal an inverse relationship between the parenting alliance and positive father-child interactions.

An inverse relationship between the parenting alliance and positive father-child interactions can be understood via a "compensatory" explanation of family interactions: Vincent (1980) reports that men who are dissatisfied with their marriages seek interpersonal gratification through other dyadic family relationships, namely, the parent-child dyad; he explains that family members may compensate for the lack of interpersonal satisfaction in one dyadic relationship by strengthening another dyadic relationship. Brody, Pillegrini, and Sigel (1986) provide empirical support for what some family therapists (Minuchin, Rosman, & Baker, 1978) propose: some parents become more involved in their relationship with their children in an attempt to compensate for a marital situation that the adult perceives as unfulfilling or disappointing. The compensation hypothesis also explains, at least in part, the consistent inverse relationship between marital happiness and fathers' involvement in parenting found by Goth-Owens, Stollak, Messe, Peshkess, and Watts (1982). It is possible that when fathers and mothers enjoy a mutually satisfying spousal and parenting relationship, fathers experience less of a need to find gratification via their child. In fact, meeting the needs of a child may be experienced as an intrusion or a distraction from the gratifying relationship between adults, and consequently result in less positive father-child interactions (Belsky, 1979).

Another goal of this research study was to examine the relationships between high levels of commitment to both work and family responsibilities and the experience of interrole conflict. It was hypothesized that for many fathers, high levels of involvement in both life spheres might result in the experience of

more conflict between their family and work roles. Data from the path model did not support this hypothesis. Several explanations can account for this finding.

The experience of interrole conflict does not appear to depend on the degree of actual involvement in parental responsibilities. Rather, correlational data suggest that as men report a greater number of hours spent at work, they also report more work versus family conflicts ($r = .43$, $p < .002$). This suggests that for some men, it is when responsibilities at work exceed a certain threshold that work and family commitments conflict and are not easily reconciled. Perhaps men perceive their involvements in their families as more personally fulfilling and do not experience increased involvement as engendering intrapsychic conflict. Or, men may perceive their family involvement as more voluntary (that is, high levels of paternal involvement in childcare is not socially normative or required) and because highly committed fathers choose their level of involvement, they may not perceive it as a source of interrole conflict. However, when work commitments become too demanding, fathers do experience work versus family conflicts, suggesting that some men want to prevent their work commitments from intruding on their family life.

A related alternative explanation could account for the lack of reported interrole conflict for men. For men who derive most of their life satisfaction from their work and their families, and who consider other activities peripheral to their overall happiness, role conflict may be avoided. Clark, Nye, and Gecas (1978) argue that although work and family roles may compete for the time and energy of many husbands, they are not mutually exclusive, and that interrole conflict can be avoided if men perform their work and family duties more efficiently. Their research found that when not occupied by work, men who are highly committed to

both work and family tended to ignore their own leisure pursuits in favor of family commitments, and spent a high proportion of non-work time with their children and spouses. Although this explanation could account for the lack of interrole conflict reported by men highly committed to both work and family, it suggests that some men may pay a high price to prevent role strain. In order to maintain a high level of involvement in one's work and family life, and to avoid experiencing conflict between one's roles in each sphere, men may eliminate many activities that are not demanded of them: becoming "more efficient" may mean sacrificing many activities that do not clearly fall into either sphere. Consequently, men may cut activities that are personally satisfying and enjoyable (time with friends, time spent engaging in hobbies, community involvement, etc.) from their time budget in order to avoid the experience of interrole conflict.

Finally, it is conceivable that at least for some men, commitments to work and family roles may be complementary (rather than compete with each other). It seems reasonable that the personal characteristics encouraged by the working world (for example, being aggressive, competitive, and stoic) are complemented by those fostered by parenting (for example, being nurturant, comforting and emotionally accessible). Rather than create a subjective experience of interrole strain, many men reporting high levels of commitments to their jobs and their families may experience psychological completion. Some men may maintain strong commitments to both life spheres in order to maintain a personally fulfilling balance.

It was predicted that the experience of interrole conflict would negatively affect the quality of overall family harmony, and would thus indirectly compromise father-child interactions. Data from this study do not support this

prediction. The experience of interrole conflict does not predict a less positive parenting alliance or less marital happiness, and does not predict compromised father-child interactions. It is not clear what consequences interrole conflict has for fathers: the price they pay may be more intrapsychic or extra-familial as they attempt to meet the competing demands of work and family. For example, failure to find direct relationships between interrole conflict and either marital satisfaction or the parenting alliance may be because this study failed to measure mediating variables: specifically, the intrapsychic processes by which men cope with interrole conflict may affect whether or not this conflict has a detrimental effect on the spousal and parenting relationship. It is conceivable that if men are unable to successfully resolve interrole conflicts and experience psychological distress, this may undermine the marital relationships and/or parenting alliance. Furthermore, this research does not examine whether and to what extent interrole conflict affect men's lives outside of their family relationships: perhaps men protect their relationships with their spouses and children, but sacrifice leisure or other personal interests in order to maintain satisfactory family relationships.

Lastly, post-hoc analyses revealed one additional relationship between maternal employment and paternal involvement in childcare. Barnett and Baruch (1987) report that in dual-earner families, wives' work-related needs were important predictors of fathers' participation. Similarly, Radin (1981) reports that in families with employed mothers, the number of hours the wife worked per week was the strongest single predictor of fathers' actual participation in family work, perhaps reflecting involvement that is less voluntary and more controlled by the wives' employment-related needs. We too, found a positive relationship between maternal employment and paternal involvement in childcare: apparently, mothers'

employment is a key determinant in predicting fathers' involvement in the paternal role.

In sum, data from post-hoc analyses verify that wives' employment predicts fathers' increased behavioral contributions to childcare, which positively affects both parents' evaluation of the parenting alliance. Although fathers' behavioral contributions to childcare and a positive parenting alliance were predicted to affect father-child interactions in a positive way, it appears that both of these predict less positive behaviors on the part of fathers interacting with their preschool children. Finally, fathers' commitments to both work and family do not predict greater interrole conflict, and do not compromise overall marital harmony or father-child interactions, as was originally hypothesized.

One difficulty in interpreting the findings in this research is that they are based on cross-sectional data. While this research design makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the directionality of the relationships under study, several studies (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Radin, 1981) examining familial antecedents and consequences of paternal involvement in childcare suggest that mothers' expectations and needs at least in part determine fathers' behavior in fulfilling family role responsibilities. Other research (Easterbrooks & Emde, 1988) indicates that although the family environment is comprised of all of the relationships among all family members, the family environment is most strongly affected by the quality of the parents' relationship: marital conflict and distress typically strains parent-child relationships, and similarly, maritally satisfied couples generally enjoy harmonious relationships with their children. However, there is some research that provides evidence for the compensatory association such as the one found in this study.

Other limitations arise as a result of the restricted sample used in this study: all of our target children were 3 or 4 years old, from middle-class, intact families that evidenced little or no psychopathology. Thus, it is important to interpret these findings within the context of middle-class families in the childbearing/early childhood years, and to acknowledge that data from more distressed families (for example, selected from clinically-identified populations) might yield different relationships between the variables examined in this study. In addition, the effects of the child's gender on these relationships could not be examined in this study because the sample was too small to allow analyses comparing families with boys to those with girls. Whether and to what extent the child's gender affects the relationships studied in this research is not known.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Appendix A

Involvement in Parenting Questionnaire

Think now about being a parent--the things you do with and for all your children, and the place parenting has in your life now. For each statement below, indicate by circling the appropriate number whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly.

		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	Some of my most important values come from parenting my children.	1	2	3	4
2.	I try to spend as much time as possible with my children.	1	2	3	4
3.	One of the most important things about me is how successful or unsuccessful I am as a father.	1	2	3	4
4.	It doesn't really bother me when other things leave me with less time to spend with my children.	1	2	3	4
5.	I think relatively little about my children when I'm not with them.	1	2	3	4
6.	What's happening with my children has a lot to do with how I feel about my own life.	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX B

Appendix B

Family Tasks Questionnaire

Instructions

Circle the correct response for each of the following questions referring to your family.

1. Who usually provides the family income?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

2. Who usually does the housekeeping?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

3. Who takes care of the children's daily living needs as they arise?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

4. Who teaches values, ideas, and beliefs to the children?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

5. Who organizes and helps with family recreation?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

6. Who keeps in touch with relatives and takes care of kinship responsibilities?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

7. Who does the yardwork and other maintenance?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

8. Who is the emotionally supportive partner in the marriage?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

9. Who provides the children with support when they have problems?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

10. Who expresses physical affection in the marriage?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

11. Who expresses physical affection toward the children?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

12. Who takes care of the budget?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

13. Who is responsible for the grocery shopping?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

14. Who prepares the family meals?

husband entirely	husband more than wife	husband and wife the same	wife more than husband	wife entirely

15. Would you like your spouse to spend <u>less</u> time working so that he or she could spend more time with you and your children, even it is meant having less money?

Yes No

16. With regard to providing the family income, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

17. With regard to the housekeeping, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

18. With regard to taking care of the children's daily living needs as they arise, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

19. With regard to teaching values, ideas, and beliefs to the children, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

20. With regard to organizing and helping with family recreation, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

21. With regard to keeping in touch with relatives and taking care of kinship responsibilities, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

22. With regard to doing the yardwork and other maintenance, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

23. With regard to emotional support in the marriage, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

24. With regard to supporting the children when they have problems, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

25. With regard to expressing physical affection in the marriage, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

26. With regard to expressing physical affection towards the children, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

27. With regard to taking care of the budget, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

28. With regard to the grocery shopping, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

29. With regard to preparing the family meals, do you feel you are doing:

much less than your share	less than your share	your share	more than your share	much more than your share

APPENDIX C

Appendix C

Involvement with Work Questionnaire

Think now about your work--regardless of how many house a week you work. For each statement below, indicate by circling the appropriate number whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly.

		Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	I try to meet my obligations at work but it's not where I look for personal fulfillment.	1	2	3	4
2.	One of the most important things about me is how successful or unsuccessful I am at work.	1	2	3	4
3.	In my private thoughts I'm often preoccupied with my work.	1	2	3	4
4.	Some of my most important values come from my work.	1	2	3	4
5.	I think relatively little about work when I am not on the job.	1	2	3	4
6.	It doesn't really bother me when other things pull me away from my work.	1	2	3	4
7.	My work does not provide me with many of the things I need in life.	1	2	3	4

8.	I try to devote as much time as possible to my work.	1	2	3	4
9.	My experiences at work tell me a lot about the kind of person I really am.	1	2	3	4
10.	People who worry about their work should realize there are more important things in life	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX D

Appendix D

Role Conflict Questionnaire

Instructions:

Each of the following statements ask you about your feelings toward work and family. Read each statement carefully and circle:

"SA" if you **strongly agree** with the statement; "A" if you **agree**; "D" if you **disagree**; and "SD" if you **strongly disagree** with the statement.

1. After work, I come home too tired to do some of the things I'd like to do.

   SA A D SD

2. My job does not interfere with my being the kind of spouse or parent I'd like to be.

   SA A D SD

3. My work schedule seldom conflicts with my family life.

   SA A D SD

4. The demands of my job make it difficult to be relaxed all the time at home.

   SA A D SD

5. My family accepts how often I am preoccupied with my work while I am at home.

   SA A D SD

6. My work leaves me adequate time to spend with my family.

   SA A D SD

7. Because my work is demanding, at times I am irritable at home.

   SA A D SD

8. On the job I have so much work to do that it takes away from my personal interests.

SA A D SD

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

The Family Experiences Questionnaire

INSTRUCTIONS: Using the scale described below circle the letter(s) that indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements.

SD = Strongly Disagree D = Disagree
A = Agree SA = Strongly Agree

Example item:

Ex:	My spouse and I like to play baseball	SD	(D)	A	SA

The circle around the D shows that you DISAGREE with this statement. If you STRONGLY DISAGREE you would circle the SD, if you AGREE you would circle the A, and if you STRONGLY AGREE you would circle SA.

Now complete each of the following items in the same way:

1.	My spouse and I are as well adjusted as any two persons in this world can be.	SD	D	A	SA
2.	I often overreact when my child misbehaves.	SD	D	A	SA
3.	I live for my children.	SD	D	A	SA
4.	Parenting has brought my spouse and me closer together.	SD	D	A	SA
5.	My spouse tries to have the last word in how we raise our children.	SD	D	A	SA
6.	I want my children to behave in public so that people will know that I am a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA

7.	I know that I am doing a good job as a parent.	SD	D	A	SA
8.	Having children makes me feel like I am contributing to the future of society.	SD	D	A	SA
9.	As a parent, I never stop enjoying seeing the world through my children's eyes.	SD	D	A	SA
10.	I try to give my children direction but mostly I let them grow by themselves.	SD	D	A	SA
11.	Being a parent makes me feel more important because I know that I am the center of someone's world.	SD	D	A	SA
12.	My spouse and I understand each other completely.	SD	D	A	SA
13.	Being a parent turned out not to be as difficult as I thought it would be.	SD	D	A	SA
14.	My spouse thinks that I am a bad influence on the children.	SD	D	A	SA
15.	Parenting has taught me not to get too upset about little frustrations.	SD	D	A	SA
16.	My spouse is a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
17.	My spouse appreciates how hard I work at being a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
18.	Knowing that my children will carry on in my place is the most important reward of being a parent that I know.	SD	D	A	SA
19.	My spouse backs me up as a parent.	SD	D	A	SA
20.	Being a parent makes me feel drained and depleted.	SD	D	A	SA

21.	My spouse and I feel we are growing and maturing together through our experiences as parents.	SD	D	A	SA
22.	I intend to push my children in order to make sure that they achieve the things I never got to do myself.	SD	D	A	SA
23.	My spouse is willing to make some personal sacrifices in order to help with the parenting.	SD	D	A	SA
24.	I am able to be consistent with my children so that they do not have to wonder what I am going to do next.	SD	D	A	SA
25.	My spouse tries to make sure I get some time for myself away from the children.	SD	D	A	SA
26.	I am overly protective of my children; it is better to be safe than sorry.	SD	D	A	SA
27.	I have the knowledge I need to be a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
28.	When there is a crisis with the children my spouse doesn't help me as much as I would like.	SD	D	A	SA
29.	If my spouse has any faults I am not aware of them.	SD	D	A	SA
30.	I have learned that if my kids need something important I can rely on my spouse to help provide it.	SD	D	A	SA
31.	My spouse does not really enjoy being alone with the children.	SD	D	A	SA
32.	I get a feeling of pride from watching my children accomplish a goal that they are proud of.	SD	D	A	SA

33.	After my spouse or I have handled a difficult situation with the children we discuss it and try to figure out what we could have done better.	SD	D	A	SA
34.	I am a very strict parent.	SD	D	A	SA
35.	I should have read more books on parenting because I often feel like I don't know what I am doing.	SD	D	A	SA
36.	My children are reflections of myself.	SD	D	A	SA
37.	My spouse likes to play with the children, but then leaves the dirty work to me.	SD	D	A	SA
38.	I appreciate how much my spouse tries to be a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
39.	My spouse completely understands and sympathizes with my every mood.	SD	D	A	SA
40.	My children get on my nerves.	SD	D	A	SA
41.	Every new thing I have learned about my spouse has pleased me.	SD	D	A	SA
42.	One of the things I like most about being a parent is that my children are so tuned in to what I do and say.	SD	D	A	SA
43.	If I could do it over again I would raise my children the same way I am raising them now.	SD	D	A	SA
44.	What I find most satisfying about being a parent is showing my children and difference between right and wrong.	SD	D	A	SA
45.	My spouse resents that I have to give so much of my time to the children.	SD	D	A	SA

46.	I often worry that I am letting my children down.	SD	D	A	SA
47.	My spouse and I like to imagine together what our children will be like when they grow up.	SD	D	A	SA
48.	My spouse makes me look like the "bad person" in the eyes of our children.	SD	D	A	SA
49.	My kids are always trying my patients.	SD	D	A	SA
50.	When the children are sick I can turn to my spouse for support.	SD	D	A	SA
51.	What I most enjoy about being a parent is watching my children grow and change in ways that I never imagined.	SD	D	A	SA
52.	I see to it that my children are only exposed to things that I want them exposed to.	SD	D	A	SA
53.	I am going to make sure that my children accomplish the things in life that are important to me.	SD	D	A	SA
54.	Whenever I start feeling comfortable as a parent something goes wrong and the doubts start all over again.	SD	D	A	SA
55.	My spouse and I agree on our ideas, guidelines, and rules for raising our children.	SD	D	A	SA
56.	My spouse forgets that kids are kids, not little adults.	SD	D	A	SA
57.	My spouse has a good feel for the kids and what they might need.	SD	D	A	SA

58.	Because my children are a part of me, I find it difficult to let them be independent.	SD	D	A	SA
59.	I worry that I am not doing the right thing as a parent.	SD	D	A	SA
60.	As a parent I really enjoy the feeling that I am molding another human being.	SD	D	A	SA
61.	I did not know how much anger I had inside of me until I became a parent.	SD	D	A	SA
62.	I like watching my children's personalities develop even when they turn our differently from what I expected.	SD	D	A	SA
63.	My spouse and I do not agree on when to punish and how much to punish.	SD	D	A	SA
64.	My spouse does not live up to my idea of a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
65.	My spouse and I have conflicts about how much we should do for our children.	SD	D	A	SA
66.	I have learned to accept that I cannot shelter my children from everything I do not like.	SD	D	A	SA
67.	Parenting has given my spouse and me a focus for the future.	SD	D	A	SA
68.	I want my children to do the same things I did when I was a child.	SD	D	A	SA
69.	When I make a mistake with the kids I can talk it over with my spouse.	SD	D	A	SA
70.	I try not to box my children in with too many rules.	SD	D	A	SA

71.	My spouse helps out with the parenting whenever possible.	SD	D	A	SA
72.	No matter how hard I try, I never seem to be a good enough parent.	SD	D	A	SA
73.	My spouse enjoys me both as a parent and a lover.	SD	D	A	SA
74.	When I get short with my children, I usually can catch myself before I do something I regret.	SD	D	A	SA
75.	As a parent, I cannot seem to do anything right in my spouse's eyes.	SD	D	A	SA
76.	My spouse and I work closely together as parents.	SD	D	A	SA
77.	I get a great deal of pleasure out of shaping and molding my children so that they grow up to be the kind of people I want them to be.	SD	D	A	SA
78.	My spouse makes too many demands on me as a parent.	SD	D	A	SA
79.	There are times when I do not feel a great deal of love and affection for my spouse.	SD	D	A	SA
80.	I often worry that I don't know enough to be a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
81.	What I most enjoy about being a parent is that my children make it possible for me to get a new perspective on the world and myself.	SD	D	A	SA
82.	I feel too ashamed about my mishaps with the children to talk them over with my spouse.	SD	D	A	SA
83.	I want my children to be interested in the things I was interested in as a child.	SD	D	A	SA

84.	I have to be on guard with my children all the time to keep them from getting into trouble.	SD	D	A	SA
85.	I get a thrill watching my children discover new things all by themselves.	SD	D	A	SA
86.	I am afraid of my spouse's anger when I do something wrong with the kids.	SD	D	A	SA
87.	I often think my children would be better off with one parent (me) than with the both of us.	SD	D	A	SA
88.	I do not feel that parenting is as much of a sharing experience with my spouse as I hoped it would be.	SD	D	A	SA
89.	Compared to most parents I know, I seem to have less difficulty disciplining my children.	SD	D	A	SA
90.	I feel closer to my children than to my spouse.	SD	D	A	SA
91.	My spouse and I agree on how much time we each should spend with the children.	SD	D	A	SA
92.	I often feel guilty about neglecting my children.	SD	D	A	SA
93.	My marital relationship is not a perfect success.	SD	D	A	SA
94.	One of the things I most enjoy about parenting is seeing myself in my child.	SD	D	A	SA
95.	My spouse and I felt on each others' nerves when the children are difficult or act up.	SD	D	A	SA

96.	I work hard at shaping my children's lives rather than just letting them grow up as they would.	SD	D	A	SA
97.	I bite my lip when my spouse disciplines the children because if I say what I think it causes too much tension.	SD	D	A	SA
98.	I often feel torn between my loyalties to my spouse and my loyalties to my children.	SD	D	A	SA
99.	I do not mind that being a parent makes my life less orderly.	SD	D	A	SA
100.	Sometimes I feel like my spouse is one of the children instead of my partner.	SD	D	A	SA
101.	I don't think any couple could live together with greater harmony than my spouse and I.	SD	D	A	SA
102.	My spouse overreacts when the children act up.	SD	D	A	SA
103.	My spouse pays too little attention to the children.	SD	D	A	SA
104.	I find it difficult to find the right balance between discipline and love in raising my children.	SD	D	A	SA
105.	I don't think anyone could possibly be happier than my spouse and I when we are with one another.	SD	D	A	SA
106.	My spouse still wants to "do his or her own thing" instead of being a responsible parent.	SD	D	A	SA
107.	When I am around my children, I usually find myself thinking "Why do they have to be so difficult?"	SD	D	A	SA

108.	My spouse does not trust my abilities as a parent.	SD	D	A	SA
109.	I have some needs that are not being met by my relationship with my spouse.	SD	D	A	SA
110.	Juggling all the responsibilities of being a parent is one of my talents.	SD	D	A	SA
111.	There are times when my spouse does things that make me happy.	SD	D	A	SA
112.	If every person in the world of the opposite sex had been available and willing to marry me, I could not have made a better choice.	SD	D	A	SA
113.	When my children show their will, I make sure they know who is boss.	SD	D	A	SA
114.	I have never regretted my relationship with my spouse not even for a moment.	SD	D	A	SA
115.	My spouse preaches alot about how to be a good parent but rarely puts it into practice.	SD	D	A	SA
116.	When I tell my children to do something, they will do it, no "ifs", "ands", or "buts".	SD	D	A	SA
117.	Having children has helped me to see positive qualities in my spouse that I never noticed before.	SD	D	A	SA
118.	Parenting means a lot of responsibilities and problems, but I always feel that I can cope with the difficulties that come along.	SD	D	A	SA
119.	My spouse has a lot of patience with the children.	SD	D	A	SA

120.	I often feel that I have no control over my children.	SD	D	A	SA
121.	My spouse sees parenting as my responsibility.	SD	D	A	SA
122.	When my kids do something I do not like I blow up first and ask questions later.	SD	D	A	SA
123.	I worry about the children's safety when they are alone with my spouse.	SD	D	A	SA
124.	My spouse expects too much from the children.	SD	D	A	SA
125.	My spouse is too self-centered to be a good parent.	SD	D	A	SA
126.	When there is a crisis with the children, I know that I will do what needs to be done.	SD	D	A	SA
127.	I feel over-burdened as a parent because my spouse is often too involved with other things to carry a fair share of the load.	SD	D	A	SA
128.	My marriage could be happier than it is.	SD	D	A	SA
129.	When I feel at my wits end as a parent my spouse gives me the extra support I need.	SD	D	A	SA
130.	I have learned to accept that sometimes my kids will not do what I want no matter how hard I try.	SD	D	A	SA
131.	My spouse and I often talk together about what is best for our children.	SD	D	A	SA
132.	My spouse makes me feel that I am the best possible parent for our children.	SD	D	A	SA

133. When my child misbehaves or breaks a rule I try to find out the reasons why. SD D A SA

APPENDIX F

APPENDIX F

Marital Perceptions Scale

For the following questions, please indicate **HOW OFTEN** you and your spouse do the following things. (Place a check mark (✓) to indicate your answer.)

How often would you say the following events occur between you and your mate?

		Never	Less Than Once a Month	Once or Twice a Month	Once or Twice a Week	Once a Day	More Often
1.	Have a stimulating exchange of ideas	____	____	____	____	____	____
2.	Laugh together	____	____	____	____	____	____
3.	Calmly discuss something	____	____	____	____	____	____
4.	Work together on a project	____	____	____	____	____	____

5. In general, how often do you think that things between you an your partner are going well?

All the time	Most of the time	More often than not	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
____	____	____	____	____	____

6. Do you confide in your mate?

All the time	Most of the time	More often than not	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
____	____	____	____	____	____

7. How often do you and your mate "get on each others' nerves?"

All the time	Most of the time	More often than not	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
____	____	____	____	____	____

8. How often do you and your partner quarrel?

All the time	Most of the time	More often than not	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
____	____	____	____	____	____

9. How often do you or your mate leave the house after a fight?

All the time	Most of the time	More often than not	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
____	____	____	____	____	____

10. Do you ever regret that you married? (or lived together)

All the time	Most of the time	More often than not	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
____	____	____	____	____	____

11. How often do you discuss or have you considered divorce, separation, or terminating your relationship?

All the time	Most of the time	More often than not	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
____	____	____	____	____	____

	Every Day	Almost Every Day	Occa-sionally	Rarely	Never
12. Do you kiss your mate?	____	____	____	____	____

13. Do you and your mate engage in outside interests together? ____ ____ ____ ____ ____

14. The dots on the following line represent different degrees of happiness in your relationship. The middle point, "happy", represents the degree of happiness of most relationships. Please circle the dot which best describes the degree of happiness, all things considered, of your relationship.

Extremely Unhappy	Fairly Unhappy	A Little Unhappy	Happy	Very Happy	Extremely Happy	Perfect

PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE.

MARITAL PERCEPTIONS SCALE

15. Which of the following statements best describes how you feel about the future of your relationship?

_____ I want desperately for my relationship to succeed, and would go to almost any length to see that it does.

_____ I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do all I can to see that it does.

_____ I want very much for my relationship to succeed, and will do my fair share to see that it does.

_____ It would be nice if my relationship succeeded, but I can't do much more than I am doing now to help it succeed.

_____ It would be nice if it succeeded, but I refuse to do any more than I am doing now to keep the relationship going.

_____ My relationship can never succeed, and there is no more that I can do to keep the relationship going.

Most persons have disagreements in their relationships. Please indicate below the approximate extent of agreement or disagreement between you and your partner for each item on the following list.

		Always Agree	Almost Always Agree	Occasionally Disagree	Frequently Disagree	Almost Always Disagree	Always Disagree
134.	Handling family finances						
135.	Matters of recreation						
136.	Religious matters						
137.	Demonstrations of affection						
138.	Friends						
139.	Sex relations						
140.	Conventionality (correct or proper behavior)						
141.	Philosophy of life						
142.	Ways of dealing with parents or in-laws						
143.	Aims, goals, and things believed important						
144.	Amount of time spent together						
145.	Making major decisions						
146.	Household tasks						
147.	Leisure time interests and activities						
148.	Career decisions						

These are some things about which couples sometimes agree and sometimes disagree. Indicate if either item below caused differences of opinions or were problems in your relationship during the past few weeks. (Check yes or no).

	Yes	No	
149.	_____	_____	Spending too much money.
150.	_____	_____	Being too tired for sex.
151.	_____	_____	Not showing love.
152.	_____	_____	Not sharing household chores.

APPENDIX G

Appendix G

Father-Child Interaction Coding Sheet

ID_____ Session 1 2 Coder_____

Date Coded_____

Minute_____ CD FD CU

Father Variables:

A.	Positive Affect	1	2	3	4	5
B.	Negative Affect	1	2	3	4	5
C.	Positive Feedback	1	2	3	4	5
D.	Negative Affective Feedback	1	2	3	4	5
E.	Labels Own Feelings	1	2	3	4	5
F.	Labels Child's Feelings	1	2	3	4	5
G.	Facilitates Self-Regulation	1	2	3	4	5
H.	Intrusive/Overcontrolling	1	2	3	4	5
I.	Unresponsive, Unavailable Undercontrolling	1	2	3	4	5
J.	Demands Self-Reliant Behavior	1	2	3	4	5
K.	Undermines Child Functioning	1	2	3	4	5
AA.	Clean-Up Demands	1	2	3	4	5

Child Variables:

L.	Focused Attention/Involvement	1	2	3	4	5
M.	Cognitive Sophistication	1	2	3	4	5
N.	Sense of Mastery/Skill Competence	1	2	3	4	5
O.	Organized Transitions	1	2			
P.	Positive/Affect/Enthusiasm/ Comfortableness	1	2	3	4	5
Q.	Negative Affect	1	2	3	4	5
R.	Degree of Distress	1	2	3	4	5
S.	Strange Behaviors	1	2			
T.	Transgressions	1	2	3	4	5
U.	Verbal Interaction with Parent	1	2	3	4	5
V.	Seeking Proximity to Parent	1	2	3	4	5
W.	Distancing from Parent	1	2	3	4	5
X.	Cooperation/Compliance	1	2	3	4	5
Y.	Disobedience	1	2	3	4	5
Z.	Dependency/Need for Help	1	2	3	4	5
BB.	Clean-Up Success	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX H

Appendix H

Coding Category Definitions and Examples

Father Variables:

A. Positive Affect - The extent to which parent displays warmth, nurturance and positive affection toward the child and enjoys interacting with the child. (Example: "Oooh, I like Mr. Potato Head! Neat!")

B. Negative Affect - The extent to which parent displays hostility, negative affect, and displeasure/annoyances toward the child. (Example: "Oh for God's sake!")

C. Positive Feedback - The extent to which parent, in response to the child's behavior, provides verbal/nonverbal contingent rewards and praise to the child. (Example: "I like the way you're cleaning up like a big girl. Thank you.")

D. Negative Affective Feedback - The extent to which parent, in response to the child's behavior, criticizes and/or demeans child's behavior with derogatory remarks or through nonverbal means. (Example: "Can't you do anything well? You never really try.")

E. Labels Own Feelings - Parent identifies his feelings for child. (Example: "I'm so proud of you! You did such a good job!")

F. Labels Child's Feelings - Parents identifies what he thinks the child is feeling. (Example: "I know you're angry, but it's time to go home now.")

G. Facilitates Self-Regulation - The extent to which the parent facilitates child's ability to control self and actively and positively engage the situation; coping, buffering. (Example: "That piece doesn't want to fit, does it? What if you tried it over on your side?")

H. Intrusive/Overcontrolling - The extent to which parental behavior is ill-timed, intrusive, and excessively and inappropriately controlling relative to what the child's doing; parent's behavior lacks empathy or synchrony with the child's feelings, actions, or goals. (Example: "What color is this? What is the shape? Where does it go? How about this one, what color is it?")

I. Unresponsive/Unavailable/Undercontrolling - The extent to which the parent makes no attempt to control or facilitate child's behavior when support, assistance or availability would be helpful to the child. (Example: "It's your drawing, you figure it out.")

J. Demands Self-Reliant Behavior - The extent to which the parent explicitly or indirectly requires the child to function on his/her own; the parent clearly and purposefully promotes autonomous behavior. (Example: "You get started and give it a try. I'll be with you in a second.")

K. Undermines Child Functioning - The extent to which the parent subtly or overtly undermines the child's optimal functioning; parent serving own emotions and needs to the detriment of the emotions and needs of the child. (Example: "See what you missed by crying? Now we're not going to McDonalds: No, it's too late, now don't you wish you had behaved better?")

AA. Clean-Up Demands - The extent to which the parent makes reasonable, versus excessively strict or excessively lenient, clean-up demands. (Example: "It's time to stop playing now. I want you to put all the toys in their boxes and straighten up the table.")

Child Variables:

L. Focused Attention/Involvement - The extent to which the child demonstrates involvement in play activity or exploration; ranging from aimless, random play to intense absorption in play. (Example: "I don't want to play your game. I want to play doctor some more.")

M. Cognitive Sophistication - The extent of the child's sophistication in play, the level of play organization and complexity, and the development of themes and imaginative play. (Example: "My Mr. Potato Head can't walk yet because he has no feet. Give me some feet for him, and then he can walk over to your Mr. Potato Head, and they can play.")

N. Sense of Mastery/Skill/Competence - The extent of the child's confidence, skill and independence with which s/he accomplishes the play task. (Example: "Guess what color the grass is going to be. Not green. I want to make the grass blue because I like blue most.")

O. Organized Transitions - Child engages in focused play, breaks set, moves to a new play activity and establishes a second focused activity. (Example: child plays with doctor's kit, then stops and begins coloring.)

P. Positive Affect/Enthusiasm/Comfortableness - The extent to which the child demonstrates spontaneous and zestful expressions of fun, delight, and bubbliness. Child appears relaxed and easily "lost" in play activities. (Example: "Daddy, you're being silly! (laughter) Now let me do that!")

Q. Negative Affect - The extent to which the child shows anger, dislike or hostility; forcefully rejecting parent's ideas or being unreasonably demanding of parent or play materials. (Example: "If you won't let me win, I won't play with you anymore.")

R. Degree of Distress - The extent to which the child cries, seems worried or evidences fear. (Example: upon hearing loud thunder, child freezes and says "What was that?")

S. Strange Behaviors - The extent to which the child shows unusual, maladaptive behaviors (blank staring, frozen posture, rocking, or strange gutteral sounds).

T. Transgressions - The extent to which the child contacts objects that have been placed off-limits to him/her. (Example: "Yes I can too have the blocks. Like this.")

U. Verbal Interaction with Parent - The extent to which the child engages in persistent and extended talking with the parent.

V. Seeking Proximity to the Parent - The extent to which the child spends an extended period of time in close physical proximity or seeking physical contact with the parent. (Example: "Daddy, can't I sit on your lap?")

W. Distancing from Parent - The extent to which the child actively tries to increase distance from the parent. (Example: child leaves room in order to avoid father's directions to clean up.)

X. Cooperation/Compliance - The extent to which the child is fully and enthusiastically compliant with specific instructions or directions from parent. (Example: "Right! I'll try the yellow before the blue.")

Y. Disobedience - The extent to which the child actively or passively refuses to comply with a parent's request; includes verbal and nonverbal forms of noncompliance. (Example: "I won't clean up and you can't make me. I hate this!")

Z. Dependency/Need for Help - The extent to which the child turns to parent for help in order to complete a task. (Example: "I can't do this. Where does this piece go?")

BB. Clean-Up Success - The extent to which the child completes the clean-up task.

APPENDIX I

Appendix I

Behavioral Sample Coding Manual

A. Positive Affect

This rating assesses the extent to which the parent displays warmth, nurturance, and positive affection toward the child and enjoys interacting with the child, with extent defined in terms of both frequency and intensity. Behaviors that evidence such an orientation are numerous and diverse. Among others, they include kissing and hugging the child, affectionately touching the child, and smiling and laughing with the child as well as being enthusiastically involved in what the child is saying or doing. In comparison with the positive feedback rating, these behaviors do not have to be contingent on child behavior. However, for positive affect to be coded as feedback, the parent's response must be specific to a very explicit child behavior. The more general the situation that evokes the parents' positive affect, the more likely it is that it should be coded positive affect instead of positive feedback. Positive affect that qualifies as positive feedback is not coded here.

1. No instances of warmth, affection or enjoyment are observed. Parent is instructional or uninvolved.

2. Parent is involved in what the child is doing, initiates talk with the child.

3. Some instances of warmth, affection, and enjoyment are observed. Parent enjoys the child and task, and shows mild enthusiasm.

4. Parent is involved and enthusiastic ("Wow, I like this!")

5. Instances of warmth, affection and enjoyment are very frequent, or intense. Exuberance.

NOTE: Code expressions of empathy ("That is hard, isn't it?") as warmth, especially in the clean-up segment.

B. Negative Affect

This rating assesses the extent to which the parent displays hostility, negative affect, and displeasure or annoyance toward the child, with extent defined in terms of both frequency and intensity. Behaviors that evidence such an orientation are numerous and diverse. They include annoyed or scornful facial expressions and posturing, aggressive handling of the child, explicitly negative or scornful vocal tones, and clear, lack of enjoyment of the child in this situation. In comparison with the negative feedback scale, the parent behaviors rated in this scale do not have to be contingent upon the child's behavior. Negative affect that qualifies as negative feedback is not coded here.

1. No instances of hostility, negative affect, or displeasure are evident.

2. Parent's facial expression, posturing, or tone of voice is negative. However, there are no explicit negative messages.

3. Some subtle instances of hostility, negative affect, or displeasure/annoyance occur, but there is no escalation in intensity or loss of control.

4.

5. Instances of hostility, negative affect, and displeasure are frequent and/or intense.

NOTE: Oftentimes, a parent might laugh at the child and ridicule him/her, in a way that should actually be scored between 1 and 2 on negative affect. Yet, in that same minute, the parent might manifest positive affect that is between 1 and 2 as well. In these instances we code both positive and negative affect as 1--to balance them out--since giving 2 to both or 1 to one and 2 to the other would not capture the situation accurately.

C. Positive Feedback

This scale assesses the extent to which the parent provides contingent rewards and praise to the child for his/her behavior via verbal and nonverbal means, with extent defined in terms of both frequency and intensity of feedback. Statements such as "that's good" would thus be weighted less heavily in this rating than more elaborate ones like "that's terrific, you really worked hard at that and I'm proud of you!" Other examples of positive feedback include statements like "You did a good job" in response to cleaning up toys, or a pat on the back or clapping of hands in response to the child's accomplishments during free play or the teaching task. Observer must be able to identify the contingency between the child and parental behaviors in order to score this as feedback as opposed to positive affect. The parent should be intentionally or explicitly providing a positive response to a particular child action.

1. No positive feedback is observed.

2. Within any single minute parent says one to three times, "that's good" or "very good" or "there you go" without elaborating on the feedback and/or without special enthusiasm.

3. Parent gives 4-6 feedbacks of the type described in score #2, or fewer than 4-6 but with special enthusiasm (eg., clapping hands, hugging child, or elaborating on the feedback verbally).

4. Parent gives more than 4 feedbacks with enthusiasm (eg., clapping hands, hugging child, or elaborating on the feedback verbally).

5. Positive feedback is frequent or intense and characterizes much of the way the parent responds to child. To give a 5, it should seem as if there is continuous positive feedback.

D. Negative Affective Feedback

This scale assesses the extent to which parent criticizes and/or demeans child's behavior with derogatory remarks or through some nonverbal message (eg., disgusted facial expression, walking away) in response to child's behavior. Extent is defined both in terms of frequency and intensity of feedback, with statements like "that's lousy" delivered in a neutral tone counted less heavily than if communicated in a disgusted tone or embellished with additional commentary like "Can't you do anything well?" or "You never really try!" Negative feedback during free play could involve derogatory statements about the child's activity or his/her unwillingness to do as the parent desires; during cleanup it could involve comments indicating that the child is not trying or is putting things in the wrong place, or during the teaching task it could involve comments that demean the child's efforts or products. To qualify as negative feedback, feedback must contain an affective message, not simply an informational message (i.e., "That's in the wrong place"). Observer must be able to identify the contingency in order to consider behavior as feedback rather than more general negative affect.

1. No negative affective feedback is observed.

2. Implicit negative feedback is observed: facial expression, movement away, posture, or tone of voice is a negative affective response to child behavior.

3. Some explicit negative affective feedback is observed: some sort of even minimally derogatory verbal statements.

4.

5. Negative feedback is frequent or especially salient and characterizes much of the way the parent responds to the child.

E. Labels Own Feelings

Parent identifies his/her feelings for her child. For example, "I'm having fun with this game", or "I'm sorry that we have to go now, too". Code as either present or absent over the minute interval.

F. Labels Child's Feelings

Parent identifies what s/he thinks the child is feeling. For example, "I know you're angry about it, but it is time to go home now." or "You're frustrated aren't you?" Code as present or absent over the minute interval.

G. Facilitates Self-Regulation

This scale assesses the extent to which the parent facilitates his/her child's ability to control self and actively and positively engage the situation, that is, provides the "scaffolding" which allows the child to direct/structure the play. Parents are rated in terms of their ability to provide supportive assistance that facilitates the child's component functioning, with extent being defined in terms of the frequency and intensity of parent's behavior.

Examples:

---During the first few minutes of play P explains rules to C, including clear precise instructions of what not to play with, coupled with what C can play with; there is a rationale present as well as an effort to engage C in legitimate activities. If C transgresses, prohibition is delivered in a well-timed, clear, and supportive manner. During play P provides supportive presence, whether actively playing with C or watching C play yet "being there" for C.

---the provision of rationales that offer information or appeal to positive or neutral consequences in order to obtain compliance. For example, the P's rationale might indicate that some child action will please the P, will be in accordance with a rule, or will lead to pleasant outcomes. Rationales that provide information might involve statements like "Why don't you do x because something interesting will happen; because it works that way," or the like.

---The manipulation of materials in a way that improves the C's chances for being successful, yet does not involve doing the task or action for C. Such facilitative assistance may take the form of giving verbal hints, repositioning a piece where C will see it better, assisting C in doing something difficult by helping him/her manipulate the piece--in essence, by provide a "scaffolding" for C to use.

---The provision of well-timed, but not too frequent or intrusive directions, delivered in a pleasant or encouraging tone of voice which points C in the "right" direction. For example, in playing with puzzles a P might suggest that turning a piece around will make it fit the puzzle better.

---the provision of well-timed interventions that prevent C from becoming overaroused and disorganized. Such facilitative parenting may take the form of P "steering" or "inducing" C away from a potential frustration, but not before C him/herself has a chance to cope, unless even one effort to cope is likely to overwhelm C.

---assisting C in the expression of his/her feelings that supports the child's desire to express and control them, as when C want to talk about separation during the reunion. Conversation or dialogue in service of maintaining C's organization. More generally paraphrasing C's feelings in ways that facilitate the organization of C's behavior and his/her coping is considered here.

The evaluation of the parent on this scale is not dependent upon the success of the parent's facilitative acts; thus this scale assesses only the parent's skill, effort, and intent. Also one never lowers score (except when considering a score of 5) because of additional intrusive, unresponsive, or negative parental behavior.

Using the following definitions, it should be noted that if the parent sits close to child and is attentive and available to him/her in situations other than clean-up or the structured teaching tasks, the parent will receive a minimum score of 3. As more specific facilitative behavior is displayed, the parent's score will increase appropriately.

1. No evidence of facilitative behavior is observed. Parent does not pay attention to child in free play; just orders and sits back observing in clean up or appears uninterested in structured tasks.

2. During free play, echoing child's comments or reflecting child's verbalizations. Repeating instructions in structured tasks when child needs more. Just being attentive.

3. Some instances of facilitative behavior are observed. During structured task, one or two instances beyond being attentive.

4. In structured task, three or more specific instances of facilitative behavior beyond being attentive.

5. Instances of facilitative behavior are frequent or especially salient and characterize much of the parent's way of relating to the child. In structured task, four or more instances, plus facilitation characterizes P's way of relating. There can be no scores above 1 on unresponsive or intrusive for a parent to obtain a 5.

H. Intrusive/Overcontrolling

This scale assesses the extent to which parental behavior is ill-timed, intrusive, and excessively and inappropriately controlling relative to what the child is doing. The parent's behavior may be ill-timed in the sense that it disrupts child's own goals and pursuits, or lacks empathy or synchrony with the child's feelings and action, respectively, and thus is psychologically intrusive. Intrusive behavior is likely to be dictated by a parental agenda regarding what should be going on and disregarding child behavior.

Examples:

---During the first few minutes of play P explains the rules to C in a clear manner, but with the focus on what C can not play with. The instructions may be given in a dictatorial fashion (eg., "Don't let me catch you playing with this.")

---During play P directs/structures play in a way that does not allow C to explore and decide what to play with. P often tells C what to play with or in some way decides what parent/child will play with together, without regard to C's wishes (eg., "We're going to play with this toy now" or "Here, you play with these blocks now"). P interrupts or distracts C's own play or conversation.

---The provision of constant verbal directions that are not timed according to what C is doing and leaves C with little room for autonomous functioning.

---Intrusive manipulations of C's body or materials to force C to behave in a certain manner (eg., pushing C's arm back and forth to "help" him/her do something).

---"Quizzing" the child in an interfering way ("What color is that? How about that? Who is that?" etc.)

---Interventions into C's actions before C has a real chance for mastery--not timed to C's degree of coping, but rather to P's need to "get on with it."

---Prolonging separation with extensive explanations that do not seem to be necessary given C's affective state.

---While child is pretending/participating in pretend with parent, parent usurps control by trying to force in literal explanation rather than going along with child's nonliteralness.

1. No evidence of intrusiveness is observed.

2. One instance of unnecessarily dictatorial instructions or subtle intrusions that don't necessarily distract or upset child.

3. Some instances of intrusiveness are observed; two instances of verbal intrusiveness or one physical intrusion. Parent markedly unresponsive to child's needs--timing off.

4. Three or more instances that fit criteria for #3, or two instances that seem especially salient.

5. Instances of intrusiveness are frequent or especially salient and characterize much of the way the parent relates to the child.

I. Unresponsiveness/Unavailable/Undercontrolling

This scale assesses the extent to which the parent makes no attempt to either control or to facilitate the child's behavior at a time when support, assistance, or availability would be helpful to the child. Indeed, under-control should be seen as "doing nothing", or token gestures made by the parent for the benefit of the experimenter, but not the child.

Examples:

---During the first few minutes P does not deliver or delays delivering the prohibition instructions.

---P does not attempt to engage C in any activity or makes a "token gesture" for the benefit of the experimenter, during periods when C could use some support, guidance, etc. P allows C to direct/structure play activities but does not supply a supportive presence for the child, when it is clear that the child could use assistance. P may ignore bids for assistance from C, or mistarget or misinterpret C's cues, or make perfunctory attempts at aiding C.

---P deliberately provides false information for his/her own ends (eg., "Examiner will let you play with that box while I'm away.")

---If C transgresses, P will not deliver the prohibition at all, or will deliver it in a vague haphazard manner.

---P does not respond to child's comments or questions.

1. No evidence or undercontrol is observed.

2.

3. Some instances of undercontrol are observed (eg., does not respond to child's questions twice).

4.

5. Instances of undercontrol are frequent and especially salient and characterizes much of the parent's way of relating to the child.

NOTE: When unavailability seems intended to avoid rewarding and encouraging dependency, it is coded as demand for self-reliant behavior and not as unavailability.

J. Demands Self-Reliant Behavior

This scale assesses the extent to which the parent explicitly or indirectly requires the child to be self-reliant, with extent defined in terms of the frequency and intensity of the parent's behavior. Indirect demands for self-reliance involve actions that require the child to function on his or her own even though this intent is not explicitly stated. But unresponsiveness on the part of the parent to bids by the child should not be regarded as demands for self-reliant behavior unless it is clear that the parent is purposefully promoting autonomous behavior.

Explicit and indirect demands for self reliant behavior may come in a variety of forms, both verbal and nonverbal. Examples include statements which encourage the child to do something on his/her own (eg., "Go ahead, you try it yourself first"), that limit the parent's involvement and thereby place responsibility on the child (eg., "It's not my job to do that" or "You get started, I'll be with you in a minute"), and actions that explicitly communicate the same message, as when a parent puts a puzzle piece in the child's hand for the child to use, or turns the child around and directs him/her toward an activity, but doesn't provide the accompanying supporting information that would make it a facilitation.

1. No demands for self-reliant behavior are observed.

2. 1-2 instances of demands for self-reliant behavior.

3. 3-4 instances of demands are observed.

4.

5. Demands for self-reliant behavior are very frequent or highly salient.

K. Undermines Child Functioning

This scale assesses the extent to which the parent subtly or overtly undermines his/her child's optimal functioning. Undermining behaviors are those that serve the parent's own emotions and needs to the detriment of the emotions and needs of the child. Oftentimes, a behavior will be scored as both undercontrol and undermining or both negative affective feedback and undermining, etc.

Examples:

---Threatening the child with the promise of harm (eg., "Examiner will be mad at you if you don't clean up")

---Giving the child conflicting messages, saying one thing and acting in a contradictory way; reversing what s/he just told the child, etc. Pay attention to affect/content of message discrepancies (eg., parent say "Oh, great job here!" but in a derogatory tone of voice, or parent half-jokingly says "Oh you're so dumb!").

---Drawing attention to illusory danger or unpleasantness (eg., "Don't worry, the camera won't hurt you.")

---Making empty taunts and scolding the child unnecessarily ("See what you missed playing with because you just sat in the corner?? No, it's too late now!" "We were going to go to McDonalds, but since you won't pick up, we'll just forget it.")

---Disapproving of the child him or herself, either overtly or subtly (eg., "I don't like it when you cry."--or disapproving of the child's real distress.)

---Being sarcastic with the child, using a sarcastic tone when responding to something the child has said or done.

---Prolonging the separation for the parent's rather than the child's sake ("Are you sure you'll be okay?")

---Behaving in an excessively rule-bound way during reunion; not greeting the child and/or not responding to comments, questions, or requests the child makes upon reunion.

---Overtly expecting the child to fail (eg., "I don't know if you can do this one; I think it's too hard for you.") Pay attention to parent's affect and tone of voice. It's important to distinguish from "This one is going to be difficult," but said encouragingly.

---Devaluing the child's performance (eg., "Oh, that was an easy one, I think." Note a tone of voice that conveys derogatory message.

1. No instances of undermining are observed.
2. One instance of undermining is observed.
3. Some instances of undermining are observed.
4.
5. Instances of undermining are frequent or especially salient.

NOTE: Undermining behaviors are counted across each episode. One instance is scored a 2, two instances as a 3, and so forth. However, an especially intense instance is scored extra.

L. Focused Attention/Involvement

This scale assesses the extent to which the child involved him/herself in play activities or exploration, defined in terms of duration and intensity. Factors to consider in coding this scale are length of time in activity, apparent attention span of child, evidence of focused involvement, and intensity of the child's actions. A child high on this scale would, for example, be completely absorbed in his/her activity (eg., a puzzle) for the entire 60 second period. A child low on this scale may look highly tentative in approaching toys, may wander aimlessly around room, or may superficially and redundantly fidget with a toy (eg., haphazardly drops blocks into a bucket).

1. C is almost entirely uninvolved with play activities. If there is involvement, it is fleeting at best and that occurs infrequently. C may show some brief signs of attention and focused activity, but C does not engage in play. C is principally aimless. C fails to engage toys or withdraws from play activities or engages toys in highly stereotypic or rigid manner. C may fiddle with toys in superficial manner. C may frequently stare aimlessly or wander or focus attention mainly on E. C may appear to approach toys with marked tentativeness and never warms up. Breaks away from structured tasks.

2. C may attend to toys and engage in some focused play activity but C stops or gives up play experience within 60 second period. C may show attentiveness to toys for entire 60 second period but level of engagement is low and C is easily distractible and taken off task. Interest is low.

3. C shows a mixture of focused but passing involvement with toys and moments of involvement with other stimuli (eg., cupboards, camera, etc.) or distractions. C is involved with toys but looks away frequently (without engaging any other stimuli). C may engage in one or two bouts of focused attention, lasting from 15-20 seconds, which involve manipulation. "Check-ins" without play; breaking set with something. C is fairly consistent in engagement with task, but may be slightly distracted.

4. C is generally involved in exploration but there is a slight decline in involvement over the 60-second period. C may show slow initial involvement, but intensity builds over time. Beginning to show pleasure, but is not vulnerable to distractions, either self- or other-initiated.

5. C shows intense involvement in exploration of toys throughout 60-second period. C appears totally absorbed in toy activities and may appear ready to continue beyond the free-play period. Often one observed positive affect, real enthusiasm.

NOTE: Rule for first minute. Score the attentiveness of the child to parent's instructions and explanations.

M. Cognitive Sophistication

This scale is designed to assess the child's sophistication in play, and level of play organization, defined in terms of intensity and duration. Factors to consider in coding this scale include the development of themes, and amount of imagination/pretense play, as well as the intensity and/or length of time in play with one or more objects. Time, in and of itself, is not used to evaluate cognitive sophistication; instead it is used as a gauge to evaluate increasing complexity of either thematic playor combinatorial acts with an object. An example of a child high on this scale would be the child who builds a road system with blocks, then gets a toy car to drive on the road; or a child who starts playing with the iron by ironing the table but verbalizing that s/he is ironing a tablecloth or some clothes. This child might then get some of the dress-up clothes to iron. A child low on this scale might simply stack the blocks with no obvious attempt to build something, or repetitiously move the iron back and forth.

1. Play activities are typically primitive. C shows very little consideration of objects' unique properties. C may try everything once but does nothing new or different, or C may return regularly to repetitious acts with familiar objects. A 1 is given whenever the highest level is "functional" (eg., pushing buttons on the phone, hammering peg with hammer).

2. Play activities remain simple but repetitious acts are few and scattered. Play activities may involve some attempt to combine objects in simple ways (eg., put figures in airplane, arrange dishes on stove) make some isolated substitutions (peg as nail) or verbal description or labelling of objects and/or activities. A 2 is given whenever the highest level is "functional relational" (eg., putting puzzle together, figuring out drill--making it work--or combining picture turning and button pressing on phone, or putting puppet on hand, or stacking blocks.

3. Play activities typically involve combinatorial acts or substitutions. C may engage in fleeting instances of pretense or imaginative play (eg., putting a puppet on each hand or pushing car while making motor sound).

4. Play activities involve sophisticated acts, combinations, or experimentation with objects. C may put different toys together in a new or interesting way. Repetition is minimal. C engages in fantasy play or creative construction ("substitutions with pretend", drawing a picture).

5. Imaginative play is a notable or significant part of play experience. C develops schemes or stories with objects as props or symbols and/or constructs meaningful buildings, etc. Extended and coordinated thematic development ("sequences of pretend").

N. Sense of Mastery/Skill/Competence

This scale assesses the mastery, skill or competence the child displays during his/her play. The more confidently, independently, and successfully the child performs the play tasks, the higher the child's score. The more hesitant, dependent, and unsuccessful the child is, the lower the score. Efficiency and autonomy of functioning will be taken into account when making this rating.

1. C does not initiate play activities and is totally dependent on the parent to suggest things to do; or, child plays on his/her own but shows virtually no initiative, and play is void of any challenge or risk-taking.

2. C initiates some activity, but is dependent upon parent for guidance the majority of the time. In parent-directed activities, child expands upon or shows enthusiasm for task, and responds in a capable manner.

3. There is a balance between dependence and autonomy in the child. The child tries new things and initiates some activities on his/her own. Some guidance from the parent is necessary, but only after the child has made a reasonable effort to perform the task himself/herself.

4. Child takes initiative, attempts new or difficult tasks. Parent may be involved, but child is an equal partner in the play. Child may have some moments of frustration, but persists and accomplishes most tasks on his/her own, and appears to be evaluating his/her own performance. Or in parent-directed segment, trying to negotiate own ideas or control, even if it doesn't work.

5. Child's play is highly autonomous. Child seeks challenges and takes pride in figuring things out on his/her own. If parent is involved, it is clear that the child is an equal if not dominant partner in the task; child may give advice or suggestions to the parents. Negotiates with parent to get own wants/ideas acted upon. Two or more instances, or particularly skillful at negotiations.

O. Organized Transitions

This scale assesses whether the child has moved from one involved activity to another, entirely on his/her own, with a period of no more than 45 seconds between the two periods of focused activity. Focused activity will be defined as relatively sophisticated play lasting 35-40 seconds. The transition will be coded in the episode (60-second time frame) in which coder judges the transition to another activity occurred, as the actual transition will probably cross time-samples. If the transition between two extended play bouts lasts longer than 45 seconds, it will not quality as a transition, nor if it lasts less than 10-15 seconds.

Examples of transitions include when a child who is obviously involved in playing with the talking telephone, stops, breaks set, and moves to the kitchen area where s/he begins to cook a meal. Credit for transitions will be given to a child who leaves the focused activity entirely to go get something and bring it back to elaborate what s/he's been doing. For example, a child might be busily playing with the typewriter, stop, go over to the kitchen, pour himself/herself a cup of coffee and bring it back to the typewriter and continue developing the pretense play.

To summarize, the coder has to make three judgements:

1. The initial play episode was sufficiently extended.
2. The subsequent play episode was sufficiently extended.
3. The transition period between them lasted no less than 10 seconds and more than 45 seconds.

At the point when all three judgements occur, the transition will then be coded as:

1. No organized transition observed.
2. Yes, at least one organized transition observed.

P. Positive Affect/Enthusiasm/Comfortableness

This scale assesses the enthusiasm and comfortableness of the child during the session. Factors to consider why coding this scale include ease of movement, relaxed posture of body, facial expressions, and/or behavior. A child high on this scale would be clearly having a good time, with spontaneous and zestful expressions of fun, delight, and bubbliness. The child would also appear very relaxed, with a high degree of ease of movement. A child low on this scale would look frozen or highly tentative, with stiff body movements, and distressed facial expressions.

1. C's affect is completely flat. There is no enthusiasm, smiling, or interest. Movement may be slow. C may look vacant or inhibited. Vocalizations may have a flat, monotonic quality. Facial expression is bland, child shows no evidence of having fun. C may seem bored. Interaction with toys looks almost obligatory as opposed to desirable. Interaction with toys will probably be characterized by repetitive "nonthoughtful" simple manipulations of the items.

2. C's affect is neutral. C looks comfortable, but by no means fully at ease. His/her movements may be hesitant. Brief moments of fleeting pleasure, maybe a smile or two and/or interested vocalizations. Although C seems to be having some fun, coder isn't convinced that s/he would choose to come back if s/he had the choice.

3. Consistent enjoyment at a moderate level. C looks somewhat purposeful, and expresses some interest and enjoyment during play.

4. Some animation and enthusiasm is apparent during play. Facial expression shows interest and pleasure during the play. Smiles and vocalizations clearly indicate C has fun with toys. C appears comfortable and in charge. C looks secure. C typically appears spontaneous in play, but a single brief sign of tentativeness may be noted. Negative signs are non-existent.

5. C shows animation, bubbliness, or delight in interaction with toys with significant intensity. Some evidence of peak excitement must be present for this score. C obviously feels good about him/herself, confident, secure, comfortable. C's activities appear spontaneous and zestful. S/he is clearly in control of the situation, enthusiastic, seems glad to be here. C is likely to be laughing, smiling, moving easily, and is "lost" in his/her play.

Q. Negative Affect

This scale assesses the extent to which the child shows anger, dislike, or hostility with extent defined in terms of frequency and intensity. Evidence of negativity may take the form of forcefully rejecting parent's ideas (verbally or behaviorally), shaking head to indicate "no", showing angry and resistant facial and postural expressions, pouting, or being unreasonably demanding of parent or play materials. It is important to note that negativity can be displayed in response to the parent, the experimenter, or play materials. Negativity may occur in the context of refusal to cooperate, and such behavior would be coded on this scale as well as the disobedience scale. The way to distinguish between negativity and disobedience is in being aware that negativity characterizes an affective tone of behaving, including refusal to comply, whereas disobedience simply characterizes refusal to comply irrespective of the affect or style displayed. Crying will be coded as negativity unless the child has actually hurt himself/herself. Thus, specific examples of negativity would be stomping feet, throwing toys, yelling in unpleasant tones, kicking materials, making angry facial expressions, or breaking toys. Negativistic behaviors directed towards persons would include shouting "no," throwing a tantrum, crying or throwing an object. Finally, it must be pointed out that positive affect may be present without influencing this score.

1. No evidence of negative affective expression is displayed.

2.

3. C displays some or modest evidence of negative affective expression. This behavior should not escalate into an extensive display, i.e., they are somewhat isolated behaviors.

4.

5. C very frequently or markedly displays anger and/or hostility.

R. Degree of Distress

This scale is designed to assess the degree (if any) of distress of the child per 60 second interval, defined in terms of duration and intensity. Factors to consider when coding this scale include facial expressions, vocalizations (eg., crying, moaning, or verbalizing feelings), body posture, and movements. A child high on his scale would be crying intensely, appearing to be hysterically out of control, or crying at a more moderate level, but for the entire 60 seconds. A child low on this scale would show no signs of distress.

1. No distress.

2. Low level distress. C looks distressed but not crying; maybe a whimper, maybe a quivering lip. Distressful facial expression but no sound, eg., pouting. Of, if child says something with fear or distress in the tone of his/her voice, but is not crying. Seems worried or scared.

3. Moderate level. C is crying just below surface, but working to contain it. C is upset, but working to modulate it, sniffing, whimpering. For this score, C must vocalize a sniff or cry at least once.

4. C begins to cry but without great intensity.

5. High level--C is sobbing or shrieking, very upset.

S. Strange Behaviors

This code assesses whether or not any instance of strange behavior occurs during a given 60 second interval. Strange behaviors may take a variety of forms: engaging in motor arousal discharges (eg., fingerplay), rocking back and forth in one place, blank staring and/or frozen posture, nonverbal, weird gutteral sounds, picking nose or extended thumb sucking.

1. No instances of strange behavior observed.

2. At least one instance of strange behavior is observed.

T. Transgressions

This scale assesses the extent to which child contacts objects and materials that have been placed off-limits to him/her. A child high on this scale will contact an off-limits object for an extended period, touch several objects for a brief period, or continuing maintaining contact with an object even after prohibition is given. During clean up, sometimes parent "allows" child to play with off-limits items either implicitly or explicitly. Unless parent clearly says it's ok to play with it, continue to code as if a transgression.

1. No transgression observed.

2. Brief momentary transgression (which terminates following prohibition).

3. Two or more brief contacts or one contact lasting 15-30 seconds in duration.

4. Extended transgression lasting 30 seconds or more; unresponsive to prohibition.

5. Extended transgressions or attempts lasting the entire 60 minutes.

U. Verbal Interaction with Parent

This scale assesses the extent to which the child verbally interacts with the parent. Extent is defined in terms of intensity and duration. The persistence of the child in trying to establish verbal interaction is considered. A child high on verbal interaction would persistently try to engage the parent in conversation, and failing that, would continue to talk to the parent, or make a brief and fleeting comment.

1. No orientation to the parent.

2. Sound, acknowledgement (eg., a simple yes or no to parent's question).

3. Talks to parent, but only in terms of 1 or 2 brief statements or questions. Talks to parent for less than half of minute.

4. More than 2 statements, talks to parent for more than half of minute.

5. Repeated, persistent, or extended talking with the parent.

V. Seeking Proximity to the Parent

This scale assesses the extent to which the child seeks proximity to the parent. Extent is defined in terms of intensity and duration. A child high on physical proximity to the parent would spend an extended period of time in close physical proximity to the parent. A child low on this would spend no time actively seeking to be close to the parent.

1. Child seems to be comfortable with his/her proximity to the parent.

2.

3. Child makes some attempts to be closer to the parent, but does not show particularly clingy behavior.

4.

5. Child seeks to be close to parent and spends most of the time period in actual physical contact with the parent.

NOTE: Do not count if parent requests child to move closer to parent and child complies. Do not count if child engages in game that requires closer proximity between parent and child (eg., child uses stethescope to play doctor with parent) unless closer proximity was a reason why child chose that toy or activity.

W. Distancing from Parent

This scale assesses the extent to which the child tries to increase the physical distance between himself/herself and the parent. Extent is defined in terms of intensity and duration. Factors to consider include physical space between the parent and child, and persistence of child in trying to maintain or increase the distance. A child high on distance from the parent would spend an extended period of time far from the parent, and would not try to maintain contact either verbally or through eye contact. Or, the child would retreat from the parent in anger or distress. A child low on this scale would make no attempts to move away from the parent.

1. No instances of moving away from the parent.

2.

3. Child spends some time moving away from the parent, but child maintains contact verbally or through eye contact.

4.

5. Child spends all of the time period moving away from the parent or actively trying to increase distance from the parent. Child does not try to maintain verbal contact with the parent, or engage the parent in any way.

X. Cooperation/Compliance

This scale assesses the extent to which the child complies with the parent's specific instructions or directions, with extend defined in terms of both the frequency and emotional intensity of cooperation. A statement which involves an unenthusiastic "ok, I'll try that piece," would be weighted less than one in which the child eagerly responds "Right! I should try the blue before the yellow!". Compliant and cooperative behavior may be evidenced in a number of ways, either verbal or nonverbal. (Non-verbal directives include pointing, steering the child, etc.). Examples include verbal and nonverbal responses to the parent's questions, statements, or nonverbal directives (eg., picking up a particular colored block when asked to do so, fetching a specific toy during clean-up). Focus on explicit acts of child's compliance to a parental request and not subtle cooperation.

1. No compliant or cooperative behavior is observed.

2. One or two instances of compliance is observed.

3. Some instances (3-5) of child compliance are observed, or child complies in a neutral (as opposed to enthusiastic) manner (i.e., child acquiesces).

4. 3-5 instances of child compliance are observed, but child's attitude is mildly enthusiastic.

5. The child is fully cooperative and compliant with all of the parental requests, or is enthusiastically cooperative if only one or two opportunities arise.

Y. Disobedience

This scale measures the extent to which the child verbally refuses to comply with a parent's request (eg., "I'm not going to do that" or "No, you can't make me") or fails to comply through some nonverbal means (eg., shaking the head "no", pushing self and/or toys away). Extent is defined both in terms of the frequency and intensity of disobedience, with neutral statements such as "No, I don't like that" weighted less heavily than an instance in which a child throws a toy and in a frustrated and disgusted tone remarks, "No I won't, I hate this!" It is also important to note that noncompliant and disobedient behaviors may be of a more passive form, such as when the child ignores requests which clearly have been heard or when the child verbally agrees to cooperate, yet fails to perform or follow-through with the request.

1. No instances of noncompliance and disobedience are observed.

2. One or two instances of saying no, or ignoring parental requests.

3. 3 instances of low-level noncompliant and disobedient behavior is observed.

4.

5. The child strongly refuses to comply with parental requests or directions, or is disobedient for most of the minute interval.

Z. Dependency/Need for Help

This rating assesses the extent to which the child turns to the parent for help in order to complete a particular task (i.e., clean up, structured activities), with extent defined in terms of both frequency and intensity. Dependent behaviors include verbal pleas for help such as "Hold this for me" or "Where does this piece go?" or statements explicitly asking for assistance, such as "I can't do it". Other relevant behaviors may be more subtle, yet still be evidence of dependency, such as turning toward the parent and handing him/her the toy to put away during the clean-up task.

1. No dependency or need for help is observed.

2. Child asks for help once or twice.

3. 3-5 instances are observed in which child evidences dependency or needs help.

4.

5. Instances of dependency or need for help are frequent or especially salient.

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