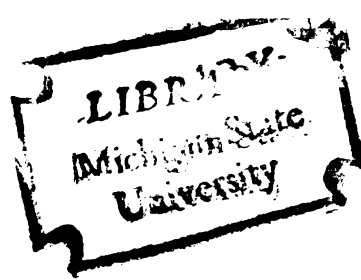


THE RESPONSES OF "LIBERAL" AND  
"CONSERVATIVE" PARENTS TO PROBLEM  
SITUATIONS INVOLVING A YOUNG CHILD

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.  
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The present study investigated the responses of young parents expressing "liberal" or "conservative" social attitudes to a series of hypothetical parent-child problem situations. A total of 40 families, with both parents under 30 years of age and with at least one child of 4 years, responded to an advertisement in a university town newspaper. Two groups ("liberals" and "conservatives") of ten couples each were selected for study based on their responses to a 12-item, socio-political telephone questionnaire. The difference between groups was significant on the telephone questionnaire ( $p < .001$ ).

Each S also filled out a Sensitivity to Children (STC) questionnaire. Parents' responses to the problem situations on the STC questionnaire were coded on two orthogonal dimensions (love-hostility and autonomy-control) by two trained assistants. The data were analyzed by means of a 2 (groups: liberal/conservative) X 2 (dimensions: love-hostility/autonomy-control) X 16 (problem situations) analysis of variance with repeated measures on the last two

factors. Analyses of simple effects were performed in those instances where significant interactions were found.

The responses of parents expressing liberal social attitudes were found to be significantly more toward the "love" end of the love-hostility dimension than were responses of parents expressing conservative attitudes. The analyses also revealed that parental responses were not consistent across problem situations. The utility and limitations of the present methodology in contributing to our understanding of parental liberalism-conservatism, parental consistency, and child development were discussed.

The results clearly indicate that social attitudes of parents affect their behavior in hypothetical parent-child problem situations. Furthermore, variables in the child's behavior across problem situations are powerful determinants of parental response consistency.

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Robert Jay Green

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For Loretta

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## INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The tremendous social and political upheavals during the last decade have changed the character of American society irrevocably. Social critics daily fill our magazines with reports of the endless polarizations and confrontations between disparate segments of the population. No longer is the United States described as a "melting pot." Now we speak of the "pluralistic" society.

One major social division is in socio-political attitudes: liberalism versus conservatism. The Left emphasizes protection of civil liberties, rejection of material goals, humanitarian aims secured mainly through social legislation, economic and social equality based on the fundamental dignity of all men, and a preference for collective organization and regulation of the economy. The Right is characterized by emphases on the importance of property values, a dislike of social welfare legislation, a devotion to socio-economic inequality based on a belief in the inherent inequality among men, and disapproval of government regulation of the economy. Critics see in this ever-widening division between liberals and conservatives various consequences for the future.

One consequence may be that differences in their socio-political attitudes will lead liberals and conservatives to establish different kinds of interpersonal relations (e.g., communal living). Of primary importance would be the interactional patterns these two groups developed in their emotionally intimate relations, particularly within the family. Thus, the socialization of future generations might be affected differentially by parental attitudes, both liberal and conservative.

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether differences in parents' expressions of liberal or conservative social attitudes would lead to differences in their behavior toward children in parent-child problem situations. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a review of the research literature on (1) liberalism-conservatism, (2) social attitudes and parent-child interaction, (3) dimensions of parental behavior affecting the socio-emotional development of children, and (4) the research questions of the present study.

### Liberalism-Conservatism

In 1950, the authors of the Authoritarian Personality reported a major study on social attitudes and specifically on a constellation of attitudes they termed authoritarianism as measured by the F (fascism)-scale (Adorno; Frenkel-Brunswick; Lennison; and Sanford, 1950). High F scores were characterized by (1) rigid adherence to

conventional values, (2) exaggerated needs to submit to authority, (3) underlying hostility toward in-group authorities, (4) displaced hostility onto out-groups (prejudice), (5) anti-intraception, (6) superstition and stereotyping (tendency to think in rigid dichotomies), (7) emphasis on power and toughness in relationships, (8) cynicism and destructiveness, and (9) a punitive moralistic attitude toward sex (Sanford, 1972). A number of other factors were found to be related to authoritarianism.

Among these related factors was political-economic conservatism (PEC) as measured by the various forms of the PEC scale. High scorers on the PEC expressed a high degree of "support of the status quo and particularly of business; support of conservative values; desire to maintain a balance of power in which business is dominant, labor subordinate and the economic functions of government minimized; and resistance to social change" (Adorno, et al., 1950, p. 157). Several theoretical and methodological criticisms of the relationship between authoritarianism and conservatism followed.

Shils (1954) argued that the F-scale measured only right-wing attitudes. He demonstrated the qualitative similarities of the Right and the Left in existing political systems, notably fascism and communism. He believed that rigid low scorers on the F-scale could be characterized as authoritarians of the Left rather than as non-authoritarians.



Rokeach (1960) further argued that the F-scale was slanted toward right wing attitudes and developed his own theory on the importance of dogmatism in social behavior.

He hypothesized that a high degree of dogmatism was shown by (1) sharp distinctions between beliefs and disbeliefs, contradictory beliefs, and little differentiation among disbeliefs; (2) a basic outlook of pessimism, fear, and concern with power; and (3) a belief in the absolute nature of authority, intolerance of disagreement, and party-line thinking. These characteristics theoretically formed a core to which a variety of specific beliefs could be attached, i.e., a high degree of dogmatism could be concomitant with extreme conservative or extreme liberal ideology (Kirscht and Dillehay, 1967; Rokeach, 1960).

Rokeach then developed a Dogmatism scale which claimed to be politically neutral and two Opinionation scales, one measuring vehement intolerance of Leftist views and the other measuring intolerance of Rightist views. He demonstrated that his Dogmatism scale, unlike the F and PEC scales, correlated positively with both Right and Left Opinionation scales. However, he notes that both the Dogmatism and combined Opinionation scale show a weak but consistently positive relationship to conservatism and that Dogmatism in all of his samples shows a somewhat closer affinity to Right than to Left Opinionation.

Another study comparing conservatives to liberals was conducted by McClosky on a sample of 2,000 respondents from Minnesota (1958). His major findings were:

By every measure available to us, conservative beliefs are found most frequently among the uninformed, the poorly educated and so far as we can determine, the less intelligent. . . . Conservatism, in our society at least, appears to be far more characteristic of social isolates, of people who think poorly of themselves . . . who are submissive, timid, and wanting in confidence . . . the extreme conservatives are easily the most hostile and suspicious, the most rigid and compulsive, the quickest to condemn others for their imperfections and weaknesses, and the most intolerant, the most inflexible and unyielding in their perceptions and judgments (McClosky, 1958, 35-38).

Thus, from the research on conservatism, it seems that conservative views among adults are less likely to be rationally, consciously, and independently conceived and more likely to be motivated by fear and "neurotic" anxiety than are more liberal views (Bay, 1967).

In their theories of contemporary liberalism and particularly student radical activism, social scientists have expressed essentially two interpretations (Block, 1972; Keniston, 1968). One interpretation has been named the "Radical-rebel" hypothesis (Keniston, 1968). In this view, radical student protest is based on: (1) rebellion against and hatred of all parental and societal authority; (2) displaced aggression resulting from unresolved family conflicts (e.g., Oedipal) wherein the student acts-out his intrapsychic conflict in generational rebellion against the establishment-as-parental-surrogate; (3) permissive

child-rearing from which the student failed to acquire the necessary ego-controls for the constructive expression of aggressive impulses; (4) the feeling of youth that they "have no future," i.e., that modern technological advances obviate the necessity for young men to constructively strive toward bringing about needed social reform; (5) extended dependency upon parents and/or school authorities after adolescence; (6) a desire to do better than parents who were weak in their beliefs and a simultaneous wish for parental approval; (7) experience with the "emptiness" of middle class values and life-style (Bettleheim, 1969; Block, 1972; Feuer, 1969; Keniston, 1968). According to the "Radical-rebel" hypothesis, student protest is seen as having little relation to rational motivation or realistic social problems.

Another interpretation of social protest along liberal dimensions holds that the parents of student activists are themselves politically liberal, active, and socialize their children toward political activism (Block, 1972; Flacks, 1967; Keniston, 1968). The similarity between parental and child values indicates that identification with, rather than rebellion against, the parents is a predisposing force in student protest and liberalism. In this view--which has more empirical support than the radical-rebel hypothesis--political activism is based on rational criticism of the society and a humanitarian commitment to social change.

Thus data collected by Flacks (1967), in an interview study of student activists and their parents (N = 100) and in another study of participants and non-participants in a large scale campus revolt (N = 117), support the view that the parents of activists are affluent, highly educated, and extremely liberal in their politics. Such parents

tend to transmit to their offspring values and life styles which emphasize intellectual, aesthetic and humanitarian concerns and de-emphasize occupational and material achievement. An important component of this type of family is a democratic and "permissive" authority structure (Flacks, 1967).

Presumably, this socialization pattern predisposes offspring to resist acts of authority perceived to be arbitrary or hypocritical.

Furthermore, Keniston (1968) delineates two types of liberal student dissenters: the "alienated" student and the "activist" student. The "alienated" student is characterized by private demonstrations of dissent: non-conformity through behavior, dress, ideology; personal experimentation and emphasis on subjective experience; hatred and pessimism toward politics and society; withdrawal and a tendency to "drop-out" of society (e.g., school). Alienated students are more likely than activist students to be psychologically disturbed, to avoid responsibility, and less likely to be as committed to academic achievement. They reject parental values, see their fathers as having sold out to materialism, and are sympathetic toward their over-solicitous, controlling mothers.

On the other hand, activist students tend to value academic, non-vocational interests. They are generally outstanding students, seldom drop out of school, and frequently go on to graduate school. They espouse humanitarian, expressive, and self-actualizing values and are non-dogmatic, non-authoritarian. Such students seem to have an unusual capacity for nurturant identification. Activists are relatively satisfied with their college education although dissatisfied with the civil-libertarian defects of university administration. They are committed to social change along liberal-radical dimensions and are politically involved. They tend to identify with their parents and live out expressed but unimplemented liberal parental values. The parents are egalitarian and encourage independence.

Some support for this alienated-activist differentiation comes from a study by Block (1972). Students from the University of California at Berkeley, and San Francisco State College (N = 1051) were divided into two groups: a generational continuity group (those rejecting society but identifying with their parents) and a generational discontinuity group (those rejecting both society and their parents). In studying the self and ideal-self (Q-sort) descriptions as well as the students' perceptions of parents for both groups, Block obtained the following results: (1) The male continuity subjects described

themselves as being somewhat less unconventional, and as more responsible, masculine, orderly and practical than the male discontinuity subjects who regarded themselves as creative and amusing. (2) The female continuity subjects characterized themselves as having vitality, confidence, independence, assertiveness, talkativeness, being more informed, perceptive, and responsible as compared to the discontinuity females who described themselves as rebellious, doubting, shy, self-denying, stubborn, needing approval, and worrying. (3) The male continuity subjects emphasized the ideal of values of foresight, self-control, criticalness, argumentativeness; while the male discontinuity subjects emphasized genuineness and authenticity, creativity, artistry, playfulness, and loving as their ideals. (4) The female continuity subjects placed value on being logical, considerate, and foresightful; the female discontinuity subjects placed value on being adventurous, aloof and uninvolved, calm, reserved and shy, being free and not "hung-up." (5) The parents of continuity subjects were described by the undergraduates as being more candid, encouraging individuation, placed less emphasis on authoritarian control of impulse and affect, more comfortable in parental roles, and showing greater inter-parent consistency on child-rearing principles than parents in the discontinuity group who were described as more authoritarian, tense, and inconsistent.



Thus the research on liberalism seems to suggest that liberal views among young adults may be adopted for various reasons: (1) they are rationally, consciously, and independently arrived at through education and greater knowledge; (2) they are based on non-authoritarian, non-dogmatic beliefs in humanitarian values; (3) they are the result of identification with liberal parents; (4) they are motivated by an unusual capacity for nurturant identification; or (5) they are motivated by rebellion, fear, or "neurotic" anxiety.

#### Social Attitudes and Parent-Child Interaction

There has been little research conducted specifically on the relationship between liberal-conservative social attitudes and parent-child interaction. In this section, we will review three studies on authoritarianism and parental attitudes toward child rearing (Block, 1955; Hart, 1957; Kates and Diab, 1955); two studies on liberal-conservative social attitudes and parental opinions on child rearing (Block, 1972; Shapiro, 1952); and one study on liberal-conservative social attitudes and parent-child interaction (Edwards, 1970).

In a study of authoritarian ideology and attitudes on parent-child relations, Kates and Diab (1955) studied 61 male and 111 female students at the University of Oklahoma. Each student was given the F (Fascism), E (Ethocentrism),

PEC (Political-Economic Conservatism), and A (ambiguity tolerance) scales; asked several questions about being a potential parent; and given the University of Southern California Parent Attitude Survey. Analysis of the data indicated that, particularly for female students, authoritarian ideology was related to attitudes of dominance and possessiveness toward children. Such attitudes implied complete parental control over children's behavior, lack of respect for children's rights, and subordination of children's needs to parental needs.

Another study on authoritarian personality and child rearing attitudes was conducted by Hart (1957). He interviewed 126 mothers and found that those low on authoritarianism selected love-oriented disciplinary techniques while those high on authoritarianism selected non-love-oriented disciplinary techniques. He also found that authoritarian child rearing practices were unrelated to: the mother's age; the child's age, sex, and birth order; and number of children in the family.

Another study, by Block (1955), was conducted as part of a larger research project on 100 military officers. The 20 highest scoring fathers (restrictive) on the Child Attitude Scale and the 20 lowest scorers (permissive) were selected as contrasting groups. Each subject then underwent a three day assessment procedure after which each was evaluated by means of a Q-sort personality description. The

results indicated that restrictive fathers tended to be constricted, submissive, suggestible persons lacking in self-assurance (i.e., the authoritarian personality). Permissive fathers were evaluated as self-reliant, ascendant, and as functioning effectively. However, Block cautioned against the generalizability of these results since military officers are hardly a group representative of the general population.

In a study of 197 working and middle-class males and females, Shapiro (1952) administered the Parental Attitude Inventory which measures parental behavior in terms of two theories of child development: psychoanalytic theory and "restrictive-permissive" theory; and the Social Attitude Inventory which measures radicalism (political opinions) and tendermindedness (humanitarian values). The major finding was that a person's political opinions were significantly related to opinions on matters affecting the child's free expression of his wishes. Specifically, the lower an individual's score on radicalism, the more likely he was to be restrictive of the child's freedom of expression.

Block (1972), utilizing a political attitude questionnaire and the Child Rearing Practices Report (91-item Q-sort on parental values and behavior), studied three types of university students and their parents. She administered the tests to both the undergraduates and their parents. Comparisons among the three parental groups yielded many

significant results: (1) Liberal parents of liberal children ("generational continuity" group, N = 28) evidenced greater comfort in parental roles and were more candid with their children. They encouraged individuation, placed less emphasis on authoritarian control of impulse and affect (except for aggression), and showed greater inter-parent consistency than the "generational discontinuity" group.

(2) Conservative parents of conservative children ("generational continuity" group, N = 28) emphasized discipline and self-control. The fathers in this group were more authoritarian and focused upon power and status differentials between parents and children. The mothers were more concerned with competition and achievement. These parents encouraged guilt and the suppression of impulse and affect. They also showed greater inter-parent consistency than the discontinuity group.

(3) Conservative parents of liberal children ("generational discontinuity" group, N = 17) were more tense in their parental roles. They were more concerned with authoritarian controls, discipline, and suppression of impulse and affect. The mothers in this group were overly involved with their children and exercised authoritarian control over the child's actions. The fathers were inconsistent and somewhat conflicted about setting limits on the child's actions. The couples in this group showed less inter-parent agreement on child rearing practices than either of the "generational continuity" groups.

Lastly, Edwards (1970) studied conservative-liberal ideology and parent-child interaction. According to their responses to a socio-political telephone questionnaire, 20 upper-middle class families with a child between four and five years old were selected to form liberal and conservative groups. Each family was videotaped as they interacted freely in a playroom for 20 minutes. Parental behavior was coded on 20 objective and 2 subjective behavioral units. The two groups were then compared on each of the 20 specific behavioral units; on global scores based on combinations of units in three areas--warmth, empathy, and genuineness; and on the 2 subjective categories of warmth and genuineness.

The few t-test values that reached statistical significance indicated that liberal parents scored significantly higher than conservative parents on the specific behavior category of "giving help," the combined category of "warmth," and the subjective category of "genuineness." The conservative parents did not score significantly higher than the liberal parents on any categories. Edwards concluded that: "In view of the general non-significance of results . . . liberal and conservative parents do not demonstrate many differences in parental behavior as measured in this study" (1970, p. 52).

It should be noted that the observation period was only 20 minutes in length in a free play situation. No data were collected in parent-child problem situations. It

is possible that differences in parental behavior would more likely be observed when the child and parent were in conflict. Thus the present study focused on this question.

In summary, the small amount of research on authoritarianism, social attitudes, and parent-child interaction presents a fairly consistent picture of differences between liberal and conservative parents. Attributes apparently associated with parental conservatism are dominance; possessiveness; non-love oriented discipline; restrictiveness of the child's free expression of needs; emphasis on authoritarian control of impulse and affect, power, competition, guilt; and in some cases, inconsistency and anxiety in parental roles. Parental liberalism seems to be associated with permissiveness of the child's free expression of needs; greater comfort and consistency in parental roles; honesty with children; encouragement of individuation; less emphasis on control of impulse and affect (except for aggression); helpfulness; warmth; and genuineness. However, the significance of these results is tempered when considering the methodologies through which they were obtained.

With the exception of Edward's (1970) study, the research relating parent's liberal-conservative social attitudes to parental behavior has relied on retrospective questionnaire and interview data rather than direct observation. There are a number of problems involved in the generalizability of results from such research, notably:



the influence of social context factors (conformity or social desirability) on attitudinal expressions were not assessed; and there is no empirical evidence indicating a clear, positive relationship between expressed parental attitudes and actual parental behavior (Bell, 1958).

Furthermore, in Edwards (1970) study, observing the family in free playroom interaction for 20 minutes may not have allowed enough time or provided enough stimulation for subtle aspects of parent-child interaction to emerge (especially the kind of parent-child conflicts of needs that occur naturally in day-to-day family life). With these methodological considerations in mind, the conclusions reached in the above research must be regarded, at best, as tentative.

#### Dimensions of Parental Behavior Affecting the Socio-Emotional Development of Children

A number of researchers have suggested that parental behavior can be described adequately by combinations of the two orthogonal dimensions: autonomy versus control and love versus hostility (Becker, 1964; Bierman, 1969; Carson, 1969; Schaefer, 1959). In this section, we will examine some of this research suggesting a circumplex model of parental behavior and its relationship to the positive socio-emotional development of children.

Schaefer (1959) re-analyzed several sets of data on maternal behavior previously studied by himself and others.

The data consisted of ratings of 56 mothers interacting with their children; ratings from home interviews with 34 mothers; intercorrelations among eight behavioral traits of 48 families rated on "parental press"; and intercorrelations among the 19 variables of the Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales. Factor analysis of the first three sets of data yielded two factors accounting for most of the variance. Schaefer labeled these two factors autonomy-control and love-hostility. Data from the Fels Scales were less impressive but generally supported the notion of two factors.

Maternal behaviors associated with the first factor were autonomy at one pole and maternal anxiety, intrusiveness, concern about health, achievement demands, excessive contact, fostering dependency, strictness, social isolation, and wish to control at the other pole (Control). On the second factor, one pole (Love) would be characterized by positive evaluation of the child and expression of affection while the other pole (Hostility) would be characterized by ignoring, punitiveness, perceives child as a burden, irritability, use of fear to control, and aggression. Schaefer then placed the two orthogonal dimensions in a hypothetical circumplex believing that the data could be characterized more adequately in this form than in discrete dimensions (see Figure 1).

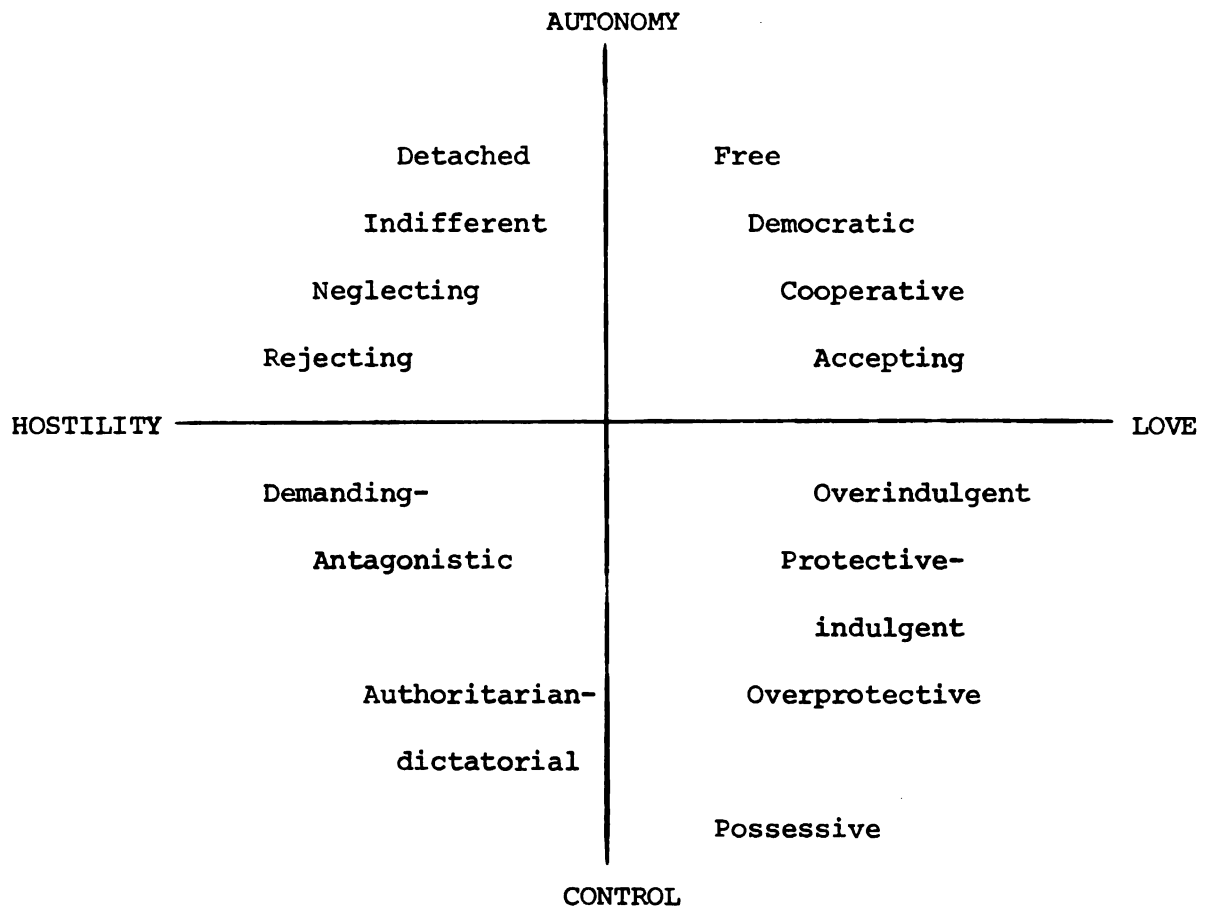


Figure 1. Circumplex of maternal behaviors.

Source: From E. S. Schaefer, "A Circumplex Model for Maternal Behavior," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology (1959), 59, 232.

Becker (1964), following Schaefer's lead, conducted a comprehensive review of parent-child interaction research. He organized the findings around the orthogonal dimensions: warmth versus hostility and restrictiveness versus permissiveness. Thus, a number of child characteristics were discovered to be associated with different kinds of parental discipline as described in the quadrants on the circumplex (see Figure 2). In summarizing this portion of his review, Becker (1964) states:

The counter-aggression generating properties of hostility are apparent in the child of both permissive-hostile and restrictive-hostile parents. In the former, the aggression is expressed directly with little control. In the latter, the aggression is expressed in certain safe areas (with peers), but is more likely to be inhibited and turned against the self, or be revealed in manifestations of internal conflicts. On theoretical grounds, the restrictive-hostile conditions would be expected to produce the most defensive identification or identification with the aggressor. The many parallels between the effects of this condition with the results of the authoritarian personality studies should be apparent.

The findings for the warm-permissive condition are consistent with the recommendations of child-rearing specialists concerned with maximizing socially out-going characteristics and individuality. The child with warm-permissive parents is socialized mainly through love, good models, reasons, and a trial and error learning of how his actions . . . have an impact on others (p. 198).

He also reviews findings on consistent and inconsistent parental discipline of children.

Thus he notes that several approaches have been taken to study parents' disciplinary inconsistency: conglomerate ratings of the stability in parent-child interactions, the individual consistency of disciplinary behavior

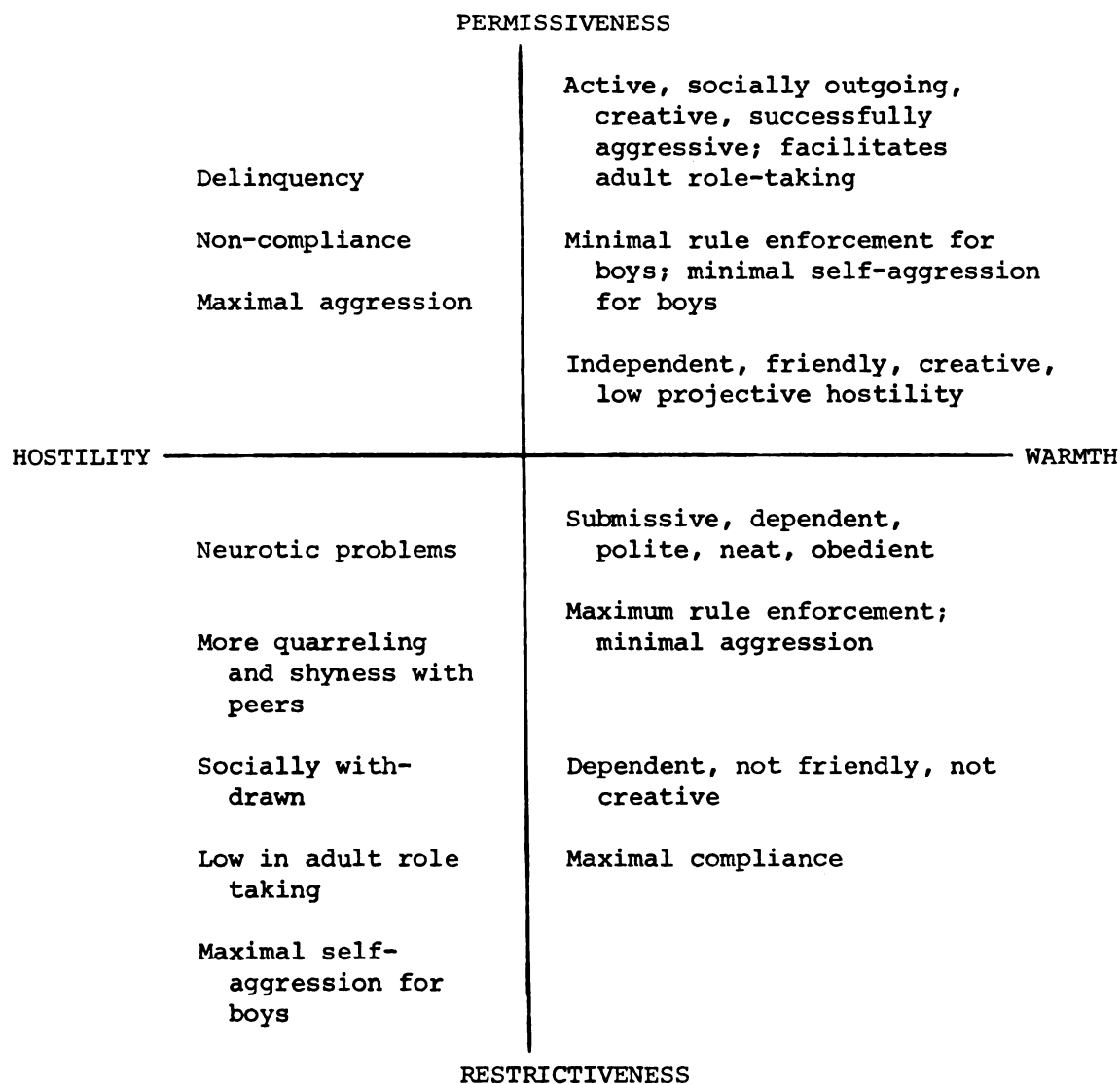


Figure 2. Consequences of parental warmth versus hostility and permissiveness versus restrictiveness on the behavior of children (Becker, 1964, p. 198).

over time for a parent; and comparisons between spouses on severity of demands placed on the child (Becker, 1964). Surveying the literature, particularly on delinquency, he observes: "Inconsistent discipline apparently contributes to 'maladjustment,' conflict, and aggression in the child. There is obviously a need for more carefully controlled research on different kinds of inconsistency . . ." (Becker, 1964, p. 200). In this context, it is surprising that researchers have not compared disciplinary techniques in different areas of child behavior, e.g., sex exploration, sibling rivalry, inconsiderateness, stealing, and so on. The present study attempted to examine in what ways child behavior variables affected the behavior of parents and parental consistency.

Lastly, Reif and Stollak (1972), in reviewing client-centered approaches to child therapy and various studies on parent-child interaction, arrived at a set of adult behaviors assumed to facilitate effective child functioning. Facilitative adult behaviors seem to be

(1) behaviors associated with understanding the child, e.g., Reflection of verbal content, Reflection of feelings, Reflection of motor behavior, and Interpretation; (2) behaviors associated with the expression of positive feelings towards the child, e.g., Praise of behavior, Affection, and Warmth; (3) behaviors associated with appropriate control and participation, e.g., Setting limits with explanations, Orienting, Clarifying compliance, Giving help, and Reciprocal participation in Fantasy behavior; and (4) behaviors associated with the [Adult's] expression of himself as an individual, e.g., Statements of own emotion and Genuineness (Reif & Stollak, 1972, p. 19).

On the other hand, non-facilitative adult behaviors toward children appear to involve "behaviors associated with non-acceptance of the child" and "behaviors associated with over or under control of the child" (p. 19).

Hence the research on parent-child interaction indicates that parental actions promoting the positive socio-emotional development of children are those associated with the Love-Autonomy quadrant of the circumplex model (acceptance, understanding, and appropriate limit-setting). More specifically, it seems that consistent, democratic and cooperative parental behaviors are the most effective in successful socialization of the young (see Figure 1).

#### Research Questions

In view of the above research, the present study attempted to measure the interrelationships among three variables: parental liberal and conservative social attitudes; parental behavior toward children in terms of two orthogonal dimensions (love-hostility and autonomy-control); and the consistency of parental behaviors in response to various problem situations involving a young child. More specifically, we wished to examine (in terms of love-hostility and autonomy-control) the responses of "liberal" and "conservative" parents to problem situations in the following areas of child behavior: inconsiderateness, separation anxiety, peer sex exploration, sadness, stealing, sibling rivalry, protesting limits, concealing

actions, masturbation, smoking, anger and frustration, feelings of failure, need for love and reassurance, upset over punishment, disappointment, and fear of peer aggression.

The following questions were considered:

1. In terms of the two dimensions of parental behavior (love-hostility and autonomy-control), do parents expressing liberal attitudes differ significantly from parents expressing conservative attitudes?
2. With respect to each of the 16 problem situations, do parents expressing liberal attitudes give significantly different responses from parents expressing conservative attitudes?
3. In terms of the two dimensions of parental behavior (love-hostility and autonomy-control), does each of the 16 problem situations elicit significantly different responses than the other problem situations?
4. In terms of the two dimensions of parental behavior looked at separately and with respect to each of the 16 problem situations taken separately, do parents expressing liberal attitudes give significantly different responses from parents expressing conservative attitudes?



## METHOD

The data for this study were originally collected and some of them analyzed by Edwards (1970) and by Liberman, Stollak and Denner (1971) in State College, Pennsylvania. However, the data for the dependent variables analyzed in the present study (parental responses to problem situations involving a young child) were not analyzed previously. The following descriptions of the data collection process and analysis of the independent variable (liberal-conservative social attitudes) are based on the report by Edwards (1970).

### Subjects and Procedures

Two groups--one expressing liberal and the other expressing conservative attitudes--of 10 couples each were selected from a group of 40 families who responded to advertisements in local and campus newspapers (see Appendix A for a copy of the advertisement). In all families, husband and wife were white, 30 years of age or under (the mean age being 27.55 years). The mean age of their children was 4.58 years. There were 5 male and 5 female children in the "conservative" group and 6 male and 4 female children in the "liberal" group. As determined by the Hollingshead

Index (Hollingshead, 1957), the socio-economic status of the families was Group II or upper-middle (see Appendix B).

The two groups (liberal and conservative) were selected from the extremes of scores obtained on a twelve-item telephone questionnaire (see Appendix C for a copy of the questionnaire). Two psychologists agreed on the face validity of the twelve items in assessing conservative and liberal attitudes on such issues as American foreign policy, virginity, use of marijuana, sex-role signs, interracial marriage, etc. The questions were carefully constructed using suggestions by Bell (1958) so that response set and social desirability of the response would not intervene.

Three investigators received the calls in a specified manner and administered the questionnaire according to a fixed format as follows:

Hello. Thank you for calling. This is Miss \_\_\_\_\_, secretary to Dr. \_\_\_\_\_. As you noted in the ads, we are interested in talking to families concerning certain aspects of family life. I would like to ask you some questions now. Your answers will be used to select families for the main study, and if you are selected to participate, you will be paid \$25.00 for your family's time. All of the questions I will ask you have the same form. I am going to read you a statement. I would like you to respond by saying either, "I strongly agree, I moderately agree, I moderately disagree, or I strongly disagree."

These statements touch upon many attitudes and values. Of course, your answers will be kept strictly confidential and eventually all answer sheets will be destroyed. Any questions?

First: Do you strongly agree, moderately agree, moderately disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement. . . . What are your feelings about this statement. . . . This is the last one . . .

Will you please give me your name, address and telephone number. . . . If you are selected, we will be calling you to make an appointment for you and your family. Thank you very much for your help.

The 20 families finally selected were contacted by telephone and invited to participate further in the study. None of these families refused to participate in the second phase. However, four of the families selected by the rank ordering could not be reached by phone. Four alternate families with comparable scores (within one point) were chosen to replace them so that there would be ten families in each group. Convenient times for mother, father, and child to come to the psychology clinic together were arranged.

At the time of the family's arrival, a "permission concerning participation in research" form and the Sensitivity to Children (STC) questionnaire (Stollak, 1972) were completed by each parent (a copy of the STC can be found in Appendix D). The parent who had not responded to the telephone questionnaire also completed this task in written form at the clinic. The families then participated in other tasks not relevant to the present study.

#### Scoring the Independent Variable

The independent variable (liberal or conservative social attitudes) was measured by the 12-item telephone questionnaire and analyzed by Edwards (1970). Scoring was accomplished by awarding 4 points for "strongly" conservative responses and 3 for "moderately" conservative ones.

"Moderately" liberal responses received 2 points. "Strongly" liberal responses received 1 point. The ten families with the highest scores were considered conservative while those with the ten lowest scores were considered liberals for the purposes of the study. The responses of each subject may be found in Table 1.

The group means after averaging both husband and wife scores were 34.35 and 19.95 for conservatives and liberals respectively. The scores had a range of 13 to 43 points with a maximum possible range on the questionnaire of 12 to 48 points. T-tests of significance were applied by Edwards (1970) to the scores of the selected couples. These grouped scores were found to be significantly different at the .001 level thus assuring that the two groups selected for this study were significantly different in their responses on the 12-item social attitudes questionnaire. Results of these t-tests are reproduced in Tables 2, 3, and 4.

As shown in the tables, liberal families and conservative families were not two monolithic groups. Thus the husband in couple "O" (liberals) was more "conservative" than the husband in couple D (conservatives); the wife's score in couple N (liberals) was equal to the husband's score in couple D (conservatives). Conservative husband's attitudes toward communal living and virginity did not differ significantly from liberal husband's attitudes in

TABLE 1.--Responses to Telephone Questionnaire--Conservative Parents and Liberal Parents.

Questions	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	Total
<b>Husbands (Conservative)</b>											
1. Generation gap	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	29
2. Marijuana	4	4	4	1	4	3	4	3	4	3	34
3. Interracial	2	3	2	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	29
4. Virginity	1	1	2	2	3	1	3	3	3	3	22
5. Communes	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	2	35
6. Poverty	1	1	4	3	4	4	3	4	4	2	30
7. Foreign affairs	3	4	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	26
8. Voting age	4	4	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	2	26
9. Agitators (Campus)	1	4	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	25
10. Child rearing	3	1	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	4	27
11. Child rearing	4	4	3	1	3	2	4	2	2	3	28
12. Uni-sex fad	4	4	3	1	3	2	4	2	2	3	28
	<u>33</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>32</u>	
<b>Wives (Conservative)</b>											
1. Generation gap	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	3	26
2. Marijuana	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	40
3. Interracial	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	28
4. Virginity	1	2	3	2	2	4	3	1	3	4	25
5. Communes	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	40
6. Poverty	4	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	2	4	31
7. Foreign affairs	3	2	2	3	2	2	4	3	2	4	27
8. Voting age	3	2	3	2	2	1	4	4	3	3	27
9. Agitators (Campus)	2	2	2	3	1	4	1	2	1	3	21
10. Child rearing	3	2	3	3	3	4	3	4	2	3	30
11. Child rearing	3	2	1	3	4	1	3	1	3	3	24
12. Uni-sex fad	3	4	3	4	3	4	2	1	1	4	29
	<u>35</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>43</u>	

TABLE 1.--Continued.

Questions	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	Total
<b>Husbands (Liberal)</b>											
1. Generation gap	1	1	1	2	4	2	1	3	1	1	17
2. Marijuana	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	12
3. Interracial	2	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	18
4. Virginity	1	1	1	2	4	1	2	2	4	1	19
5. Communes	2	2	4	4	4	2	2	2	1	3	26
6. Poverty	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	13
7. Foreign affairs	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	14
8. Voting age	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	13
9. Agitators (Campus)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
10. Child rearing	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	1	2	18
11. Child rearing	2	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	1.5	1	16.5
12. Uni-sex fad	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	1	14
	15	13	19	20	31	18	16	23	18.5	17	
<b>Wives (Liberal)</b>											
1. Generation gap	1	2	1	2	4	2	1	1	1	1	16
2. Marijuana	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	15
3. Interracial	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	16
4. Virginity	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	14
5. Communes	4	3	4	3	2	4	1	3	1	4	29
6. Poverty	1	3	3	4	4	2	1	2	2	2	24
7. Foreign affairs	1	1	2	1	3	2	3	1	1	1	16
8. Voting age	1	2	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	15
9. Agitators (Campus)	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	13
10. Child rearing	1	2	1	1	3	2	4	1	1	2	18
11. Child rearing	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1.5	3	15.5
12. Uni-sex fad	1	3	2	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	17
	16	23	23	29	24	20	17	18	18.5	20	

TABLE 2.--Comparison of Liberal and Conservative Responses  
to Individual Items on Telephone Questionnaire.

No.	Questions	Conservative Husbands Liberal Husbands t-Tests	Conservative Wives Liberal Wives t-Tests
1.	Generation gap	3.2*	2.7*
2.	Marijuana	6.6*	15.0*
3.	Interracial	3.2*	4.0*
4.	Virginity	0.6	2.4*
5.	Communes	2.2	2.9*
6.	Poverty	3.8*	1.6
7.	Foreign affairs	4.4*	3.0*
8.	Voting age	4.2*	2.8*
9.	Agitators (Campus)	5.6*	1.8
10.	Child rearing	2.2	3.1*
11.	Child rearing	2.8*	2.1
12.	Uni-sex fad	3.1*	2.4*

\*p < .05.

TABLE 3.--Comparison of Husband-Wife Responses to Individual Items on Telephone Questionnaire.

No.	Questions	Conservative Husbands-Wives t-Tests	Liberal Husbands-Wives t-Tests
1.	Generation gap	1.1	0.2
2.	Marijuana	2.0	1.4
3.	Interracial	0.4	0.5
4.	Virginity	0.7	1.0
5.	Communes	2.2	0.6
6.	Poverty	0.2	2.7*
7.	Foreign affairs	0.3	0.6
8.	Voting age	0.2	0.6
9.	Agitators (Campus)	1.0	1.0
10.	Child rearing	0.8	0.0
11.	Child rearing	0.8	0.3
12.	Uni-sex fad	0.2	0.7

\*p < .05.



TABLE 4.--Comparison of Total Scores Between Groups on Telephone Questionnaire.

Groups	t-Test Value
Conservative Husbands vs. Liberal Husbands	8.0*
Conservative Wives vs. Liberal Wives	8.0*
Conservative Husbands vs. Conservative Wives	0.6
Liberal Husbands vs. Liberal Wives	0.9
All Conservatives vs. All Liberals (Using average of husband and wife score)	11.0*

\*p < .05

these areas. Liberal and conservative wives' attitudes on poverty did not significantly differ. Nevertheless, the liberal couples as a group held significantly different attitudes from conservative couples as a group when their opinions on all 12 items were considered.

#### Scoring the Dependent Variables

The dependent variables for the present study were parental responses to 16 parent-child problem situations as described on the STC. Problem situations were used to elicit parental responses because such events in the course of family life were more likely to elicit distinctive features of parental behavior than were free-play and other naturalistic

situations. Parent-child verbal interaction and need arousal is often infrequent and of low order in such encounters.

In this study, the types of parental responses to the problem situations were differentiated according to a scoring system the author derived from Schaefer's (1959) "circumplex model." The coding system consisted of behavioral and attitudinal categories representing various combinations of levels on two orthogonal, bipolar dimensions of parental behavior toward children: autonomy-control and love-hostility. Each dimension was subdivided into five levels that were assigned numerical values representing the opposite poles of the dimension and points in between.

Thus, the autonomy-control dimension was subdivided into: laissez-faire (+2); freedom with limits (+1); unscorable (0); narrow limits (-1); and rigid limits (-2). The love-hostility dimension was broken into: acceptance (+2); mild acceptance (+1); unscorable (0); mild rejection (-1); and rejection (-2) (see Appendix E for more specific definitions of the rating categories).

Two assistants were given written descriptions, practice examples, and questions designed to pinpoint the subjective effects on the child of the various types of parental behavior.\* They were asked to commit the

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\*The assistants were Deletha Crum and Mary McCaslin.

categories and descriptions to memory. The parental response to each problem situation on an STC was given two numerical ratings by each coder: one rating on the love-hostility dimension and another on the autonomy-control dimension. Thus these two numerical scores formed the coordinates of some point on a circumplex graph of the two intersecting, bipolar dimensions. The placement of this point determined what quadrant was most descriptive of the response and to what degree (see sample scoring sheet in Appendix F).

### Reliability

After approximately 12 hours of practice coding and further discussion of the categories, the two assistants each scored the 40 experimental STC's (20 from liberal and 20 from conservative couples). When scoring was completed, inter-coder reliability was calculated using Pearson product-moment correlations. The correlations for each dimension of the responses to each problem situation are presented in Appendix G. They ranged from .18 to .88 with a mean of .55 on the love-hostility dimension. For the autonomy-control dimension, the correlations ranged from -.21 to 1.00 with a mean of .47.

## RESULTS

The dependent measures selected for analysis in this study were the responses of liberal and conservative parents to 16 problem situations involving a young child (STC items). Two trained coders independently scored the 40 parents' STC's on the dimensions of love-hostility and autonomy-control so that inter-rater reliability could be obtained. From these 80 STC scoring sheets, 40 were selected for the analysis. Twenty of the first coders' scoring sheets representing 10 liberal and 10 conservative parents were randomly selected. The other 20 scoring sheets came from the second coder's ratings of the other 10 liberal and 10 conservative parents' responses. These data were analyzed by means of a 2 (Political Orientation: liberal-conservative) by 2 (Dimensions: love-hostility/autonomy-control) by 16 (Items: STC problem situations) analysis of variance with repeated measures on the last two factors. A summary of the analysis of variance is presented in Table 5.

### Analysis of Variance

The analysis of variance revealed significant main effects for Groups and for Items. It also revealed a

TABLE 5.--Results of Analysis of Variance.

Source	df	MS	F
Political Orientation (A)	1	30.63	6.14*
<u>Ss</u> within A	38	4.99	-
Dimensions (B)	1	.32	.52
AB	1	6.04	9.90**
B X <u>Ss</u> within A	38	.61	-
STC Items (C)	15	17.48	18.80***
AC	15	1.46	1.57
C X <u>Ss</u> within A	570	.93	-
BC	15	4.13	9.18***
ABC	15	.27	.60
BC X <u>Ss</u> within A	570	.45	-

\*p < .025.

\*\*p < .005.

\*\*\*p < .001.

significant Groups by Dimensions interaction and a significant Dimensions by Items interaction. These interactions were explored further through analysis of the simple effects. Specifically, the simple effects of Dimensions within each Group and Dimensions within each Item were examined.

#### Groups X Dimensions Interaction

Table 6 presents cell means relevant to the simple effects analysis that was performed to explore the significant Dimensions X Groups interaction. The analysis revealed that Liberals tended to respond significantly higher on the Love-Hostility dimension than did Conservatives ( $F = 11.41$ ,  $p < .005$ ). On the Autonomy-Control dimensions, however, a significant difference between Liberals and Conservatives was not found ( $F = 1.69$ ).

In addition, the cell means were compared to 0 to see if they significantly differed from the neutral point on the dimension in question. Error terms for these comparisons were derived from the appropriate MS error following a procedure suggested by Winer (1971, p. 385). These comparisons indicated that both Liberals and Conservatives were significantly more accepting than rejecting of the child and more permissive than restrictive of the child's actions.

A circumplex graph of Liberal and Conservative parents' mean scores on the two dimensions can be found in Appendix H. The graph (along with the analyses above)

TABLE 6.--Analysis of Simple Effects: Groups X Dimensions Interaction.

Dimensions	Groups	
	Liberals ( $\bar{X}$ )	Conservatives ( $\bar{X}$ )
Love-Hostility	.73 <sup>a</sup>	.28 <sup>a</sup>
Autonomy-Control	.56 <sup>a</sup>	.39 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Value differs significantly ( $p < .05$ ) from 0.

indicates that both groups are located significantly in the Love-Autonomy quadrant of the circumplex.

#### Dimensions X Items Interaction

Table 7 presents cell means and F values relevant to the simple effects analysis of the significant Dimensions X Items interaction. The analysis revealed that in parent-child problem situations involving the child's Sadness, Feelings of Failure, Need for Love and Reassurance, and Upset over Punishment, parents responded higher on the Love-Hostility than they did on the Autonomy-Control Dimension. In addition, F-tests comparing the cell means to 0 indicated that parents' responses in these situations were significantly more toward the Love and Autonomy poles of the two dimensions except in the case of Upset over Punishment where there was no significant difference between Autonomy and Control.

TABLE 7.--Analysis of Simple Effects: Dimensions X Items Interaction.

Item	Dimension Means		F
	Love-Hostility	Autonomy-Control	
1. Inconsiderateness	.53 <sup>a</sup>	.95 <sup>a</sup>	7.87**
2. Separation Anxiety	.53 <sup>a</sup>	.60 <sup>a</sup>	.26
3. Peer Sex Exploration	.10	.32 <sup>a</sup>	2.22
4. Sadness	1.33 <sup>a</sup>	1.00	4.61*
5. Stealing	-.08	.32 <sup>a</sup>	6.96**
6. Sibling Rivalry	-.13	.30 <sup>a</sup>	7.87**
7. Protesting Limits	.28	.18	.43
8. Concealing Actions	.40 <sup>a</sup>	.70 <sup>a</sup>	3.91*
9. Masturbation	.50 <sup>a</sup>	.45 <sup>a</sup>	.11
10. Smoking	.18	.50 <sup>a</sup>	4.61*
11. Anger and Frustration	-.70 <sup>a</sup>	-.60 <sup>a</sup>	.43
12. Feelings of Failure	1.37 <sup>a</sup>	.77 <sup>a</sup>	15.65***
13. Love and Reassurance	1.67 <sup>a</sup>	.38 <sup>a</sup>	73.48***
14. Upset Over Punishment	.35 <sup>a</sup>	.03	4.61*
15. Disappointment	.83 <sup>a</sup>	.95 <sup>a</sup>	.70
16. Fear of Peer Aggression	.93 <sup>a</sup>	.73 <sup>a</sup>	1.74

<sup>a</sup>Value is significantly ( $p < .05$ ) different from 0.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

\*\*\* $p < .001$ .



The simple effects analysis also revealed that in problem situations involving the child's Inconsiderateness, Concealing Actions, Cigarette Smoking, Stealing, and Sibling Rivalry, parents responded higher on the Autonomy-Control than they did on the Love-Hostility dimension. F-tests comparing the cell means to 0 indicated that parental responses in all these situations were significantly more permissive than restrictive. In the situations involving Inconsiderateness and Concealing Actions, parents were also significantly more accepting than rejecting. Parental responses were not significantly more accepting than rejecting in the Cigarette Smoking, Stealing, and Sibling Rivalry situations.

For problem situations involving the child's Anger and Frustration, Separation Anxiety, Peer Sex Exploration, Protesting Limits, Masturbation, Disappointment, and Fear of Peer Aggression, the simple effects analysis revealed no significant differences in the emphasis parents placed on the Love-Hostility versus the Autonomy-Control dimension. However, comparing the cell means to 0 indicated that in the problem situation involving the child's Anger and Frustration, parents were significantly more rejecting than accepting and more restrictive than permissive toward the child.

Furthermore, the comparisons of cell means with 0 showed that situations involving the child's Separation Anxiety, Masturbation, Disappointment, and Fear of Peer

Aggression elicited significantly more Love than Hostility and more Autonomy than Control responses from parents. The Peer Sex Exploration item showed that parents tended to be significantly more permissive than restrictive of their child's actions but not more accepting than rejecting. Lastly, in the situation involving the child's Protesting Limits, comparisons of cell means with 0 revealed that parents were not significantly more accepting or rejecting nor were they more permissive or restrictive of the child's behavior.

## DISCUSSION

### Overview

The present study was undertaken to explore whether parents expressing liberal social attitudes differed significantly from parents expressing conservative attitudes in terms of their responses to children in various problem situations. This section contains a discussion of: (1) liberalism-conservatism and dimensions of parental behavior; (2) parents' behavioral consistency across problem situations; (3) methodological considerations affecting the results; and (4) the implications of the present study for child development and future research.

### Liberalism-Conservatism and Dimensions of Parental Behavior

One of the major questions of this study was whether parents who expressed liberal attitudes differed significantly from parents who expressed conservative attitudes in their behavior toward children. Viewing parental behavior along two dimensions, we found that the liberal parents in this study scored significantly more toward the love end of the love-hostility dimension than did conservative parents.

Although both groups tended to be more accepting than rejecting, liberal parents were significantly more accepting of their children's needs and feelings than were conservative parents.

This finding was consistent with previous research indicating that liberal persons and liberal parents had a high capacity for nurturant identification, selected love-oriented disciplinary techniques, encouraged the child's free expression of needs and feelings, gave more help to their children, and were warmer (Hart, 1957; Keniston, 1968; Shapiro, 1952). However, the results did not support previous research on authoritarian-conservative persons and parents which indicated they tended to be hostile; cynical; destructive; punitive-moralistic; quick to condemn others for their imperfections; lacking in respect for children's rights and needs; non-love oriented in discipline; discouraging the child's free expression of needs; and encouraging guilt (Adorno, et al., 1950; Block, 1972; Hart, 1957; Kates and Diab, 1955; McClosky, 1958; Sanford, 1972; Shapiro, 1952). The "conservatives" in this study were not hostile-rejecting but merely less accepting than "liberals."

It could be hypothesized that the conservative parents were generally more fearful than liberals of feelings of failure, disappointment, anger, sexual curiosity, etc., and were less accepting of such feelings in children. We could speculate that the authoritarian's rigid adherence to

conventional values and high anti-intraception left him slightly threatened by many of the child's feelings presented on the STC.

Another finding of the present study was that a significant difference did not occur between liberal and conservative parents on the autonomy-control dimension. Both groups of parents tended to be significantly more permissive than restrictive. This finding contradicted previous research which indicated that conservatives (as compared to liberals) tended to place more emphasis on power and toughness; to be more dominant with children; to be more restrictive with children; and to emphasize suppression, discipline, status, and self-control in child rearing (Adorno, et al., 1950; Block, 1955; Block, 1972; Kates and Diab, 1955; Sanford, 1972; Shapiro, 1952).

To determine if comparisons between the more extreme members of these socio-political groups might have yielded evidence of a difference on the autonomy-control dimension, the data were studied impressionistically. Taking the STC responses of the six most extreme liberals (3 males and 3 females) and the six most extreme conservatives (3 males and 3 females), no striking contrasts were found on the autonomy-control dimension. Furthermore, such contrasts were not evident in most of the comparisons between extreme groups on the love-hostility dimension.

From this sample of 12 subjects, two parents (conservatives) were extremely hostile toward the child in most of the STC situations while the four other conservative parents seemed to respond much more similarly to the "moderately accepting" liberal parents. Impressionistically, then, some conservative parents seemed more rejecting than liberal parents but most conservatives seemed as accepting as liberals. These comparisons gave further evidence of the heterogeneity within groups and illustrated the difficulty in making accurate behavioral predictions for the individual who expresses liberal or conservative attitudes.

We could speculate that the lack of significant differences between groups on the autonomy-control dimension was a function of the methodology, particularly the low inter-rater reliabilities. Although the commonly accepted statistically significant difference (i.e.,  $p < .05$ ) was not obtained, the groups did differ at the  $p < .10$  level on the autonomy-control dimension, with conservatives scoring more towards the "control" end than liberals. Perhaps this indicates a trend, which might have reached statistical significance ( $p < .05$ ) had reliability been greater, or the subject pool larger.

An alternative explanation could be that previous research has failed to observe the parental behavior of liberals and conservatives on the two salient dimensions. Thus most of the previous research has focused simply on

global permissiveness versus restrictiveness, and results based on the ratings of this one dimensions could well have been confounded by the love-hostility factor inherent in all parental behavior. These explanations are speculative, and the test of their efficacy must wait for future research based on more reliable methodologies.

#### Parents' Behavioral Consistency Across Problem Situations

Another major question explored in this study concerned parental inconsistency, i.e., whether different problem situations would elicit different kinds of responses from parents. The significant dimensions X items interaction indicated that parents were not responding consistently from one item to the next. In an attempt to explain why certain items seemed to elicit similar parental responses, the results of the simple effects analysis will be discussed below in terms of "problem-ownership" (Gordon, 1970; Stollak, Scholom, Kallman, and Saturansky, in press).

Parents gave significantly higher "love" than "autonomy" responses in situations involving the child's sadness, feelings of failure, need for love and reassurance and upset over punishment. These problem situations seemed to have in common the child's personal discomfort and "psychic" pain. They fit Gordon's (1970) criteria for "child-owned" problems: "The child has a problem because he is thwarted in satisfying a need. It is not a problem for

the parent because the child's behavior in no tangible way interferes with the parent's satisfying his own needs" (p. 64).

Thus it seemed that in parent-child problem situations where the child "owned" the problem, parents were likely to emphasize the love dimension by communicating acceptance, understanding, and by giving support and encouragement to the child. In child-owned problem situations, parents were more likely to convey acceptance of the child's feelings than to set limits on his behavior. This finding supports previous research findings by Stollak, et al. (in press), that in child-owned problem situations involving sadness, feelings of failure, and upset over punishment, parents focused their communications on the child's feelings.

On the other hand, in problem situations involving the child's inconsiderateness of a parent's private conversation, concealing actions from the parent, cigarette smoking, stealing from the parent, and sibling rivalry, parents were more likely to emphasize the autonomy-control dimension than the love-hostility dimension. They were more likely to set some kind of limit on the child's actions than to communicate their acceptance of his feelings. These problem situations seemed to have in common an acting-out, "troublesome" aspect for the parent and thus fit Gordon's (1970) criteria for an "adult owned" parent-child problem situations. Thus it seemed that in adult-owned parent-child problem situations (where the child was "troubling" to the



parent rather than being "troubled"), parents were more likely to set limits on the child's behavior than to communicate acceptance and understanding of the child's feelings.

Further support for the problem-ownership theory came from parental responses to the anger and frustration (temper tantrum) situation in this study. This situation was obviously a "troublesome," adult-owned problem, and parental responses were significantly more hostile than loving and more narrowly restrictive than permissive. Thus in the adult-owned problem situation involving the child's anger and frustration, parental responses could be characterized as equally rejecting and over-controlling.

The remainder of the problem situations--separation anxiety, peer sex exploration, protesting limits, masturbation, disappointment, and fear of peer aggression--elicited a pattern of parental responses that emphasized equally the two dimensions of love-hostility and autonomy-control. However, they did not seem to fit as a group into either the adult-owned or child-owned problem categories defined by Gordon (1970). Each of these problem situations will be discussed separately below.

Parental responses to the problem situation involving separation anxiety tended to be more accepting than rejecting and more permissive (i.e., reasonable limits) than restrictive (i.e., narrow limits). This situation involved the child's

crying and pleading with the parents not to go out for the evening. It seemed that under such circumstances concerning the child's "psychic" pain as well as the parent's desires to leave, parents equally took their own and the child's needs into account. Hence, they tended to be accepting and understanding of the child's feelings and to set limits on the child's demands so that their own needs could be met. This situation might best be described as parent-child equally owned.

In the peer sex exploration situation, parents were significantly more permissive (i.e., setting appropriate limits) than restrictive (i.e., narrow limits) but were not more (or less) accepting than rejecting. This situation involved three young children exploring each other's sexual parts who were discovered by a parent. The children in the situation were obviously enjoying their play so it would seem that this situation represented an adult-owned problem. However, the results did not clearly support Stollak, et al.'s (in press) findings that parental responses to peer sex exploration (an adult-owned problem) would be more insensitive and destructive than in child-owned problem situations. Perhaps for actual parents--as compared to the childless college students employed in Stollak, et al.'s research--this situation was not as troublesome as one might expect. Or perhaps parents were giving a socially desirable response based on information they had obtained on sex education for children.

In the problem situation concerning the child's protesting limits (bedtime), parental responses were not more accepting than rejecting or more permissive than restrictive. The lack of significant results may be accounted for by the parent-child equal ownership nature of this situation.

Parental responses to the problem situation involving the child's masturbation were significantly toward the love and autonomy poles of the two dimensions. This situation would seem to be defined as a parent-owned problem; thus the results do not support Gordon's (1970) theory that parents would be less constructive in adult-owned problem situations. Perhaps, along with sex exploration, the child's masturbation is no longer troublesome to actual parents.

The last two situations involved the child's disappointment and fear of peer aggression. Both were defined as child-owned problems since they were troubling to the child rather than troublesome for the parent. Responses to this situation tended to be accepting and permissive (i.e., appropriate limits). These results supported previous research by Stollak, et al. (in press), which indicated that parental responses to these child-owned problem situations tended to focus on understanding the child's feelings and helping the child express his feelings appropriately.

Looking at the results above in terms of adult-owned versus child-owned problem situations does not entirely support the theory that parents' responses are more accepting

and permissive in child-owned problem situations. The parents involved in this study were not consistent across all problem situations. They seemed to be only somewhat consistent within adult-owned or child-owned problem situations. These facts strongly argue for a more situational interpretation of the results. As Gordon (1970) himself states:

. . . parents will be inconsistent. How could they be anything else, when their feelings are changing from day to day, from child to child, from situation to situation? . . . The traditional admonition to parents that they must be consistent with their children at all costs ignores the fact that situations are different, children are different . . . (p. 21).

Thus it seems that specific variables in the problem situation itself and in the specific child as presented on the STC item were the most potent elicitors of specific parental behavior.

Situational variables would seem to account for more of the variance in parental behavior than would problem-ownership. Similarly, powerful differences in each of the situations may have obscured the less potent behavioral differences of liberal versus conservative parents within each item (non-significant groups X items interaction). These explanations must also remain only tentative pending further research on parental consistency.

#### Methodological Considerations

The use of parents' written responses to problem situations involving a child was, at once, a major strength

and a major limitation of the present study. All children frequently encounter situations that arouse their anger, disappointment, fear, and other forms of discomfort. In these situations, we can learn important information concerning parental responses affecting the child's "coping" behaviors and feelings toward himself and others (Stollak, et al., in press). Often we cannot gain such information about parent-child interaction through brief laboratory or home observation where need arousal is infrequent, as was the case in Edwards' (1970) study.

However, the use of hypothetical problem situations to elicit parental "projective" responses is open to the same criticisms previously made of parental attitude research. There is no evidence in this study that parents' projective responses are predictive of their actual interpersonal behavior. The effects of a social desirability response set in completing the STC was not assessed. The adult's mood and the current affective state of the actual parent-child relationship were unspecified variables that could have influenced the parents' responses.

Another limitation of this study concerns the generalizability of results. The subjects were not a random sample representative of the general population of parents but were a highly select group of upper-middle class, extremely "liberal" and extremely "conservative" parents who were willing to participate in psychological research for

pay. The selection of these parents leaves uncertain the degree to which the simple effects analysis of dimensions X items is applicable to other parents. The inclusion of a group of parents expressing "moderate" social attitudes might have shed further light on the discussion of parental consistency which follows. Thus moderate parents may have turned out to be more consistent than either extreme group suggesting that extremism, rather than problem situations, accounted for a significant part of the variance in the dimensions X items interaction. Furthermore, a moderate group might have differed significantly from extreme liberals or conservatives on the love-hostility and autonomy-control dimensions. For the present, at least, these questions must remain unanswered.

Finally, the low inter-rater reliabilities obtained as well as the manner of selecting ratings for the statistical analysis could have seriously affected the significance levels of results. In the absence of higher inter-rater reliability, a more reliable method of analysis would have involved using the mean of the two assistants' ratings of each parent. The present method of using only half of each assistant's ratings was likely to increase random error and variance. This increase would tend generally to lower the significance of results. It is thus somewhat surprising that the obtained results reached statistical significance in so many instances. Perhaps a more objective scoring system would have increased inter-rater reliability.

### Implications of the Study

The present study has implications for future research on parental liberalism-conservatism and parental consistency. The major finding that parents expressing liberal social attitudes responded significantly more toward the "love" end of the love-hostility dimension as compared to conservatives, suggests that liberals would be somewhat more facilitative of the child's positive socio-emotional development (Becker, 1964). This finding implies that, in terms of need, conservative parents constitute a higher priority target group for parent education courses, pre-parent education courses, and so on, than do liberals as a group. Methods for identifying conservative couples before they have children (e.g., telephone questionnaire) could be developed to identify an appropriate target group for intervention within a community. This group could then be taught methods of conveying acceptance and understanding to children.

However, the task still remains of determining to what extent conservative or liberal parents' responses to the 16 STC problem situations is predictive of actual parental behavior with children. Future research also must be directed toward clarifying the relationship between parental liberalism-conservatism and autonomy-control. The present study did not support previous attitude research suggesting that conservative parents would be more restrictive

than liberals. Perhaps more reliable methodologies will yield a significant difference between groups on the autonomy-control dimension as well.

In addition, the lack of parental behavioral consistency across problem situations involving a child implies that future research on parent-child relations must place more emphasis on situational and child temperament and behavior variables (Thomas, Chess, and Birch, 1968).

Parents' responses to children seem to be determined not only by parental characteristics (i.e., attitudes toward child rearing, personality variables, and the like) but by powerful situational and child behavior variables eliciting specific responses. Thus previous research in limited contexts of parent-child interaction may not be wholly generalizable to other parent-child situations. The theory of "problem ownership" developed by Gordon (1970) may provide one way to account for the variance across situations.

However, this theory is difficult to operationalize.

Perhaps a more useful taxonomy of child-behavior variables influencing parental responses would include: (1) child aggression and "anti-social" behavior; (2) child attachment and dependency behavior; (3) child achievement behavior; (4) child sex-appropriate behavior; (5) child age-appropriate behavior; and (6) child prosocial behavior.



## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study investigated the responses of young parents expressing "liberal" or "conservative" social attitudes to a series of hypothetical parent-child problem situations. A total of 40 families, with both parents under 30 years of age and with at least one child of 4 years, responded to an advertisement in a university town newspaper. Two groups ("liberals" and "conservatives") of ten couples each were selected for study based on their responses to a 12-item, socio-political telephone questionnaire. The difference between groups was significant on the telephone questionnaire ( $p < .001$ ).

Each S also filled out a Sensitivity to Children (STC) questionnaire. Parents' responses to the problem situations on the STC questionnaire were coded on two orthogonal dimensions (love-hostility and autonomy-control) by two trained assistants. The data were analyzed by means of a 2 (groups: liberal/conservative) X 2 (dimensions: love-hostility/autonomy-control) X 16 (problem situations) analysis of variance with repeated measures on the last two factors. Analyses of simple effects were performed in those instances where significant interactions were found.

The responses of parents expressing liberal social attitudes were found to be significantly more toward the "love" end of the love-hostility dimension than were responses of parents expressing conservative attitudes. The analyses also revealed that parental responses were not consistent across problem situations. The utility and limitations of the present methodology in contributing to our understanding of parental liberalism-conservatism, parental consistency, and child development were discussed.

The results clearly indicate that social attitudes of parents affect their behavior in hypothetical parent-child problem situations. Furthermore, variables in the child's behavior across problem situations are powerful determinants of parental response consistency.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### ADVERTISEMENT IN NEWSPAPERS



## APPENDIX A

### ADVERTISEMENTS IN NEWSPAPERS

#### ATTENTION:

A group of social scientists at The Pennsylvania State University are interested in hearing from families in which both husband and wife are thirty or under and in which there is at least one child four or older. We are interested in learning about childrearing attitudes and practices. Call Dr. Stollak, \_\_\_\_\_ or Dr. Denner, \_\_\_\_\_ evenings: Sunday--Thursday.

Families who meet certain criteria will be invited to participate in a second phase where they will be paid \$25.00 for their time.

APPENDIX B

SES HOLLINGSHEAD INDEX

TABLE 8.--SES Hollingshead Index.

Family	Education		Occupation	
	Rank	Weight = 4	Rank	Weight = 7
<u>Liberal</u>				
1.	1	4	1	7
2.	1	4	2	14
3.	1	4	2	14
4.	1	4	2	14
5.	2	8	2	14
6.	1	4	2	14
7.	1	4	2	14
8.	1	4	2	14
9.	2	8	2	14
10.	2	<u>8</u>	2	<u>14</u>
Totals		52		133
Means		5.2		13.3
= 18.5 = II rating				
<u>Conservative</u>				
1.	1	4	1	7
2.	1	4	2	14
3.	1	4	2	14
4.	3	12	2	14
5.	2	8	2	14
6.	1	4	2	14
7.	1	4	2	14
8.	3	12	3	21
9.	2	8	2	14
10.	2	<u>8</u>	2	<u>14</u>
Totals		64		140
Means		6.4		14.0
= 20.4 = II rating				

## APPENDIX C

### TELEPHONE QUESTIONNAIRE

## APPENDIX C

### TELEPHONE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. The so-called generation gap is largely the result of kids these days having it too easy.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

2. Marijuana is not really dangerous if a person has experience and guidance in using it.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

3. I would feel comfortable with my child marrying a person of another race.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

4. A girl who is a virgin on the day she is married is more likely to have a happy marriage.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

## TELEPHONE QUESTIONNAIRE (continued) page 2.

5. The family, as a social unit, is on the way out, and communal family life should and will become prevalent in the future.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

6. The poor need to be taught how to value money.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

7. The United States has contributed to the world's difficulties by interfering in the affairs of foreign countries.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

8. The voting age should be immediately reduced to 18, and maybe in the years to come, to 16.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments.

9. There is nothing wrong with our universities that would not be helped by getting rid of the small group of agitators.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_

Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

## TELEPHONE QUESTIONNAIRE (continued) page 3.

10. It is important for a child to learn as early in his life as possible that in the real world what really counts is hard work, getting ahead, and being a good citizen.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_  
Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

11. In most ways, I bring my child up the way that my mother and father brought me up.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_  
Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

12. I am not bothered by women and men looking more and more alike in their hairstyles and clothing.

Strongly agree \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately agree \_\_\_\_\_  
Moderately disagree \_\_\_\_\_ Strongly disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Comments:

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX D

STC



## APPENDIX D

### STC

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ AGE: \_\_\_\_\_ SEX (M or F): \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone No.: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Instructions

A series of situations will be found on the following pages. You are to pretend or imagine you are the parent (mother or father) of the child described. All the children in the following situations are to be considered between four and six years old.

Your task is to write down exactly how you would respond to the child in each of the situations, in a word, sentence or short paragraph. Write down your exact words and/or actions, but please do not explain why you said or did what you described. Again, write down your exact words or actions as if you were writing a script for a play or movie (e.g., do not write "I would reassure or comfort him," instead, for example, write "I would smile at him and in a quiet voice say, 'Don't worry, Billy, Daddy and I love you.'").

If you have children, their names and ages:

Name

Age

1. You are having a friendly talk with a friend on the phone. Your son Carl rushes in and begins to interrupt your conversation with a story about a friend in school.
2. You and your husband (wife) are going out for the evening. As you are leaving you both say "good night" to your son, Frank. He begins to cry and pleads with you both not to go out and leave him alone even though he doesn't appear sick and the babysitter is one he has previously gotten along well with.
3. After hearing a great deal of giggling coming from your daughter Lisa's bedroom, you go there and find her and her friends Mary and Tom under a blanket in her room with their clothes off. It appears that they were touching each other's sexual parts before you arrived.
4. Your daughter Barbara has just come home from school; silent, sad-faced, and dragging her feet. You can tell by her manner that something unpleasant has happened to her.
5. You walk into your bedroom and find your son Bernie putting your wallet (pocketbook) down with a \$10.00 bill in his hand. It is clear from his actions (looking shocked at your arrival, putting his hand with the money behind his back), that you have caught him stealing.
6. After hearing some screaming in the family room, you go there and find your daughter Susan hitting her two year old baby sister.

7. It is 8:00 p.m., and that is the time you and your son Gary have previously agreed is his bedtime for that evening. But he wants to stay up and play.
8. When emptying the garbage can, you find at its bottom the broken remains of a toy you had given your son David two weeks ago. It is clear that he didn't want you to find out about its being broken.
9. Before going to bed at 10:00 p.m., you go into your son Bert's bedroom to see if he has the blanket over him and to tuck him in, if necessary. You find him awake and masturbating. He sees you looking at him and as you approach him he stops and pulls the blanket up to his chin.
10. Bill and Joan are visiting your son Art in your home. You have just noticed how quiet it has become in the family room where they are playing. You go there and find them smoking a cigarette.
11. You have completed shopping in a local super market, and as you are checking out your son Lee says he wants a candy bar. It is close to dinner time, so you say "No" to his request. He then lies down and begins screaming and kicking at you.
12. You are helping your daughter Ruth with an arithmetic problem and she seems to be having difficulty. She suddenly exclaims: "I am so stupid! I never know the answers to any of the questions the teacher asks me. I don't want to go to school anymore."

13. While you are sitting and watching television, your son Fred comes over to you and asks in a quiet, concerned voice: "Do you love me?"
14. Your spouse has just punished your daughter Lillian for some rule infraction. Lillian becomes hysterical and runs to you crying.
15. Your son Albert has come home from school full of anger. His class had been scheduled to go to the zoo for weeks and he was very eager to go. However, it rained today and the trip had to be rescheduled. He angrily exclaims: "I hate the school. Just because it rained we couldn't go."
16. Upon returning home from school your son Joe excitedly tells you about how his friend Mark was pushed into a rainfilled puddle by some older boys. Joe says that they were just walking home from school when all of a sudden three sixth graders ran up from behind and shoved Mark into the puddle and ran away laughing.

APPENDIX E

DEFINITIONS OF RATING CATEGORIES  
FOR SCORING THE STC

## APPENDIX E

### DEFINITIONS OF RATING CATEGORIES FOR SCORING THE STC

#### Hostility-Love:

This dimension refers to the parent's acceptance or rejection of the child's self (his feelings, motives, values, wishes, needs, likes and dislikes, fears, and affects or "mood" states) as it is represented in the STC item.

2 = acceptance: The parental response specifically conveys a large degree of recognition, understanding, and acceptance of the child's self in words or actions that are written down and not implied from the answer. (e.g., "You must have been very disappointed," "That must have made you angry," "Sometimes you feel nobody is on your side," "I guess you get angry when your sister does that," etc.)

1 = mild acceptance: The parental response conveys a moderate degree of recognition, understanding, and acceptance of the child's self in words, actions, or in attitude (as when acceptance is implied rather than stated directly).

0 = unscorable: The presence of an accepting-rejecting quality of any degree is lacking in the parental response, or it is not clear from the response whether the parent is accepting or rejecting the child's self.

-1 = mild rejection: The parental response conveys a moderate degree of rejection of the child's self and a lack of recognition and understanding of the child's self in words, actions, or attitude (as when rejection is implied rather than stated directly).

-2 = rejection: The parental response specifically conveys a large degree of rejection of the child's self and a lack of recognition and understanding of the child's self in words or actions that are written down and not implied from the answer. (e.g., "Sometimes you're so careless," "You little jerk," "How can you be so stupid," "It is sinful to be angry at your sister," "You have such a rotten temper," etc.).

Control-Autonomy:

This dimension refers to the parent's permissiveness or restrictiveness of the child's actions (what he says and does). Control and autonomy refer to the amount and kind of influence exerted by the parent as well as the amount of choice the child is permitted. The more control the parent exerts over the child's behavior, the less opportunity the child has to control his own behavior and choose how he will act. The more autonomy the parent grants, the more freedom of choice there is for the child in controlling his own behavior.

This dimension must be scored with reference to the situation described in the STC item. Judgments are to be based on the appropriateness of limits or lack of limits placed on the child's behavior given the immediate situation, the child's age, and the limits which are necessary to insure responsible (non-destructive) behavior on the child's part. Thus if a parent physically prevented a one-year old child from crossing the street alone but permitted him to cross while holding the parent's hand, we would consider these limits appropriate and score the response 1 on this dimension. If the same limits were imposed on a ten year old child, we would consider them highly inappropriate and score the response -2 on this dimension.

2 = laissez-faire: The parent conveys specifically in words or actions that there are no limits on the child's behavior; the parent makes no attempt to restrict the child's behavior, and conveys that anything is permissible (whether or not this seems appropriate).

1 = freedom within limits: The parent specifically conveys in words or actions that there are reasonable limits on the child's behavior; the parent directs the child's actions in such a way as to take into account the child's needs and the needs of others; the child is able to make choices as to how he will act within appropriate parental limits; the parent offers a constructive alternative(s) to the child's actions which will help in a solution of the problem presented on the STC item; or the child is invited to participate in a solution of the problem.

0 = unscorable: The parent does not convey in words, actions, or attitude any attempt to permit or restrict the child's freedom of actions; or the response is otherwise unscorable on this dimension.

-1 = narrow limits: The parent specifically conveys in words or actions that there are limits on the child's behavior which seem overly restrictive and somewhat inappropriate; the limitations permit too little freedom of choice given the circumstances; the response does not recognize the child's ability to function responsibly within broader limits.

-2 = rigid limits: The parent specifically conveys in words or actions that there are inflexible limits on the child's behavior which seem oppressive and very inappropriate; the parent seems dominating, unyielding, and highly restrictive of the child's actions; the limits inhibit the expression of the child's needs; the child is permitted no choice whatsoever.



**APPENDIX F**

**SAMPLE STC SCORING SHEET**

# APPENDIX F

## SAMPLE STC SCORING SHEET

Subject: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Group: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rater: \_\_\_\_\_

Directions: Rate each STC response on the 2 dimensions below:  
 Hostility-Love (X) and Control-Autonomy (Y). Then plot the co-ordinates on the graph.

	-2	-1	0	1	2		
<u>Hostility</u>						<u>Love</u>	(X)
	rejection	mild rejection		mild acceptance	acceptance		
	-2	-1	0	1	2		
<u>Control</u>						<u>Autonomy</u>	(Y)
	rigid limits	narrow limits		freedom within limits	laissez-faire		

<u>STC Item</u>	<u>(X , Y)</u>		
1. inconsiderateness	( , )	9. masturbation	( , )
2. separation anxiety	( , )	10. smoking	( , )
3. peer sex exploration	( , )	11. anger and frustration	( , )
4. sadness	( , )	12. feelings of failure	( , )
5. stealing	( , )	13. love and reassurance	( , )
6. sibling rivalry	( , )	14. upset over punishment	( , )
7. protesting limits	( , )	15. disappointment	( , )
8. concealing actions	( , )	16. fear of peer aggression	( , )

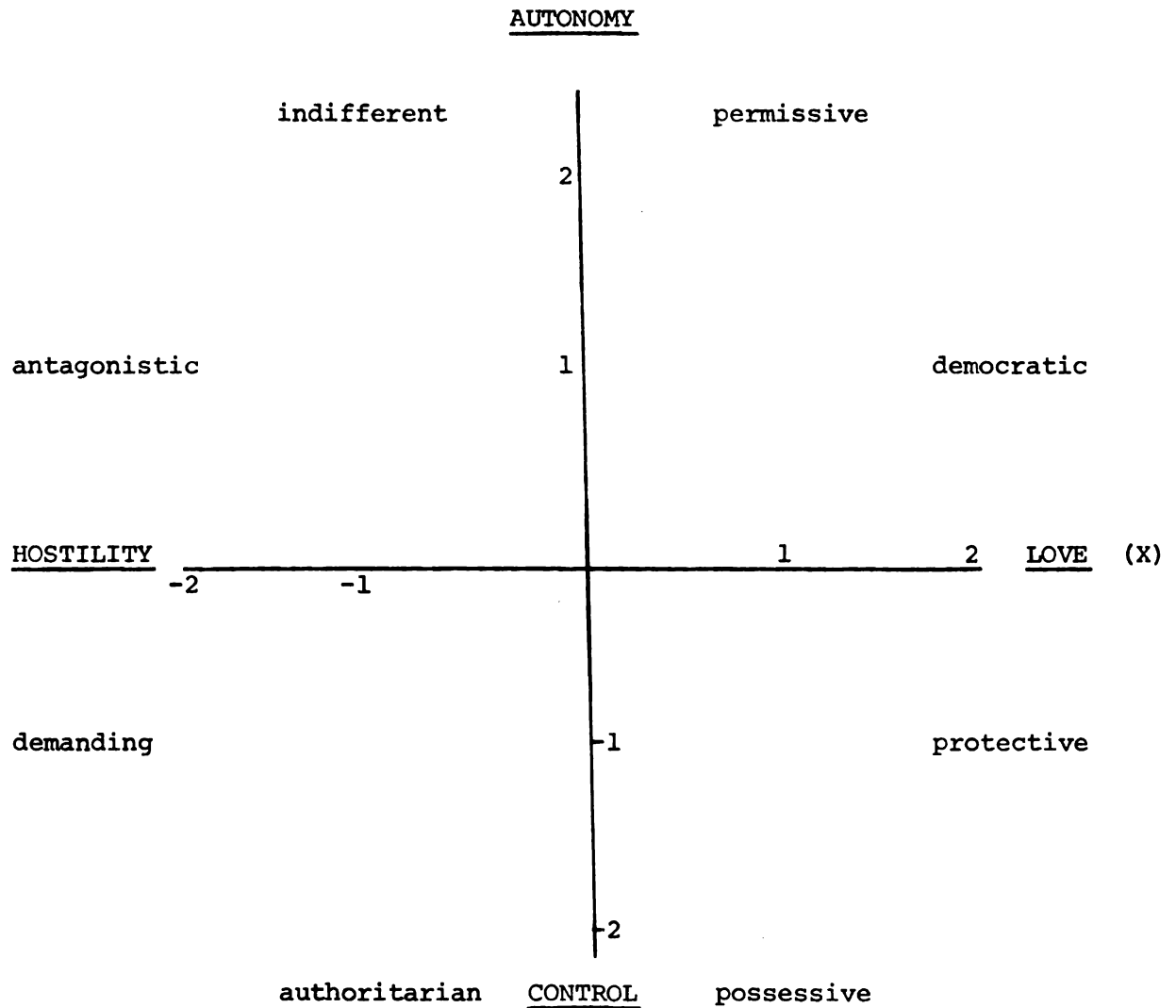


Figure 3. Sample STC scoring sheet.

## APPENDIX G

### INTER-RATER RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS

TABLE 9.--Inter-Rater Reliability Coefficients.

Problem Situation	Love- Hostility	Autonomy- Control
1. Inconsiderateness	.63	-.21
2. Separation Anxiety	.76	.62
3. Peer Sex Exploration	.88	.76
4. Sadness	.37	1.00
5. Stealing	.62	.54
6. Sibling Rivalry	.57	.50
7. Protesting Limits	.60	.70
8. Concealing Actions	.58	.67
9. Masturbation	.59	.57
10. Smoking	.48	.41
11. Anger and Frustration	.51	.31
12. Feelings of Failure	.27	.00
13. Love and Reassurance	.18	.45
14. Upset Over Punishment	.46	.34
15. Disappointment	.81	.39
16. Fear of Peer Aggression	.50	.52
Means	$\bar{X} = .5506$	$\bar{Y} = .4681$

APPENDIX H

CIRCUMPLEX GRAPH OF LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE  
PARENTS' MEAN SCORES ON THE LOVE-HOSTILITY  
(X) AND AUTONOMY-CONTROL (Y) DIMENSIONS

Liberals ( $\bar{X} = .73, \bar{Y} = .56$ )  
 Conservatives ( $\bar{X} = .28, \bar{Y} = .39$ )

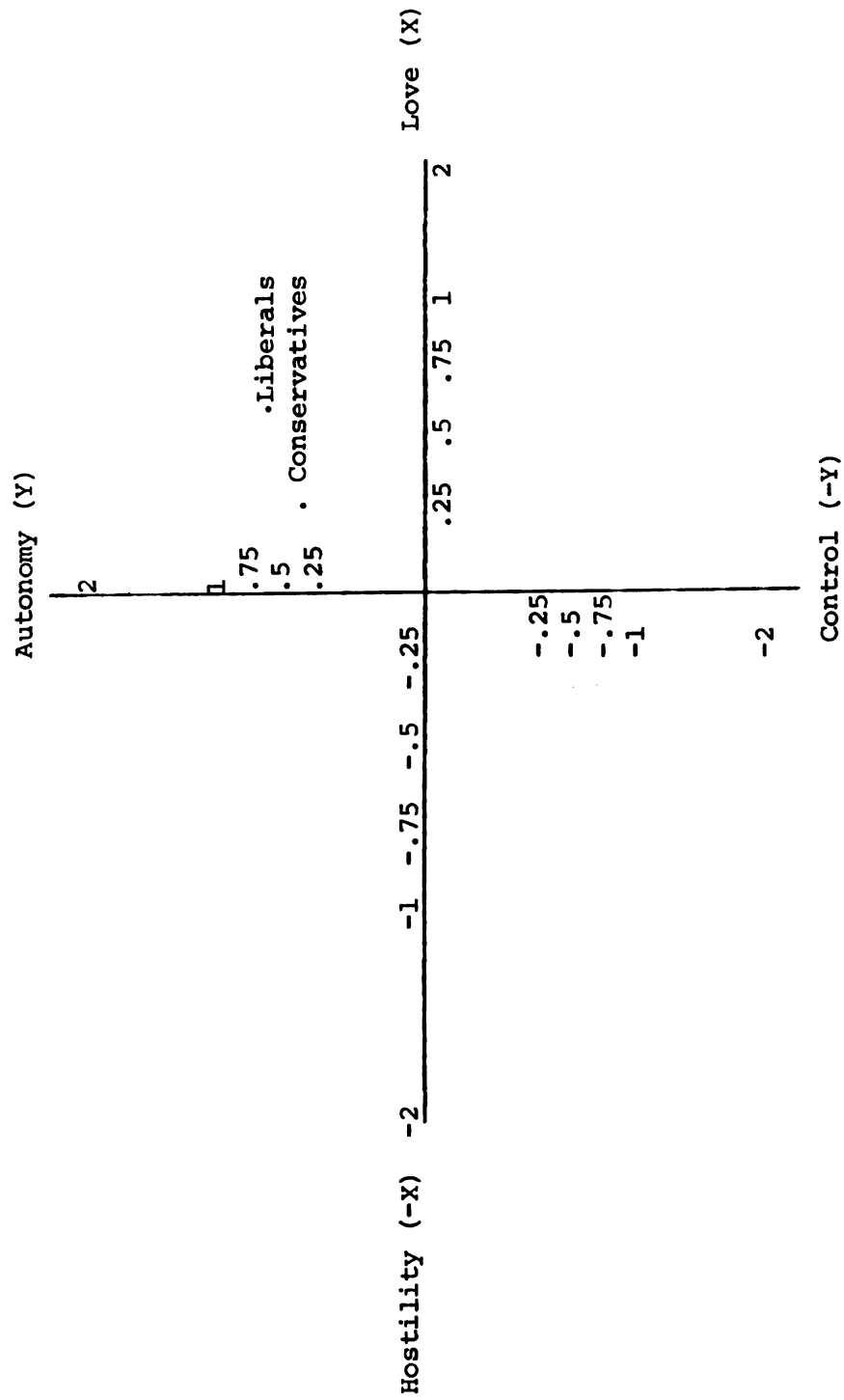


Figure 4. Circumplex graph of liberal and conservative parents' mean scores on the Love-Hostility (X) and Autonomy-Control (Y) dimensions.

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