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Current Patterns of Parental Authority[1]

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The objectives of this study were (*a*) to replicate or modify parent-child relationships found in two previous studies and (*b*) to differentiate further among patterns of parental authority, and to measure their effects upon the behavior of preschool children. Data were based upon observational procedures, and were analyzed for boys and girls separately. Subjects were 146 preschool children and their families. Among the results were the following: Authoritative parental behavior was clearly associated with independent, purposive behavior for girls but only associated with such behavior for boys when the parents were nonconforming. Authoritative parental control was clearly associated with all indexes of social responsibility in boys compared to authoritarian and permissive parental control, and with high achievement in girls, but not with friendly, cooperative behavior. Contrary to expectations, parental nonconformity was not associated with lack of social responsibility in either boys or girls.

The objectives of this study were (*a*) to replicate or modify parent-child relationships found in two previous studies and (*b*) to differentiate further among patterns of parental authority, and to measure their effects on the behavior of preschool children.

In the present study, and in two previous studies, data for children were obtained after a period of 3 months of observation in the nursery school setting and in a structured situation; and data about parental behavior were obtained during two home visits of 3 hours each, followed by a structured interview with the mother and the father.

In one previous study, three groups of normal children, differing in social and emotional behavior, were identified in order that the child-rearing behavior of their parents could be contrasted. The findings of that study (Baumrind, 1967) can be summarized as follows:

1. Parents of the children who were the most self-reliant, self-controlled, explorative, and content were themselves controlling and demanding; but they were also warm, rational, and receptive to the child's communication. This unique combination of high control and positive encouragement of the

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child's autonomous and independent strivings was called authoritative parental behavior.

2. Parents of children who, relative to the others, were discontent, withdrawn, and distrustful, were themselves detached and controlling, and somewhat less warm than other parents. These were called authoritarian parents.

3. Parents of the least self-reliant, explorative, and self-controlled children were themselves noncontrolling, nondemanding, and relatively warm. These were called permissive parents.

The second previous study (Baumrind & Black, 1967) of an additional 95 nursery school children and their parents, using the entire range and employing correlative techniques, also supported the position that authoritative control can achieve responsible conformity with group standards without loss of individual autonomy or self-assertiveness.

The design of the present study differed from the previous study based upon pattern comparison in that

1. Parent-child relationships in the present group-comparison study were examined for boys and girls separately. Sex-related differences in effects of socialization practices appeared among the findings of several studies (Baumrind & Black, 1967; Bayley & Schaefer, 1964; Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Sears, Rau, & Alpert, 1965). These differences in results have not been explained very satisfactorily because it is difficult to demonstrate that the socialization practices designated by the same name are in reality equivalent. Still, the possibility that such differences exist require, wherever possible, separate analyses for boys and girls.

2. In the present study, pattern membership was defined by scores from measures of parent behavior and attitudes rather than, as in the previous study, by scores from measures of child behavior. Since scores for child behavior clusters were treated as dependent upon antecedent parent behavior, the present method of defining pattern membership was more consistent with the study's objectives.

3. In the present study, pattern membership was defined by cluster scores describing father as well as mother behavior.

4. An additional measure, the Parent Attitude Inquiry, was devised in order that an independent measure of parental values could be obtained. The values of the parent, and the extent to which the parent had values were taken into account in evaluating the effectiveness of contrasting patterns of child rearing.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were children enrolled in one of the 13 nursery schools intended for normal children, in Berkeley or its environs. The nursery schools were racially integrated and composed of private-cooperative, public school-cooperative, and university-operated facilities. Parents who use these facilities are seldom extremely neglectful, anticonforming, or severely disturbed. Nonliterate parents were excluded by the requirement that parents complete a lengthy paper-and-pencil inquiry. Additionally, a few anticonforming families out of patience with social scientists and their paper-and-pencil tests excluded themselves. Of the 246 families remaining (i.e., those which consented to observation of their children and completed the PAI) 150 were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate fully in the home visit phase of the study, and in accord with the requirement that the child-subject be at least 3 years 9 months at the time of observation, and have a Stanford-Binet IQ of at least 95.

For purposes of this report, the 16 black children and their families were excluded because the parent-child relationships were, as expected, not the same as for whites. (The data covering black families is in preparation.) The final home-visited sample consisted of 60 white girls and 74 white boys, and their respective families.

When the final home-visited sample was compared to the rest, it was found to contain (at the .10 level of significance or greater) a somewhat higher proportion of Jewish families, and somewhat fewer only children. When compared on the Preschool Behavior *Q* Sort and the Parent Attitude Inquiry (these measures are described in later sections), the children in the final sample were found to be somewhat more cooperative and their fathers to be even more democratically inclined. The children of the final sample, compared to the rest, were more intelligent (mean IQ of 125, as compared to 118) and their parents more highly educated (mean education on the Hollingshead scale, for fathers of 1.5 as compared to 1.8, and for mothers of 2.1 as compared to 2.5). The final sample had scores identical to the previously sampled subjects for these measures.

Sample characteristics by pattern and for the group as a whole are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS BY PATTERN

Pattern	Variable						
	Age of child (in mo.)	IQ of child	Birth order of child	No. children in family	Mother's education	Father's education	Father's occupation
Basic sample							
N							
G	58	55	58	58	58	58	56
B	69	69	69	69	68	69	69
M							
G	49.9	127.5	2.0	2.5	2.0	1.4	1.6
B	51.2	124.9	2.3	2.7	2.2	1.5	1.6
SD							
G	5.6	14.2	1.2	1.0	.8	.6	1.0
B	5.6	15.7	1.0	1.0	.7	.7	.9
I. Authoritarian							
N							
G	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
M							
G	49.0	115.5	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.5	2.0
B	50.8	120.0	2.1	2.5	3.0	1.1	1.6
SD							
G	9.9	17.7	.0	.7	.7	.7	1.4
B	5.6	13.6	.6	.9	.8	.4	.9
II. Authoritative							
N							
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
M							
G	51.6	135.9	1.9	2.4	1.7	1.1	1.1
B	54.3	127.8	2.6	3.2	2.1	1.7	1.3
SD							
G	3.6	22.0	.7	.5	.8	.4	.4
B	3.5	12.2	1.2	1.1	.8	.8	.7
III. Authoritative-Nonconforming							
N							
G	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
B	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
M							
G	51.8	117.5	2.3	2.8	1.8	1.3	1.0
B	45.0	135.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.5	1.5
SD							
G	2.5	11.7	1.9	1.5	.5	.5	.0
B	9.9	7.1	1.4	.7	.7	.7	.7
IV. Nonconforming							
N							
G	7	6	7	7	7	7	7
B	7	8	7	7	7	7	7
M							
G	49.7	130.8	1.4	2.3	1.9	1.4	1.4
B	49.1	131.4	2.6	2.7	1.9	1.1	1.4
SD							
G	5.2	10.3	.5	.5	.7	.5	.5
B	7.2	8.6	1.0	.8	.9	.4	.8

Table 1—(*Continued*)

Pattern	Variable						
	Age of child (in mo.)	IQ of child	Birth order of child	No. children in family	Mother's education	Father's education	Father's occupation
V. Nonconforming-Permissive							
N							
G	7	6	7	7	7	7	7
B	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
M							
G	47.3	128.0	2.3	2.7	1.9	1.3	2.0
B	51.5	127.5	2.0	2.5	1.8	1.5	1.8
SD							
G	6.3	12.4	1.3	1.0	1.2	.8	1.8
B	6.5	13.8	1.4	1.0	.5	.6	1.0
VI. Permissive							
N							
G	6	7	6	6	6	6	6
B	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
M							
G	51.3	132.9	1.8	2.3	2.2	1.5	1.7
B	48.8	116.7	2.2	2.5	2.3	1.5	1.8
SD							
G	4.4	16.4	.8	.5	.4	.5	.5
B	7.1	12.9	1.2	.8	.5	.8	.8
VII. Rejecting-Neglecting							
N							
G	6	5	6	6	6	6	6
B	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
M							
G	48.8	121.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.8
B	53.8	127.0	1.8	2.0	2.2	1.6	2.0
SD							
G	6.2	6.6	1.5	1.4	1.0	.8	1.0
B	5.4	17.1	.8	.7	.4	.9	1.0
VIII. Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting							
N							
G	7	6	7	7	7	7	7
B	8	7	8	8	8	8	8
M							
G	49.9	126.0	2.3	2.9	2.3	1.6	1.7
B	50.1	111.1	1.8	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.0
SD							
G	7.4	15.7	1.8	1.6	.5	.8	.8
B	6.7	23.4	.5	.7	.8	1.1	1.5
Significant differences between groups							
I vs. Others					.01B		
I vs. II					.05B	.10B	
I vs. IV		.10B			.05B		

Table 1—(*Continued*)

Pattern	Variable						
	Age of child (in mo.)	IQ of child	Birth order of child	No. children in family	Mother's education	Father's education	Father's occupation
	Significant differences between groups						
I vs. V					.05B		
I vs. VI					.10B		
I vs. VII					.10B		
I vs. VIII					.05B	.05B	
II vs. Others	.05B			.10B			
II vs. III	.05B						
II vs. IV	.10B						
II vs. VI	.05B	.10B					.10G
II vs. VII				.05B		.10G	
II vs. VIII	.10B	.10B	.10B	.10B			
III vs. IV		.10G					
III vs. VI							.05G
IV vs. VI		.05B					
IV vs. VIII		.05B	.10B			.05B	
VII vs. Others				.10B		.10G	
VIII vs. Others		.05B				.01B	

Note.—G = girls; B = boys. The education code (1 = graduate professional training, 7 = less than 7 years of school) and occupation code (1 = major executives and major professionals, 7 = unskilled workers) are those used by Hollingshead and Redlich (1958), with graduate student coded as education = 2 and occupation = 3. *Others* refers to all children of that sex whose families were visited, except those in the pattern under consideration. Since the statistics change for each pattern comparison, the *N*, mean, and standard deviation are not given for Others. Comparisons not statistically significant have been omitted.

Child Behavior

Over a period of 3 to 5 months one of a team of seven observers recorded all interpersonal and social behavior of the children as they engaged in activities in the nursery school. In addition, each child was observed and rated by the same observer while taking the Stanford-Binet. A 72-item *Q* sort, adapted from the 95-item *Q* sort used in the previous study, was devised. The changes from the initial sort represented an attempt to eliminate unreliable items, improve the wording of items found to be ambiguous, and to fill out areas of the model concerned with independence and achievement. Each item was defined by describing behavior that would be characteristic of a child rated high and behavior characteristic of a child rated low. Pertinent situations were pointed out to the observer in which a child might demonstrate the behavior described; and differentiations from other items measuring similar kinds of behavior were made. A manual (Baumrind, 1968b) was prepared to assist the observer in his use of the *Q*-sort items.

The seven observers differed considerably in age, philosophical persuasion, and professional training. All observers had previous experience in observing and rating children and at least some graduate training in the behavioral sciences. Observers were chosen for their heterodox views and life experience in order to reduce the subjectivism inherent in observational methods. Staff members met jointly for semiweekly sessions to construct, criticize, and finally to arrive at univocal interpretations of items and to prepare the manual. Unlike the previous study where the final scores were the composite of two observers' ratings, only one observer rated the child, in the interests of economy. The entire protocol describing the child's behavior over the school semester and while taking the Stanford-Binet was reviewed by the observer prior to making his ratings. When necessary, the observer went back into the field to collect further information relevant to a particular rating. For purposes of training, about 25% of the subjects was observed and *Q* sorted by a second member of the observer team. The "checker" did not have as much observational time with the child as the "resident" observer, and therefore his ratings were presumed to be less valid and were discarded. However, his presence and observations kept the resident observer alert to subjective bias. Correlations across items between the ratings of the resident observer and his checker ranged from an average of .48 for the least reliable observer to

.69 for the most reliable observer. The uncorrected reliabilities for the items across observers varied from a low of .00 to a high of .70 with approximately 10% of reliabilities below .39 and another 10% above .65. The mean value was .47. As might be expected, the items with low reliabilities (below .60) did not show a sufficiently high pattern of intercorrelation with other items to be important contributors to the final cluster structures, while items with high reliabilities (above .80) were generally included as cluster definers. It should be noted (Baumrind & Black, 1967, p. 294) that the reliabilities of composited items based on two observers' ratings, when both were resident observers, were much higher, averaging .68 with 10% below .60 and 10% above .80. The analyses reported are based on cluster scores rather than individual items. As is noted from Table 2 the reliabilities of the clusters themselves are high.

The domain of behavior covered by the Preschool Behavior *Q* Sort consists primarily of interpersonal behavior and achievement-oriented behavior. Items were devised to measure facets of two unrelated dimensions of competence-incompetence: namely, social responsibility versus social irresponsibility and independent versus suggestible behavior. (For a summary of *Q*-sort items see Table 2.) Current models with two orthogonal dimensions include Schaefer's (1961) reworking of the longitudinal data from the Berkeley Growth Study, Becker and Krug's (1964) reworking of Becker's data for 5-year-olds, and this investigator's previous work (Baumrind & Black, 1967). Social responsibility and independence may be thought of as interacting, coping functions which are brought to bear whenever the child is called upon to interact with others in a group, or to respond to an extrinsic demand. The nursery school is an excellent setting in which to record both aspects of competence, since there the child must conform to rules and regulations but also has many opportunities to explore, construct, and alter his environment.

Child Behavior Model

In a previous study (Baumrind & Black, 1967), a two-dimensional, eight-cluster model of preschool behavior was developed which exhibited some sex differences at the most detailed level, but which was closely similar at a more molar level. The analysis of the revised *Q* sort was directed at determining the dimensionality of the behavior space covered by the items, its similarity to the previous model, and the necessity for a sex-differentiated model. As in the previous study, the first two clusters from a BC TRY (Tryon & Bailey, 1966) cluster analysis were uncorrelated and accounted for 89% of the mean of the squared original correlations for both sexes and over 65% of the initial estimate of communality. This more than met the criteria for a two-dimensional model.

As in a previous study (Baumrind & Black, 1967), a principal-components solution was used to provide the most stable two-factor solution. Then all *Q*-sort items were plotted in this two-factor space with their factor coefficients used as coordinates. The items were formed into clusters on the basis of position on the circular plot, pattern of intercorrelation of contiguous items, and similarity of pattern for both sexes. This process revealed that there was very little difference in the ordering of the variables and the patterning of their intercorrelations between the sexes. The final six clusters which emerged were almost identical to five of the seven initial empirical clusters for both sexes, and required very little alteration of their basic structure to bring the separate-sex solutions into basic conformity. The defining items for each of the six clusters obtained from this ordering, and an additional overlapping cluster with theoretical relevance, appear in Table 2. This additional overlapping cluster, designated Independent-Suggestible, did not appear in the original empirical clusterings for either sex, but showed up clearly in the ordering of the variables. The actual ordering of the seven-cluster solution is illustrated in Figure 1.

The cluster scores are the unweighted composite of standardized scores for the defining items. All cluster scores are standardized with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. Most average *r*s of a defining item with other defining items in a cluster are over .65, which accounts for the high reliability of the clusters.

Sex Differences

As indicated, the six clusters which emerged for boys and girls were sufficiently similar so that the interrelations of the *Q*-sort items could be ordered into a single solution for boys and girls. The *cos* θ[3] (Tryon, 1964), values for the comparable clusters between boys and girls were all above .86. The first two clusters for both sexes were almost identical, although their order of extraction (and by implication their importance as sources of variance) was reversed. For boys, the first cluster which emerged was composed of behaviors on a responsible-irresponsible dimension. The second cluster was composed of behaviors on an active-passive dimension, and contained such items as Spectator (participant), Disoriented (well oriented), and Confident (lacks confidence). For girls, the clusters were the same but the order was reversed. These two factors match almost perfectly the two

[3] Tryon's statistic *cos* θ (see Tryon, 1964) is an index of similarity between clusters or dimensions as a solution to the problem of matching factors from different samples when the identical set of variables is used. This problem and the attempts at its solution are discussed by Harman (1967). The limits of *cos* θ are $\pm$ 1, and when the value between two clusters approaches 1, the clusters are equivalent in the sense that the pooled set of item definers from the two clusters have very nearly the identical patterns of factor coefficients for both clusters. There is a more extensive discussion of *cos* θ in Baumrind and Black (1967).

TABLE 2

DESCRIPTION OF PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR *Q*-SORT CLUSTERS: SEVEN-CLUSTER SOLUTION FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

No.	Description	Average *r*
	Cluster I: Hostile-Friendly (reliability = .91, r^{-2} = .27)	
55	Understands other children's position in interaction	−.83
7	Nurturant or sympathetic toward other children	−.80
54	Bullies other children	.78
72	Thoughtless of other children's productions	.74
70	Insulting	.70
63	Selfish	.63
35	Helps other children carry out their plans	−.61
	Cluster II: Resistive-Cooperative (reliability = .96, r^{-2} = .31)	
32	Obedient	−.91
69	Responsible about following standard operating procedure at school	−.88
44	Actively facilitates nursery school routine	−.86
33	Impetuous and impulsive	.84
27	Tries to evade adult authority	.82
52	Can be trusted	−.81
68	Provocative with adults	.82
	Cluster III: Domineering-Tractable (reliability = .91, r^{-2} = .39)	
71	Nonintrusive	−.82
13	Timid with other children	−.75
67	Hits only in self-defense or doesn't hit at all	−.74
41	Concerned about adult disapproval	−.70
36	Does not question adult authority	−.69
2	Manipulates other children to enhance his own position or to get what he wants	.67
	Cluster IV: Dominant-Submissive (reliability = .90, r^{-2} = .24)	
21	Peer leader	.85
11	Suggestible	−.84
47	Plans activities for other children	.79
64	Individualistic	.70
48	Resists domination of other children	.65
	Cluster V: Purposive-Aimless (reliability = .95, r^{-2} = .52)	
10	Spectator	−.86
14	Characteristically unoccupied	−.83
49	An interesting, arresting child	.82
59	Samples activities aimlessly, lacks goals	−.81
15	Vacillates and oscillates	−.81
19	Disoriented in his environment	−.77
16	Confident	.76
24	Dominates group activity	.75
18	Self-starting and self-propelled	.75

Table 2—(*Continued*)

No.	Description	Average r
	Cluster VI: Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented (reliability = .93, r^{-1} = .27)	
8	Does not persevere when he encounters frustration	−.85
58	Stretches to meet the situation when much is demanded	.82
20	Does not become pleasurably involved in tasks	−.82
6	Likes to learn new skill	.81
42	Sets himself goals which expand his abilities, e.g., learning to pump on swings, trying difficult puzzles	.77
12	Gives his best to work and play	.71
26	Easily frustrated or upset when an obstacle to task performance is encountered	−.71
	Cluster VII: Independent-Suggestible (reliability = .86, r^{-1} = .20)	
64	Individualistic	.85
11	Suggestible	−.78
66	Stereotyped in his thinking	−.71
36	Does not question adult authority	−.64

Note.—Average r = the average correlation of the item with the other cluster definers; reliability = the reliability of the composite of the cluster definers (Spearman-Brown); r^{-1} = reproducibility of the mean of the squared correlations among items.

orthogonal main factors axes (responsible and active) which formed the central structure for the model reported in Baumrind and Black (1967). In that study the ordering of the first two clusters for boys and girls was also reversed. The most important source of covariation for boys in both studies centers around socially responsible versus irresponsible behavior, and for girls around active versus passive, or, as it is called in this study, independent versus suggestible behavior.

Even at this early age, as can be noted from Table 3, boys compared to girls showed more hostility with peers, more resistiveness to adult supervision, and less achievement orientation. The focal socialization task with boys is reasonably clear, requiring as it does the development of social responsibility. For girls, the socialization task is more problematic, since it involves the facilitation and reinforcement of behaviors which run counter to a stereotypic feminine role. If it is true that girls are relatively more homogeneous with regard to social responsibility than independence and if the opposite is true for boys, then we may expect to find relatively fewer relationships between socialization practices of parents and indexes of social responsibility for girls, and relatively fewer relationships between socialization practices and indexes of independence for boys.

Table 4 contains the relationships within boy and girl *Q*-sort cluster solutions. The most striking sex-related relationship is that between Resistive and Achievement Oriented. For girls, these clusters were unrelated (—.06), but for boys the relationship was clearly negative (—.40). The girl who, relative to other girls, is resistive with adults is not necessarily nonachieving, while with boys such resistiveness is likely to be coupled with nonachievement. Similarly, but less striking, for girls as compared to boys, Domineering was more clearly related to Dominant and Purposive behavior, and less related to Hostile and Resistive behavior. Thus, relative to other girls, the girl who is domineering is likely to be dominant and purposive, while, relative to other boys, the boy who is domineering is unlikely to be achieving and somewhat less likely to be purposive.

Parent Behavior

The methods of collecting data about family interaction were nearly identical with those described in the report of a previous study (Baumrind, 1967). Two home visits were made to each family.

> The psychologist who visited the home was not one of the pair that rated the child's behavior. In order to achieve a standardized situation, the home visit was structured identically for each family and occurred for all families during a period commencing from shortly before the dinner hour and lasting until just after the child's bedtime. This period is commonly known to produce instances of parent-child divergence and was selected for observation in order to elicit a wide range of critical interactions under maximum stress [Baumrind & Black, 1967, p. 304].

In addition, each parent was interviewed separately, and the interviews tape-recorded. The partial nar-

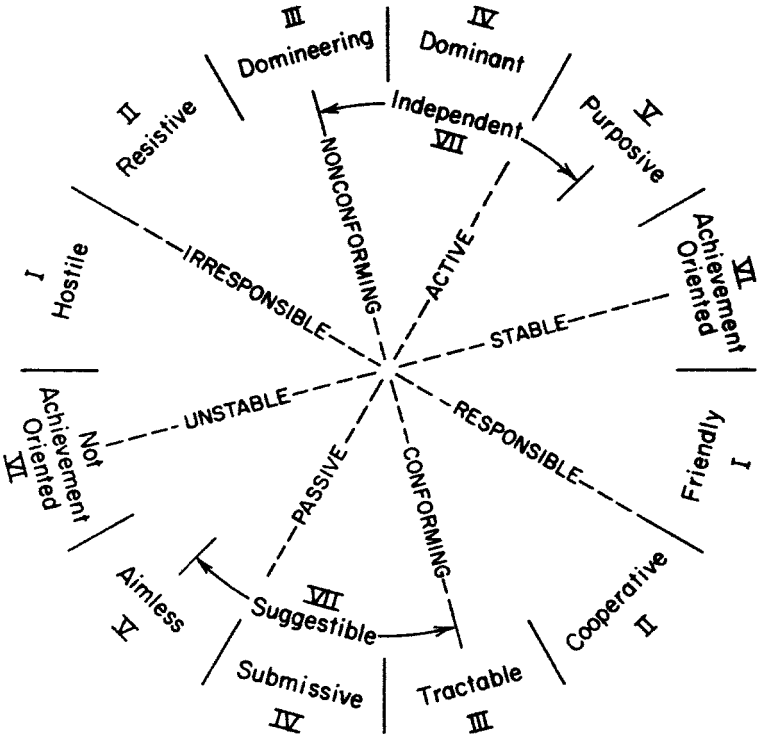

FIG. 1. Child behavior model, sexes combined, nursery school setting. (Dashed lines inside circle represent principal axes from previous study. Baumrind and Black, 1967).

rative records of the home visits were typed, and the tape-recorded interviews transcribed.

Parent Behavior Ratings (PBR)

Fifteen hypothetical constructs covered the domain of relevant parent behavior. Fifty Parent Behavior Ratings scales were devised to assess the observed and reported behavior of the mother and father separately, and 25 additional scales were devised to measure the joint influence of the parents. Each of the 75 items was constructed to measure a specific manifestation of one of the 15

TABLE 3

COMPARISONS FOR PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR *Q*-SORT CLUSTERS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Cluster	Girls (N = 113)		Boys (N = 125)		p
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
I. Hostile-Friendly	47.2	8.3	52.6	10.8	.01
II. Resistive-Cooperative	47.0	8.4	52.7	10.6	.01
III. Domineering-Tractable	48.3	9.8	51.5	10.0	.05
IV. Dominant-Submissive	49.5	10.1	50.5	10.0	*ns*
V. Purposive-Aimless	49.1	10.1	50.8	9.9	*ns*
VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	51.2	9.5	49.0	10.4	.10
VII. Independent-Suggestible	50.1	10.3	49.9	9.8	*ns*

TABLE 4

RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR *Q*-SORT CLUSTER SOLUTIONS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS (*r*)

Cluster	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
I. Hostile-Friendly		.74	.54	.10	−.13	−.26	.17
II. Resistive-Cooperative	.72		.62	.30	.03	−.06	.41
III. Domineering-Tractable	.62	.73		.64	.49	.24	.70
IV. Dominant-Submissive	.12	.20	.53		.71	.41	.84
V. Purposive-Aimless	−.20	−.09	.36	.59		.69	.65
VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	−.46	−.40	−.15	.34	.60		.54
VII. Independent-Suggestible	.18	.31	.54	.80	.40	.40	

Note.—Numbers above the diagonal are for girls; those below, for boys.

hypothetical constructs. Table 5 contains the brief titles given the items, with each item grouped under its appropriate hypothetical construct. The construct was itself defined as an item so that the observers could summarize their impressions of the family by rating the family on the 15 child-rearing dimensions.

The rater's task was to decide first which of two contrasting alternatives characterized the person or family being rated, and then to rate the degree to which the family was characterized by that alternative. For example, in Item 1 (Set Regular Tasks):

> 1. Child has one or two tasks to perform which he does regularly, by choice or compulsion. (Parents believe that child should help mother in some regular way, and one or both parents insist that he do so.)
> 2. Child has no regular tasks to perform although he may offer or be asked to help upon occasion. (Parents do not believe in chores for a child of 3 or 4, and he is discouraged from helping.)

Where the parent could not, in the opinion of the rater, be assessed reliably on an item, the score on that item was coded as "missing."

Item reliabilities. Thirty-one of the completed case records were rated by a second rater (the investigator). The correlations between the two raters for the 125 items (50 Mother, 50 Father, 25 Joint) varied from a low of .49 to a high of .96, with 7 of the item reliabilities below .60 and 14 above .89. The mean value was .76 for Mother PBR items, .75 for Father PBR items, and .82 for Joint PBR items.

Parent Behavior Clusters

First the empirical and then the decision-making[4] features of the BC TRY cluster analysis were used to provide separate unordered cluster solutions for (*a*) 50 Mother items, (*b*) 50 Father items, and (*c*) 25 Joint items.

In Table 6 are given (*a*) the defining items; that is, those items which were composited to obtain cluster scores for the final cluster, (*b*) additional items which had a relatively high average correlation with the definers, and (*c*) the cluster reliabilities.

The first two clusters for the separate parent solutions were relatively orthogonal, and accounted for about 65% of the variance in each case. The first cluster extracted was designated Firm Enforcement and the second cluster, Encourages Independence and Individuality. In this study, a dimension of Acceptance-Rejection, as such, did not emerge as an important source of variance, although the cluster designated Encourages Independence and Individuality was highly correlated (negatively) with the cluster designated Rejecting. The relative unimportance of Acceptance-Rejection as a source of variance, by contrast with most studies of parent behavior, reflects the unusual homogeneity of the sample by contrast with most such samples (e.g., Becker, 1964; Schaefer, 1965) in the high degree of acceptance shown the children. The homogeneity of the sample in this regard was dictated by the objective of the study, which is to relate various patterns of parental *authority* to the behavior of the children, when

[4] The BC TRY is a cluster-analytic rather than a factor-analytic system. The practical differences which are important here are that from a Tryon analysis each factor (cluster) is defined not by a factor coefficient on each item, but by a subset of items which cluster together (intercorrelate), and the resulting item composites (clusters) are allowed to correlate with each other (oblique solution). The decision-making features of BC TRY allow the analyst to alter an empirical solution in a number of ways. For the analyses conducted in the present study, small alterations to the empirical solution were made in the direction of increasing the similarity between boy-girl and mother-father clusters while maintaining an equally high cluster reliability and accounting for the same proportion of variance.

TABLE 5

PARENT BEHAVIOR RATINGS GROUPED BY HYPOTHETICAL CONSTRUCT

Hypothetical construct (defined as an item)	Rating items
I. Expect vs. Do Not Expect Participation in Household Chores	
1. Parents require some participation in household tasks and that child will help dress self and put his own toys away. (In addition, such participation is an important part of parents' views on child rearing.) 2. Parents do not require that child perform any regular tasks. (In addition, parents do offer him considerable help in dressing and putting toys away.)	1. Set regular tasks 2. Discourage obstructive behavior 3. Demand child put toys away 4. Demand child dresses self 5. Demand child cleans own messes
II. Enrichment vs. Impoverishment of Child's Environment	
0. On principle, parents do not set standards, or purposively stimulate the child, although they are themselves stimulating and well-differentiated people. 1. Parents set high standards of intellectual and cultural excellence, and provide an orderly, enriched cognitive environment for the child. (In addition, cognitive enrichment is a prepotent value of parents, and stimuli presented to child are rich, orderly, concordant and monitored, so that child is not saturated or confused.) 2. Parents do not set high standards of intellectual and cognitive excellence nor provide an orderly, enriched external environment for child. (Also, parents' capacity to provide cognitive enrichment is limited by their own backgrounds or depressed state so that child's environment is unorganized, either empty or saturated.)	6. Invoke cognitive insight 7. Provide an intellectually stimulating environment 8. Parents are differentiated and stimulating 9. Set standards of excellence 10. Make demands upon child which have educational value
III. Directive vs. Nondirective	
1. The child's day-to-day activities are structured by means of rules or regimen in many areas of his life such as TV, bedtime, and food, but these rules are flexibly enforced. (Such rules are restrictive and not flexibly enforced.) 2. The child's day-to-day activities vary widely and little attempt is made to enforce a daily regimen. (Plus, the child has very wide latitude in setting his own regimen, and parents adjust their own expectations about bedtime, menu, and TV viewing to the child's interests and moods.)	11. Many rules and regulations 12. Many restrictions on TV viewing 13. Many restrictions on eating 14. Regimen set for child 15. Fixed bedtime hour
IV. Discourage vs. Encourage Emotional Dependency on Parents	
0. Parents neglect child. 1. Parents discourage dependent clinging. (In addition, parents train child to behave independently.) 2. Parents permit dependent clinging. (In addition, parents are overprotective about potential physical and psychological discomforts to child.)	16. Mother has independent life 17. Discourage emotional dependency 18. Encourage contact with other adults 19. Not overprotective 20. Encourage self-help

Table 5—(*Continued*)

Hypothetical construct (defined as an item)	Rating items
V. Discourage vs. Encourage Infantile Behavior	
1. Parents discourage infantile incompetence and reinforce mature behavior. (In addition, child was dry during the day by 2½ yr., and bottle and pacifier were given up before age 2.) 2. Parents do not discourage infantile incompetence or correct babyish speech and mannerisms. (In addition, the child retained bottle or pacifier, or was not entirely dry after age 3.)	21. Discourage babyish speech and mannerisms 22. Initiate toilet training 23. Demand mature table behavior 24. Limit bottle and pacifier 25. Demand mannerly behavior during visits
VI. Flexibility and Clarity vs. Inflexibility and Lack of Clarity of the Parent's Views	
1. The child is presented with a well-integrated child-rearing philosophy by at least one parent and such philosophical differences as the parents may have do not affect the child. (Both parents can articulate well-integrated child-rearing philosophies which do not conflict with each other's ideas and which they put into practice.) 2. The child is not presented with an integrated, internally consistent child-rearing philosophy. (Neither parent can articulate a philosophy, or both parents disagree rather fundamentally and do not act in unison.)	26. Can specify aims and methods 27. Clear ideals for child 28. Clear about parental role 29. Stable, firm views 30. Flexible views
VII. Firm vs. Lax Enforcement Policy	
0. Parents on principle avoid issuing directives, opposing the child's will, or enforcing their own will. 1. Parents exert firm control; they enforce directives and do not give in when child causes a commotion. (In addition, parents attach considerable importance to firm enforcement, clearly letting the child know that one or both parents are in charge.) 2. Parental control is lax. (Parents cannot enforce their directives, and child is openly disobedient or disrespectful.)	31. Firm enforcement 32. Enforcement after initial noncompliance 33. Cannot be coerced by child 34. Uses negative sanctions when defied 35. Requires child to pay attention
VIII. Obedience as a Salient Positive Value vs. Obedience as a Nonsalient or Negative Value	
1. Parents criticize or prohibit actions of the child which are contrary to their wishes, directives, or personal code of behavior. (In addition, parents will persist to the point of confrontation to show they are in charge, or exercise as much power as is necessary in order to obtain obedience.) 2. Parents withhold criticism or correction even when child acts contrary to their wishes. (In addition, parents highly value self-regulation and/or do not regard obedience as an important criterion of a good parent-child relationship).	36. Promotes own code of behavior 37. Forces confrontation when child disobeys 38. Willingly exercises power to obtain obedience 39. Obedience as a salient construct 40. Disapproves of defiant stance

Table 5—(*Continued*)

Hypothetical construct (defined as an item)	Rating items
IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority vs. Seeks to Develop a Cooperative Working Relationship with Child	
1. Parents wish child to respect established authority and to defer to them in their role as parents. (In addition, parents are willing to assume a stance of personal infallibility as a way of dominating the child.) 2. Parents believe that child should think for himself rather than defer to an established authority or to themselves, just because they are his parents. (In addition, they feel that as he gets older, he should *not* accommodate to institutional rules with which he disagrees.)	41. Parent's needs take precedence 42. Child must defer to parental expertise 43. Child must conform to establishment 44. Does not share decision-making power with child 45. Assumes stance of personal infallibility
X. Confidence vs. Lack of Confidence in Self as a Parent	
1. Parents relate to the child in a self-assured, secure manner. (In addition, the parents are active rather than reactive, and opposition from the child provokes a further show of force consciously directed at retaining control over the parent-child relationship, or the parents calmly and with equanimity avoid a confrontation without loss of self-control.) 2. Parents relate to the child in an unsure, insecure fashion. (In addition, opposition from the child provokes evasion or retreat or impotent anger which does not achieve its aim.)	46. Regards self as competent person 47. Retains self-control when child challenges 48. Regards self as potent and knowledgeable 49. Active agent 50. Secure during home visit
XI. Encourages vs. Discourages Independence	
1. Parents encourage self-assertion and independent experimentation. (In addition, parents value critical behavior, including that directed at their own policies.) 2. Parents discourage self-assertion, especially when directed at their policies. (In addition, parents frighten child about possible consequences and will not listen to him.)	51. Encourages independent actions 52. Offers child alternatives 53. Listens to critical comments 54. Encourages oppositional behavior 55. Solicits child's opinions
XII. Encourages vs. Discourages Verbal Exchange and Use of Reason	
1. Parents engage child in verbal interactions of a meaningful kind, generally giving him reasons for their actions, and are receptive to intimate verbal interchange. (In addition, parents handle disobedience by offering additional explanations and encourage back and forth banter, so that child is free to express himself, even to disagree with his parents.) 2. Parents do not give child reasons for their directives or actions, and/or are not verbal with child, and/or engage in meaningless verbose chatter. (In addition, parents discourage intimate interchange and use repressive rather than rational means to enforce obedience.)	56. Meaningful verbal interaction 57. Gives reasons with directives 58. Disobedience elicits further explanations 59. Encourages verbal give and take 60. Encourages intimate verbal contact

Table 5—(*Continued*)

Hypothetical construct (defined as an item)	Rating items
XIII. Reluctant vs. Willing to Express Anger or Displeasure to Child	
0. Parents seldom react internally with anger even when child defies or dawdles. 1. Parents accept their own anger when they feel the child deserves it, and permit open parent-child or child-parent confrontation. (In addition, parents state that such confrontation is of positive value to them or child.) 2. Parents reject their anger and negative feelings, and avoid open parent-child and child-parent confrontation. (In addition, parents feel conflicted about expressing anger openly, and attempt to remain sweet and child centered even when child is annoying or disobedient.)	61. Shame about expressing anger 62. Gentle manner 63. Avoids open confrontation 64. Inhibits annoyance or impatience when child disobeys 65. Inhibits annoyance or impatience when child dawdles or is annoying
XIV. Promotes Individuality vs. Social Acceptability	
1. Parents value and express individuality in behavior and appearance in themselves and in their children. (Parents encourage child to be individualistic and expressive rather than achievement oriented and socially acceptable.) 2. Parents are conforming in behavior and appearance, and do not want child to be different or "stand out." (Parents clearly discourage individuality, themselves conform to community norms in child rearing, and have a rather stereotyped view of what a child is like.)	66. Promotes individuality in child 67. Expresses own individuality 68. Sees child-rearing practices as atypical 69. Defines child's individuality clearly 70. Values expressive traits more than instrumental traits
XV. Expresses Punitive vs. Nurturant Behavior	
1. Parents are emotionally unresponsive and unsupportive. (Child is treated coldly or harshly.) 2. Parents are responsive and supportive. (Child is treated with extreme warmth by parents who reveal profound empathic understanding and responsiveness to his individual ways and needs.)	71. Becomes inacessible when displeased 72. Lacks empathic understanding 73. Cool 74. Unresponsive 75. Disciplines harshly

Note.—The numbers by which the items are referred to in this table and throughout the article are consecutive within construct and between construct as listed, and do not coincide with the order of the items in the rating booklet. Items 1–25 are "joint" items; that is, they were rated once for the family. Items 26–75 were rated separately for the mother and for the father. After rating the family on Items 1–25, and the mother and father each on Items 26–75, the rater summarized his impressions by rating the family on the hypothetical constructs-qua-items. When the subject being rated could be described by the portion of the item in parentheses, his score received a double rating.

real rejection or neglect is not a factor. The intercorrelations between the PBR clusters for Mother, Father, and Joint ratings are presented in Table 7.

Since the author shares Schaefer's (1965) interest in Acceptance versus Rejection, Psychological Autonomy versus Psychological Control, and Firm Control versus Lax Control as organizing theoretical constructs, the meaning of the empirical clusters in the following discussion is related to these organizing constructs, as well as to the 15 discrete hypothetical constructs which the 75 parent behavior ratings operationally define. Each of the 15 hypothetical constructs was also defined in the form of an item (see Table 5) and the family as a whole rated on that construct-qua-item. The validity of the clusters as measures of the hypothetical constructs can be inferred from their item compositions and from their correlations with the

TABLE 6

DESCRIPTION OF PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING (PBR) CLUSTERS

Item	Average r
Mother PBR clusters	
1. Firm Enforcement (reliability = .94, r^{-2} = .50)	
33[a] Cannot be coerced by child	.66
32[a] Enforcement after initial noncompliance	.66
31[a] Firm enforcement	.65
37[a] Forces confrontation when child disobeys	.61
38[a] Willingly exercises power to obtain obedience	.58
40 Disapproves of defiant stance	.52
35[a] Requires child to pay attention	.50
36 Promotes own code of behavior	.46
42 Child must defer to parental expertise	.44
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality (reliability = .94, r^{-2} = .50)	
57[a] Gives reasons with directives	.58
52[a] Offers child alternatives	.56
55[a] Solicits child's opinions	.53
69[a] Defines child's individuality clearly	.53
60[a] Encourages intimate verbal contact	.50
72[a] Lacks empathic understanding	−.49
53[a] Listens to critical comments	.49
59[a] Encourages verbal give and take	.49
56[a] Meaningful verbal interaction	.49
66[a] Promotes individuality in child	.47
44[a] Does not share decision-making power with child	−.46
67 Expresses own individuality	.41
54 Encourages oppositional behavior	.38
43 Child must conform to establishment	−.38
3. Passive-Acceptant (reliability =.90, r^{-2} = .27)	
64[a] Inhibits annoyance or impatience when child disobeys	.61
65[a] Inhibits annoyance or impatience when child dawdles or is annoying	.57
63[a] Avoids open confrontation	.54
62[a] Gentle manner	.53
34[a] Uses negative sanctions when defied	−.53
75[a] Disciplines harshly	−.49
61 Shame about expressing anger	.38
4. Rejecting (reliability = .88, r^{-2} = .32)	
71[a] Becomes inaccessible when displeased	.58
75[a] Disciplines harshly	.55
74[a] Unresponsive	.53
45[a] Assumes stance of personal infallibility	.51
41[a] Parent's needs take precedence	.48
73[a] Cool	.47
5. Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior (reliability = .92, r^{-2} = .29)	
28[a] Clear about parental role	.58
30[a] Flexible views	.54
48[a] Regards self as potent and knowledgeable	.52
50[a] Secure during home visit	.51
29[a] Stable, firm views	.50
46[a] Regards self as competent parent	.49
27[a] Clear ideals for child	.49
26[a] Can specify aims and methods of discipline	.48
47[a] Retains self-control when child challenges	.47
Father PBR clusters	
1. Firm Enforcement (reliability = .92, r^{-2} = .33)	
37[a] Forces confrontation when child disobeys	.63

TABLE 6—(*Continued*)

Item	Average *r*
Father PBR clusters	
33[a] Cannot be coerced by child	.62
31[a] Firm enforcement	.61
32[a] Enforcement after initial noncompliance	.56
34[a] Uses negative sanctions when defied	.52
38[a] Willingly exercises power to obtain obedience	.49
36[a] Promotes own code of behavior	.48
35[a] Requires child to pay attention	.44
42 Child must defer to parental expertise	.42
29 Stable, firm views	.33
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality (reliability = .92, r^{-2} = .38)	
27[a] Clear ideals for child	.58
60[a] Encourages intimate verbal contact	.54
72[a] Lacks empathic understanding	−.53
69[a] Defines child's individuality clearly	.52
28[a] Clear about parental role	.52
56[a] Meaningful verbal interaction	.50
46 Regards self as competent person	.48
30[a] Flexible views	.48
26[a] Can specify aims and methods of discipline	.47
48[a] Regards self as potent and knowledgeable	.46
50 Secure during home visit	.42
3. Passive-Acceptant (reliability = .84, r^{-2} = .29)	
65[a] Inhibits annoyance or impatience when child dawdles or is annoying	.47
64[a] Inhibits annoyance or impatience when child disobeys	.47
40[a] Disapproves of defiant stance	−.46
62[a] Gentle manner	.44
71[a] Becomes inaccessible when displeased	−.41
63 Avoids open confrontation	.38
4. Rejecting (reliability = .82, r^{-2} = .29)	
73[a] Cool	.63
74[a] Unresponsive	.61
75[a] Disciplines harshly	.52
5. Promotes Nonconformity (reliability = .83, r^{-2} = .22)	
43[a] Child must conform to establishment	−.53
66[a] Promotes individuality in child	.51
67[a] Expresses own individuality	.51
68[a] See child-rearing practices as atypical	.42
70[a] Values expressive traits more than instrumental traits	.42
6. Authoritarianism (reliability = .93, r^{-2} = .58)	
53[a] Listens to critical comments	−.59
55[a] Solicits child's opinions	−.57
45[a] Assumes stance of personal infallibility	.54
44[a] Does not share decision-making power with child	.51
58[a] Disobedience elicits further explanations	−.49
52[a] Offers child alternatives	−.48
71[a] Becomes inaccessible when displeased	.47
39[a] Obedience as a salient construct	.46
54[a] Encourages oppositional behavior	−.43
59 Encourages verbal give and take	−.43
41[a] Parent's needs take precedence	.43
51 Encourages independent actions	−.40
57 Gives reasons with directives	−.38
Joint PBR clusters	
1. Expect Participation in Household Chores (reliability = .86, r^{-2} = .48)	
3[a] Demand child put toys away	.67

TABLE 6—(*Continued*)

Item	Average r
Joint PBR clusters	
5[a] Demand child cleans own messes	.58
2[a] Discourage obstructive behavior	.56
1[a] Set regular tasks	.53
20 Encourage self-help	.42
4 Demand child dress self	.39
2. Enrichment of child's environment (reliability = .85, r^{-2} = .24)	
6[a] Invoke cognitive insight	.62
7[a] Intellectually stimulating environment	.58
8[a] Parents are differentiated and stimulating	.57
9[a] Set standards of excellence	.51
10 Demands made upon child have educational value	.40
3. Directive (reliability = .78, r^{-2} = .24)	
14[a] Regimen set for child	.52
15[a] Fixed bedtime hour	.47
11[a] Many rules and regulations	.40
12[a] Many restrictions on TV	.33
13 Many restrictions on eating	.31
4. Discourage Emotional Dependency (reliability = .77, r^{-2} = .10)	
17[a] Discourage emotional dependency	.65
19[a] Not overprotective	.60
5. Discourage Infantile Behavior (reliability = .63, r^{-2} = .23)	
22[a] Parents initiate toilet training	.40
21 Discourage baby speech and mannerisms	.34
24[a] Limit bottle and pacifier	.32
23[a] Parents demand mature table behavior	.31
25 Demand mannerly behavior during visits	.28

Note.—Average r = the average correlation of the item with the other cluster definers; reliability = the reliability of the composite of the cluster definers (Spearman-Brown); r^{-2} = reproducibility of the mean of the squared correlations among items.
[a] Indicates items defining the cluster.

constructs-qua-items which these items operationally define. The correlations between the PBR clusters and the constructs-qua-items appear in Table 8.

PBR Cluster 1: Firm Enforcement. For each solution the first empirical cluster extracted was designated Firm Enforcement, and was defined by items which had been constructed to measure Hypothetical Constructs VII (Firm versus Lax Enforcement Policy) and VIII (Obedience as a Salient Positive Value versus Obedience as a Nonsalient or Negative Value). The correlations with the Constructs-qua-Items VII and VIII were .82 and .62 for fathers, and .76 and .60 for mothers (Table 7). The Mother and Father solutions were closely comparable, as shown by *cos θ* for girls of .89 and for boys of .91 (Table 6). This cluster is analogous to Schaefer's dimension, Firm Control versus Lax Control.

PBR Cluster 2: Encourages Independence and Individuality. The second empirical cluster extracted was designated Encourages Independence and Individuality for both parents, although more than half of the defining items differ for the Mother and Father solutions. For the Mother solution, all but two defining items had been constructed to measure three closely related hypothetical constructs, as follows: XI (Encourages versus Discourages Independence), XII (Encourages versus Discourages Verbal Exchange and Use of Reason), and XIV (Promotes Individuality versus Social Acceptability). The correlations for the Mother solution with the appropriate constructs-qua-items, that is, XI, XII, and XIV, were .66, .73, and .56, respectively. For the Father solution, items defining Hypothetical Construct XII (Encourages versus Discourages Verbal Exchange and Use of Reason) were important, and the correlation with Construct-qua-Item XII was .52. But, in addition, the Flexibility and Clarity versus Inflexibility and Lack of Clarity of the Parent's Views (Hypothetical Construct VI) and Confidence versus Lack of Confidence in Self as a Parent (Hypothetical Construct X) were prominent components of Father Cluster 2 (correlations with Items VI and X were .73 and .45). The *cos θ* of Father Cluster 2 with Mother Cluster 2 for girls was .71, and for boys was .65.

TABLE 7

RELATIONSHIPS OF PARENT BEHAVIOR RATINGS (PBR) CLUSTERS: MOTHER VERSUS FATHER VERSUS JOINT

Cluster	Statistic	Child's sex	Father PBR clusters					
			1. Firm enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Authoritarianism
Mother PBR								
1. Firm Enforcement	*r*	G	(.71)	−.01	−.36	.29	−.46	.40
		B	(.61)	.32	−.15	−.08	−.12	−.01
	cos θ	G	(.89)	−.00	−.58	.34	−.48	.51
		B	(.91)	.36	−.61	.09	−.15	.28
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	*r*	G	−.37	(.60)	.16	−.50	.57	−.71
		B	−.07	(.39)	.15	−.49	.53	−.50
	cos θ	G	−.47	(.71)	.49	−.61	.71	−.85
		B	−.10	(.65)	.43	−.67	.47	−.72
3. Passive-Acceptant	*r*	G	−.57	.17	(.33)	−.24	.22	−.35
		B	−.25	−.11	(.16)	−.14	.21	−.04
	cos θ	G	−.63	.22	(.82)	−.51	.33	−.49
		B	−.59	.01	(.88)	−.40	.20	−.51
4. Rejecting	*r*	G	.34	−.28	−.23	(.54)	−.21	.47
		B	−.00	−.24	.06	(.38)	−.40	.12
	cos θ	G	.42	−.58	−.61	(.74)	−.47	.69
		B	.23	−.58	−.58	(.84)	−.32	.68
5. Self-Confident	*r*	G	.16	.61	.04	−.27	.03	−.19
		B	.30	.52	−.05	−.34	.17	−.25
	cos θ	G	.21	.76	.12	−.47	.12	−.36
		B	.41	.72	−.04	−.50	.14	−.32

Table 7—(*Continued*)

Cluster	Statistic	Child's sex	Joint PBR clusters				
			1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
Father PBR	*r*	G	.66	−.16	.48	.36	.30
1. Firm Enforcement		B	.60	.06	.37	.30	.41
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	*r*	G	.05	.78	.22	.10	.02
		B	.36	.57	.17	−.03	.28
3. Passive-Acceptant	*r*	G	−.49	.16	−.18	−.24	−.12
		B	−.29	.15	−.13	−.13	−.02
4. Rejecting	*r*	G	.18	−.49	.19	.27	.01
		B	.06	−.44	.02	.13	−.19
5. Promotes Nonconformity	*r*	G	−.34	.48	−.26	−.06	−.30
		B	−.04	.39	−.33	−.01	−.09
6. Authoritarianism	*r*	G	.30	−.59	.23	.02	.19
		B	.09	−.40	.10	.04	−.04
Mother PBR							
1. Firm Enforcement	*r*	G	.62	−.05	.56	.38	.25
		B	.64	.16	.46	.29	.36
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	*r*	G	−.10	.76	−.03	−.07	−.19
		B	.05	.73	−.13	.06	.06
3. Passive-Acceptant	*r*	G	−.44	.22	−.14	−.37	−.25
		B	−.33	.01	−.38	−.11	−.09
4. Rejecting	*r*	G	.21	−.37	.11	.30	.23
		B	.08	−.39	.23	.05	.08
5. Self-Confident	*r*	G	.22	.61	.36	.17	−.01
		B	.44	.53	.06	.37	.18

Note.—G = parents of girls; B = parents of boys. Values for Mother versus Father clusters with the same names are in parentheses.

TABLE 8

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN 15 PARENT BEHAVIOR RATINGS (PBR) CONSTRUCTS-QUA-ITEMS AND MOTHER, FATHER, AND JOINT PBR CLUSTERS

Construct-qua-items	PBR clusters														
	Mother					Father						Joint			
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
I	.48	−.09	−.22	.07	.27	.52	.17	−.30	.04	−.27	.18	(.79)	.01	.31	.21	.35
II	.15	.52	.04	−.24	.48	.07	.61	.14	−.33	.22	−.36	.20	(.79)	.31	.05	.06
III	.43	−.05	−.19	.10	.22	.45	.14	−.19	.10	−.37	.19	.36	.09	(.76)	.06	.21
IV	.19	.09	−.12	.06	.36	.33	.22	−.21	.06	−.03	.02	.31	.15	.01	(.52)	.24
V	.35	−.05	−.13	.04	.19	.27	.05	−.05	.00	−.23	.13	.34	.00	.21	.26	(.66)
VI	.28	.48	.01	−.34	(.72)	.19	(.73)	.05	−.40	.11	−.43	.29	.63	.17	.18	.12
VII	(.76)	−.09	−.37	.07	.38	(.82)	.16	(−.37)	.11	−.29	.35	.64	.12	.40	.39	.48
VIII	(.60)	−.41	−.40	.33	.14	(.62)	.02	−.37	.18	−.51	.47	.48	− 17	.43	.18	.27
IX	.41	−.48	−.27	.28	.01	.59	−.20	(−.41)	.33	−.69	(.57)	.35	−.34	.39	.14	.23
X	.51	.25	−.13	−.25	(.72)	.42	(.45)	−.12	−.22	−.09	−.06	.44	.36	.27	.33	.24
XI	−.15	(.66)	.20	−.42	.23	−.23	.43	.27	−.36	.53	(−.63)	−.08	.49	−.11	.08	−.10
XII	−.06	(.73)	.14	−.39	.33	−.25	(.52)	.30	−.45	.42	−.64	−.09	.66	.04	.06	−.15
XIII	−.53	.09	(.62)	−.19	−.20	−.47	−.24	(.33)	−.04	.02	.03	−.47	−.11	−.10	.36	−.22
XIV	−.21	(.56)	.20	−.37	.17	−.23	.22	.13	−.23	(.74)	−.41	−.10	.47	−.27	.10	−.19
XV	.02	−.54	−.28	(.63)	−.45	.14	−.43	−.27	(.60)	−.36	.46	−.00	−.52	−.04	.07	−.07

Note.—The values in parentheses designate correlations between PBR clusters and the constructs-qua-items corresponding to the hypothetical constructs which the defining items from the empirical PBR clusters are intended to define operationally. The names of the constructs-qua-items are as follows: I. Expect Participation in Household Chores, II. Enrichment of Child's Environment, III. Directive, IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency, V. Discourage Infantile Behavior, VI. Flexibility and Clarity of Parent's Views, VII. Firm Enforcement, VIII. Obedience as Salient Positive Value, IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority, X. Confidence in Self as Parent, XI. Encourages Independence, XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange, XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger, XIV. Promotes Individuality, XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior.

Father Cluster 2 was somewhat more comparable to Mother Cluster 5, entitled Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior, as shown by *cos θ* with Mother Cluster 5 of .76 for girls and .72 for boys. Thus, Father Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality, was comparable to Mother Cluster 2, plus Mother Cluster 5, Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior. The difference in the apportionment of variance probably reflects a real difference between mothers and fathers in the motivation for, and expression of, autonomy granting and rewarding of independence. It is as though mothers were seeking vicariously to express their own oppositional tendencies and individuality in promoting independence and individuality in the child, while the fathers were rewarding activity in the child which they not only valued cognitively, but which they were proud of demonstrating themselves. Thus, items measuring the parent's self-esteem helped to define the cluster for fathers, but not for mothers. This second cluster carried part of the meaning of Schaefer's Psychological Autonomy versus Psychological Control.

PBR Cluster 3: Passive-Acceptant; PBR Cluster 4: Rejecting. These two clusters, Passive-Acceptant and Rejecting, overlap with the factor Schaefer designates as Acceptance versus Rejection. For both parents, the majority of items defining the Passive-Acceptant cluster were drawn from items devised to measure Hypothetical Construct XIII, Reluctant versus Willing to Express Anger or Displeasure to Child. (Correlations of the cluster, Passive-Acceptant, with Item XIII were .62 for mothers and .33 for fathers.) These items were intended to measure parental inhibition of aggression, and to reflect passivity and hyperfemininity in the parent. For the mother, the two additional defining items for that cluster assessed the mother's tolerance of defiance in the child. For the father, the additional element was unwillingness to punish, and thus this Father cluster correlated negatively (−.37 and −.41) with Constructs-qua-Items VII and IX, Firm Enforcement, and Promotes Respect for Established Authority. Mother and Father Clusters 3, designated Passive-Acceptant, were highly comparable for both girls and boys (*cos θ* of .82 and .88) despite the item differences in composition of the clusters. Mother and Father Clusters 4, designated Rejecting, clearly measured for both mothers and fathers Hypothetical Construct XV, Expresses Punitive versus Nurturant Behavior (correlations with Item XV for mothers and fathers, respectively, were .63 and .60). However, *cos θ* measuring the comparability of Mother versus Father solutions, was not high for girls (.74), although it was high for boys (.84).

PBR Father Cluster 5: Promotes Nonconformity; PBR Father Cluster 6: Authoritarianism. For the father, two additional clusters, 5 and 6, emerged which did not have their counterparts in separate clusters for mothers. These two clusters measured for fathers additional facets of Schaefer's Psychological Autonomy versus Psychological Control. Cluster 5, designated Promotes Nonconformity, was composed almost entirely of items designed to measure Hypothetical Construct XIV, Promotes Individuality versus Social Acceptability (correlation with Item XIV is .74). The cluster designated Authoritarianism was defined primarily by items designed to measure Hypothetical Construct XI, Encourages versus Discourages Independence (correlation with Item XI was −.63) and Hypothetical Construct IX, Promotes Respect for Established Authority versus Seeks to Develop a Cooperative Working Relationship with Child (correlation with Item IX was .57). Many items defining these Father clusters had high factor loadings on Mother Cluster 2. While, to judge by the defining items, mothers with high scores on Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality, also promoted nonconformity, the same was not necessarily true for fathers. Thus, the correlations between the Father clusters, Encourages Independence and Individuality (Cluster 2), and Promotes Nonconformity (Cluster 5), were only .39 for girls and .21 for boys (Table 20).

PBR Mother Cluster 5: Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior. Items in this cluster were drawn exclusively from items designed to assess Hypothetical Construct VI, Flexibility and Clarity versus Inflexibility and Lack of Clarity of the Parent's Views (correlation with Construct-qua-Item VI was .72) and Hypothetical Construct X, her Confidence versus Lack of Confidence in Self as a Parent (correlation with Construct-qua-Item X was .72). Nearly all of the definers for this Mother cluster had high factor loadings on Father Cluster 2.

Five joint PBR clusters. An additional cluster analysis was performed on 25 items devised to define five hypothetical constructs (I–V in Table 5) describing the joint conduct of both parents. The items intended to define operationally the five theoretical constructs emerged almost intact in the empirical cluster analyses, except that Joint Cluster 4, Discourage Emotional Dependency, was defined by only two of the items and was therefore quite limited in its meaning. These five clusters measured parent-child interaction constructs with discrete conceptual meanings. Each of these five clusters contributed some separate variance of its own, although each correlated highly with either Cluster 1 or Cluster 2 of the Mother and Father clusters. Joint Cluster 1, Expect Participation in Household Chores, as can be seen from Table 6, correlated highly for both parents of children of both sexes with Cluster 1, Firm Enforcement (from .60 to .66), and less so (negatively) with Cluster 3, Passive-Acceptant (from −.29 to −.49). Its correlation with Construct-qua-Item 1, Expect Participation in Household Chores, was .79 (Table 7). Joint Cluster 2, Enrichment of Child's Environment, correlated highly for both parents of boys and girls with Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality (from .51 to .78), and negatively with Cluster 4, Rejecting (from −.39 to −.49); with

Father Cluster 5, Promotes Nonconformity (.39 and .48); and negatively with Father Cluster 6, Authoritarianism (—.40 and —.59). Its correlation with Item II, Enrichment versus Impoverishment of Child's Environment, was .79. Joint Cluster 3, Directive, was most highly correlated for both parents with Cluster 1, Firm Enforcement (from .37 to .56), and negatively with Father Cluster 5, Promotes Nonconformity (—.26 and —.33). Its correlation with Item III, Directive, was .76. Joint Cluster 4, Discourage Emotional Dependency, and Joint Cluster 5, Discourage Infantile Behavior, were most highly correlated with Cluster 1, Firm Enforcement, for both parents (from .29 to .38 and from .25 to .41). Its correlations with Constructs-qua-Items IV and V were .52 and .66, respectively. In summary, four out of five Joint clusters measured different facets of authority, as shown by their high correlations with Firm Enforcement, while the remaining Joint cluster, Enrichment of Child's Environment, correlated highly with all clusters measuring concern with the child's autonomy and independence.

Pattern Definitions

Subjects were assigned to groups on the basis of their patterns of scores on the PBR clusters. The bases for assignment are given below. Out of a possible 73 families of white boys, 54 were assigned to patterns. Out of a possible 60 families of white girls, 48 were assigned to patterns.

Patterns were defined so that they would fit the following definitions. These definitions differed from each other as did the Authoritarian, Authoritative, and Permissive patterns described in the report of the previous study using the group-comparison method (Baumrind, 1967), and conceptualized in two previous papers (Baumrind, 1966, 1968a).

Authoritarian

The *authoritarian* parent[5] attempts:

> to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually an absolute standard, theologically motivated and formulated by a higher authority. She values obedience as a virtue and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's actions or beliefs conflict with what she thinks is right conduct. She believes in inculcating such instrumental values as respect for authority, respect for work and respect for the preservation of order and traditional structure. She does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept her word for what is right [Baumrind, 1968a, p. 261]

Two subpatterns corresponded to this description and differed only in the degree of acceptance shown the child.

Authoritarian (Not Rejecting)—Pattern I. Pattern I contained families who were authoritarian but not rejecting. In defining this pattern operationally, it was required that (*a*) both parents have scores above the median in Firm Enforcement or one parent score in the top third of the distribution, (*b*) both parents have scores below the median in Encourages Independence and Individuality, or one parent score in the bottom third of the distribution, or the father score in the bottom third on Promotes Nonconformity and in the top third on Authoritarianism, (*c*) both parents score below the median in Passive-Acceptant or one parent score in the bottom third, and (*d*) the father score in the bottom third on Promotes Nonconformity or the top third on Authoritarianism. Conceptually, one would have preferred that parents in the Authoritarian group not differ from parents in the Authoritative group on rejection scores. However, only two families of girls otherwise Authoritarian were not Rejecting. Eight families of boys were Authoritarian but not Rejecting.

Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting—Pattern VIII. Pattern VIII, with eight boys and eight girls, contained families that were authoritarian and also rejecting (i.e., parents met the criteria for inclusion in Pattern VII, Rejecting-Neglecting, as well as Pattern I, Authoritarian). It should be understood that the term "rejecting" is used relatively, since the sample was drawn from normal (concerned and caring) parents. With eight boys each in Groups I and VIII, differences in boys' behavior, where Authoritarian parents were relatively Rejecting and where they were not Rejecting, can be evaluated. Because of the small *N* for girls in Pattern I, such pattern comparison would be meaningless.

Authoritative

The Authoritative parent, by contrast with the Authoritarian parent, attempts:

> to direct the child's activities but in a rational, issue-oriented manner. She encourages verbal give and take, and shares with the child the reasoning behind her policy. She values both expressive and instrumental attributes, both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity. Therefore, she exerts firm control at points of parent-child divergence, but does not hem the child in with restrictions. She recognizes her own special rights as an adult, but also the child's individual interests and special ways. The authoritative parent affirms the child's present qualities, but also sets standards for future conduct. She uses reason as well as power to achieve her objectives. She does not base her decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires; but

[5] In order to avoid confusion as to who is being designated, the pronoun "she" is used when referring to the parent and the pronoun "he" is used when referring to the child, unless results apply to only one sex.

also, does not regard herself as infallible or divinely inspired [Baumrind, 1968a, p. 261].

Two subpatterns correspond to this description and differ only in degree of nonconformity.

Authoritative (Not Nonconforming)—Pattern II. In defining Pattern II operationally, it was required that (*a*) like the Authoritarian Patterns I and VIII, both parents have scores above the median in Firm Enforcement, or one parent score in the top third of the distribution (as in the previous study, the scores on Firm Enforcement of Authoritative parents were actually higher, although not significantly so, than those of Authoritarian parents), (*b*) both parents score above the median in Encourages Independence and Individuality or one parent score in the top third of the distribution, (*c*) like the Authoritarian parents, both parents score below the median in Passive-Acceptant or one parent score in the bottom third. (Pattern II fathers, in fact, scored very high on Firm Enforcement but not on Authoritarianism. They were also not Nonconforming.) The pattern membership consisted of 12 families of boys and 7 families of girls.

Authoritative-Nonconforming—Pattern III. A small group of Authoritative families whose parents just barely met the criterion of above the median scores on Firm Enforcement, required for Pattern II, also met the criteria for Pattern IV, Nonconforming (Not Permissive and Not Authoritative). Pattern III, then, contained the four families of girls and two families of boys who were Authoritative-Nonconforming. Because of the small *N*, tests of significance using this group are not very meaningful except when Pattern III subjects are combined with other subjects.

Permissive

The Permissive parent attempts:

> to behave in a nonpunitive, acceptant, and affirmative manner toward the child's impulses, desires, and actions. She consults with him about policy decisions and gives explanations for family rules. She makes few demands for household responsibility and orderly behavior. She presents herself to the child as a resource for him to use as he wishes, not as an active agent responsible for shaping or altering his ongoing or future behavior. She allows the child to regulate his own activities as much as possible, avoids the exercise of control, and does not encourage him to obey externally-defined standards. She attempts to use reason but not overt power to accomplish her ends [Baumrind, 1968a, p. 256].

The next three patterns discussed reflect different facets, and correspond to different degrees with the prototypic permissive parent described above. As in the previous study, the author had difficulty finding a group of parents who corresponded to the ideal permissive parent. The author sought but did not find a group of parents who would score low on Firm Enforcement, high on Encourages Independence and Individuality, high on Passive-Acceptant, and high on Promotes Nonconformity. Instead, the data required that we define three patterns corresponding to different facets of this definition. Consider Pattern IV, Nonconforming (Not Permissive and Not Authoritative). Five of the seven Pattern IV fathers of girls did not have standard scores below the mean in Passive-Acceptant, and more than half of the mothers of both boys and girls scored rather high in Firm Enforcement and/or Expect Participation in Household Chores. Pattern IV parents then were democratic, but were not totally acceptant or nondemanding.

The parents in Pattern VI, labeled Permissive (Not Nonconforming), did indeed score very low on Firm Enforcement, high on Passive-Acceptant and low on Expect Participation in Household Chores, and on Directive, but they did not score high on Encourages Independence and Individuality, and the fathers were generally Rejecting, often even when they were also Passive-Acceptant.

The scores of individual parents as well as the mean standard scores of parents of girls in Pattern V, Nonconforming-Permissive, best met the definition for girls. However, there were only four families of boys who fit this pattern and, surprisingly enough, although all fathers scored high on Promotes Nonconformity, three of the four fathers of boys did not score above the median on Encourages Independence and Individuality.

The empirical realities then required modifications in the operational definitions of patterns corresponding most closely to the prototypic definition of the Permissive parents. For boys, Pattern IV, and for girls, Pattern V, parents came closest to meeting the prototype of the Permissive parent. For both boys and girls, Pattern VI parents came closest to duplicating the behavior of parents designated as Permissive in the last study (Baumrind, 1967).

Nonconforming (Not Permissive and Not Authoritative)—Pattern IV. In defining Pattern IV, it was required that (*a*) at least one parent have scores in the bottom half of the distribution for Firm Enforcement, (*b*) at least one parent have scores above the median for Encourages Independence and Individuality, (*c*) the father score below the median on Rejecting, (*d*) both parents score in the top third on Encourages Independence and Individuality or the father score in the top third of the distribution on Promotes Nonconformity, and (*e*) the father score below the median on Authoritarianism. Pattern membership consisted of eight families of boys and seven families of girls.

Permissive (Not Nonconforming)—Pattern VI. In defining Pattern VI, Permissive, it was required that (*a*) both parents have scores below the median on Firm Enforcement, (*b*) at least one parent score in the top third of the distribution on Passive-Acceptant, (*c*) at least one parent have scores below the median on Rejecting (in order

to define permissiveness so that it was not synonymous with neglect), and (*d*) two out of three of the following criteria be met—Expect Participation in Household Chores, below median score; Directive, below median score; Discourage Infantile Behavior, low third. Seven boys and seven girls and their families composed this pattern.

Nonconforming-Permissive—Pattern V. Families in Pattern V, Nonconforming-Permissive, met the criteria for both Patterns IV and VI. Four families of boys and seven families of girls made up the pattern membership.

Rejecting-Neglecting

Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian)—Pattern VII. There were six families of girls and five families of boys in this pattern. These parents were Rejecting, relative to other parents sampled, but they did not meet the criteria set for Pattern I, Authoritarian. There were families in Pattern VII who were noncontrolling and in that sense "permissive," but no family in the Permissive group (by definition) met the criteria described below for Pattern VII. The requirements for membership in Pattern VII were that (*a*) both parents have scores below the median for Encourages Independence and Individuality, (*b*) both parents have scores above the mean in Rejecting, and that (*c*) one parent score in the top third of the distribution on Rejecting, or that the family on the Joint clusters score in the bottom third on Enrichment of Child's Environment, and the top third on Discourage Emotional Dependency. Parents who were also highly controlling and authoritarian were placed in Pattern VIII, Rejecting-Neglecting-Authoritarian.

More than three-fourths of the 133 white families could be assigned to one of the eight patterns of parental authority on the basis of the criteria just described. Most of the families not assigned had cluster scores which resembled one or another pattern in shape, but failed to meet the criteria set with regard to magnitude of score. A few families had unique configurations of scores which deserve special study; for example, in one family the father had an extremely high score on Encourages Independence and Individuality, but also had high scores on Rejecting and Authoritarianism, while the mother met the criteria for inclusion in Pattern VI, Permissive (Not Nonconforming).

In summary, patterns of parental authority were defined to produce contrast groups of families whose configuration and magnitude of scores on the Parent Behavior Clusters were of interest because they corresponded to more refined definitions of three prototypes described in a previous study. The operational definitions of patterns included Mother, Father, and Joint cluster scores. The Mother and Father cluster scores were used interchangeably since the author lacked a sufficiently large pool of subjects to take into account the interaction of sex of parent and child.

The means, standard deviations, and pattern differences in the five Mother, six Father and five Joint clusters are presented in Table 9. In Table 10, the similar information for the 15 constructs-qua-items is shown. In addition to the defining criteria summarized earlier, the characteristics of the pattern were further defined by these actual means and differences. These contrasting characteristics of the eight groups of parents are referred to in the Results section when discussing significant pattern differences in child behavior.

Parent Attitude Inquiry

An additional measure was developed, called the Parent Attitude Inquiry (PAI). The purpose of the PAI was to provide an independent measure of parental attitudes and values concerning child rearing. The method used to develop this measure was analogous to the method used to develop the Parent Behavior Ratings and the Preschool Behavior *Q* Sort. First, the construct domain was mapped out. The hypothetical constructs parallel those listed in Table 5 for the Parent Behavior Ratings, with the exception of Construct II, Enrichment versus Impoverishment of Child's Environment, which was omitted because all parents in the sample valued (even if they did not provide) an enriched environment. Items were then developed to define each construct operationally. A preliminary form of the inquiry was pretested, in this case with several hundred parents who criticized and helped to revise the items. Then the constructs were redefined using items more acceptable and empirically workable. After that, the revised inquiry was administered to the larger population, from which the home-visited sample was selected (consisting of 95 fathers of boys, 83 fathers of girls, 125 mothers of boys and 112 mothers of girls). The items were then clustered empirically using the BC TRY system. Finally, the decision-making features of the BC TRY cluster analysis system were used to provide final clusters as similar as possible for mothers and fathers and homogeneous conceptually as well as structurally. Several empirical clusters consisting of dyads were dropped.

The defining items and the cluster reliabilities for the present PAI clusters are given in Table 11.

The correlations between the PAI clusters are presented in Table 12. Table 18 contains the PAI versus PBR correlates.

PAI Cluster 1: Early Maturity Demands

The final set of defining items for both parents was the same, and signified behaviors requiring a child by the age of 3½ years to help mother with household chores. *Cos θ* matching factors from mother and father solutions for boys and girls were very high (.85 and .90, respectively), indicating that the mother and father solutions were closely comparable. This cluster correlated significantly for both parents with Joint PBR Cluster 1, Expect Participation in Household Chores, and with Mother PBR Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality (nega-

TABLE 9

PATTERN COMPARISONS FOR PARENT BEHAVIOR RATINGS (PBR) CLUSTERS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Pattern	PBR cluster															
	Mother					Father						Joint				
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
I. Authoritarian																
N																
G	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
M																
G	60.6	46.4	44.7	47.6	54.0	69.9	49.5	35.0	54.9	39.9	62.4	54.0	51.7	59.2	52.5	62.6
B	58.1	42.1	45.5	52.7	68.1	56.3	50.1	45.2	48.2	41.9	57.4	53.7	41.8	52.0	46.5	53.5
SD																
G	10.2	11.0	6.4	9.2	.9	13.2	5.5	.2	3.3	2.7	7.1	5.6	6.1	.3	.0	14.8
B	6.2	5.3	10.9	14.7	8.2	10.5	8.0	16.7	12.4	6.2	15.5	9.2	6.8	9.3	8.9	10.6
II. Authoritative																
N																
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
M																
G	57.8	56.5	47.8	45.3	58.6	59.5	54.5	44.7	50.4	47.4	45.5	58.9	57.9	58.8	54.9	52.3
B	58.8	54.2	46.9	47.7	58.0	61.5	56.8	44.1	49.0	49.9	53.2	61.6	58.9	58.0	56.3	56.9
SD																
G	7.6	6.5	1.9	4.5	10.0	7.2	7.8	10.1	2.7	8.8	7.7	8.5	7.8	7.9	4.1	7.7
B	7.8	5.4	6.9	6.5	8.7	5.1	7.0	5.5	8.2	7.9	6.1	8.2	5.4	6.7	7.5	9.3
III. Authoritative-Nonconforming																
N																
G	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
B	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

TABLE 9—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR cluster															
	Mother					Father						Joint				
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
M																
G	49.4	57.3	48.9	45.3	57.6	51.0	58.6	47.5	42.9	49.6	42.9	50.9	58.3	50.9	52.5	42.4
B	55.3	58.4	45.2	54.0	53.7	44.3	70.7	67.3	39.7	59.1	24.8	47.6	65.2	52.7	58.9	52.6
SD																
G	3.6	4.6	4.1	5.5	10.3	6.3	2.5	8.0	7.9	4.4	4.4	5.4	4.9	1.9	.0	9.5
B	.2	6.5	3.2	13.2	5.4	2.7	4.6	4.6	13.9	11.5	8.4	5.2	4.4	2.3	5.4	9.2
IV. Nonconforming																
N																
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
M																
G	46.6	60.4	51.0	47.3	55.5	44.1	61.0	51.1	44.9	60.3	40.8	52.3	63.1	49.0	56.4	46.4
B	47.8	60.1	54.4	41.2	53.9	43.3	54.6	58.1	41.0	59.2	41.5	48.3	60.0	48.5	43.5	50.7
SD																
G	5.3	6.3	6.2	4.5	8.6	2.9	5.4	3.1	7.6	6.4	2.7	3.3	6.4	9.2	7.2	6.0
B	5.4	7.4	9.0	9.0	5.8	5.3	8.3	7.1	10.0	4.7	5.5	5.5	8.2	7.2	13.8	7.1
V. Nonconforming-Permissible																
N																
G	7	7	7	7	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7
B	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
M																
G	41.8	60.1	56.5	42.6	53.4	36.8	56.8	59.0	42.2	57.5	39.4	38.4	56.2	41.7	46.3	44.3
B	42.0	65.8	60.0	42.5	51.9	39.5	50.5	56.1	46.1	64.4	39.7	45.0	59.5	37.8	54.9	46.8

TABLE 9—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR cluster															
	Mother					Father						Joint				
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
SD																
G	8.0	8.0	4.6	4.6	9.1	6.8	7.1	5.1	7.4	4.3	4.2	13.0	4.8	9.9	8.4	6.3
B	8.2	5.2	9.2	3.8	10.0	5.2	9.9	10.9	6.9	10.3	2.1	5.2	8.5	6.2	8.4	6.8
VI. Permissive																
N																
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
M																
G	36.8	48.0	61.7	48.2	40.6	40.1	45.8	58.0	52.6	54.6	45.6	38.4	43.8	42.2	47.7	43.8
B	37.4	46.2	57.2	49.3	39.3	37.8	40.7	58.6	52.8	51.2	50.9	39.0	43.0	42.3	46.0	39.9
SD																
G	9.2	4.1	8.3	8.6	11.7	5.3	10.4	13.8	9.7	14.4	7.4	9.2	4.4	7.7	7.4	11.1
B	5.5	8.9	12.3	9.8	11.6	4.6	8.5	9.6	10.3	14.4	10.8	10.3	7.7	11.1	14.5	9.0
VII. Rejecting-Neglecting																
N																
G	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
B	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
M																
G	49.9	40.9	44.7	62.1	42.5	50.5	44.7	46.4	55.8	44.9	53.7	52.0	41.7	48.6	52.4	55.4
B	41.8	41.1	52.8	56.1	42.2	42.3	42.3	51.1	56.3	47.4	50.9	50.6	41.8	55.9	42.2	46.5
SD																
G	5.4	6.0	11.7	12.9	10.9	3.2	3.0	1.8	5.5	7.6	8.7	7.1	5.4	11.9	11.7	12.2
B	10.3	7.8	15.2	6.5	4.0	7.9	4.8	5.2	5.8	6.9	8.5	8.3	5.6	4.9	13.3	13.3

TABLE 9—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR cluster: Mother					PBR cluster: Father						PBR cluster: Joint				
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Non-conformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
VIII. Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting																
N																
G	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	7	6	7	7	8	8	8	8	8
B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
M																
G	56.9	41.2	41.9	56.8	45.2	55.4	40.8	40.8	58.1	42.1	58.3	52.3	40.6	49.5	53.6	48.9
B	55.0	37.1	43.3	64.4	42.9	54.8	36.4	45.1	63.3	44.5	57.3	51.5	40.6	53.9	56.9	49.8
SD																
G	6.2	3.2	7.3	6.2	6.2	6.5	5.9	8.4	5.6	3.9	6.6	5.7	7.5	9.3	3.6	11.4
B	10.8	5.9	6.8	10.1	10.1	4.5	6.6	10.7	10.5	4.3	8.6	12.3	8.0	10.8	8.8	10.2
Significant differences between groups																
I vs. Others																
G	.10					.01		.05[a]		.10[a]	.05				.10	
B	.05	.05[a]				.05				.05[a]	.05		.05[a]			
I vs. II																
G									.10		.05					
B		.01			.05		.10			.05		.10	.01		.05	
I vs. III																
G	.10				.10	.05				.01	.05					
B		.01					.01			.05	.05		.01			

TABLE 9—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR cluster															
	Mother					Father						Joint				
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Non-conformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
Significant differences between groups																
I vs. IV																
G	.05	.05				.01	.05	.01		.01	.01		.10			.05
B	.01	.01	.10	.10		.01		.10		.01	.05		.01			
I vs. V																
G	.05	.10	.05			.01		.01	.10	.01	.01			.05		.05
B	.01	.01	.05			.05				.01	.05		.01	.05		
I vs. VI																
G	.05		.05			.01		.10			.05	.10	.10	.05		.10
B	.01		.10		.10	.01	.10	.10				.05		.10		.05
I vs. VII																
G	.10					.01		.01					.10			
B	.01					.05	.10									
I vs. VIII																
G					.10	.10							.10			
B		.10		.10			.01		.05						.05	
II vs. Others																
G	.01				.05	.01						.01	.10			
B	.01				.01	.01	.01	.05[a]				.01	.01	.01	.05	.01
II vs. III																
G	.10					.10			.05	.05				.10		.10
B						.01	.05	.01			.01	.05			.01	
II vs. IV																
G	.01					.01	.10		.10	.01		.10		.10		
B	.01	.10	.05	.10		.01		.01	.10	.01	.01	.01		.01	.05	

Table 9—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR cluster															
	Mother					Father						Joint				
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Non-conformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
Significant differences between groups																
II vs. V																
G	.01		.01			.01		.01	.05	.05		.01		.01	.05	.10
B	.01	.01	.01			.01		.05		.05	.01	.01		.01		.10
II vs. VI																
G	.01	.05	.01		.01	.01		.10				.01	.01	.01	.05	
B	.01	.01	.05		.01	.01	.01	.01				.01	.01	.01	.10	.01
II vs. VII																
G	.10	.01		.01	.05	.05	.05		.05		.10		.01	.10		
B	.01	.01		.05	.01	.01	.01	.05	.10			.05	.01		.05	.10
II vs. VIII																
G		.01	.10	.01	.01		.01		.01		.01	.10	.01	.10		
B		.01		.01	.01	.01	.01		.01	.10		.05	.01			
III vs. Others																
G									.10[a]	.10						
B							.01	.05			.01[a]		.05			
III vs. IV																
G						.05										
B	.10						.05				.01					
III vs. V																
G			.05			.05		.05								
B	.10						.10				.05			.05	.10	
III vs. VI																
G	.05	.01	.05		.05	.05	.05					.05	.01	.10		
B	.01						.01				.05		.01			

TABLE 9—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR cluster														
	Mother					Father						Joint			
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Non-conformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
Significant differences between groups																
III vs. VII																
G		.01		.05	.10		.01		.05	.01	.10		.01			
B		.05			.05		.01	.05	.10		.05		.01			
III vs. VIII																
G	.10	.01		.05	.05		.01		.01	.01	.01		.01			
B		.01				.05	.01	.05	.05	.05	.01		.01		.05	
IV vs. Others																
G		.01					.01			.05	.05[a]		.01		.10	
B		.01		.05[a]		.10[a]		.05	.01[a]	.01	.05[a]		.01		.10[a]	
IV vs. V																
G			.10	.10		.05		.01				.05	.05		.05	
B													.05			
IV vs. VI																
G	.05	.01	.05		.05		.01					.01	.01		.05	
B	.01	.01			.01	.10	.01		.05		.05	.05	.01			.05
IV vs. VII																
G		.01		.05	.05	.01	.01	.05	.05	.01	.01		.01			
B		.01		.01	.01		.05	.10	.05	.01	.05		.01	.10		
IV vs. VIII																
G	.01	.01	.05	.01	.05	.01	.01	.05	.01	.01	.01		.01			
B		.01	.05	.01	.05	.01	.01	.05	.01	.01	.01		.01		.05	
V vs. Others																
G	.05[a]	.05	.05	.05[a]		.01[a]		.01	.05[a]		.01[a]	.01[a]		.05[a]		
B	.10	.01	.05			.05[a]				.01	.05[a]		.01	.01[a]		

TABLE 9—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR cluster: Mother					PBR cluster: Father						PBR cluster: Joint				
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Non-conformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
Significant differences between groups																
V vs. VI																
G		.01			.05		.10		.10		.10		.01			
B		.01									.10		.01			
V vs. VII																
G	.10	.01	.05	.01	.10	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.05	.01			.10
B		.01		.01	.10				.05	.05	.05		.01	.01		
V vs. VIII																
G	.01	.01	.01	.01	.10	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.05	.01		.05	
B	.10	.01	.01	.01		.01	.05		.05	.01	.01		.01	.05		
VI vs. Others																
G	.01[a]		.01		.01[a]	.01[a]		.01				.01[a]	.05[a]	.05[a]		
B	.01[a]		.05		.01[a]	.01[a]	.05[a]	.05				.01[a]	.10[a]	.05[a]		.01[a]
VI vs. VII																
G	.05	.05	.05	.05		.01		.10			.10	.05				
B												.05		.05		
VI vs. VIII																
G	.01	.01	.01	.05		.01		.05		.05	.01	.01			.10	
B	.01	.05	.05	.05		.01		.05	.10			.10		.10	.10	.10
VII vs. Others																
G		.01[a]		.01	.10[a]		.10[a]		.10	.10			.01[a]			
B	.10[a]	.05[a]			.10[a]	.10[a]	.10[a]						.10[a]		.10[a]	
VII vs. VIII																
G	.05															
B	.05					.01									.05	

TABLE 9—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR cluster																
	Mother					Father						Joint					
	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Self-Confident	1. Firm Enforcement	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	3. Passive-Acceptant	4. Rejecting	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Authoritarianism	1. Expect Participation in Chores	2. Enrichment	3. Directive	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	5. Discourage Infantile Behavior
Significant differences between groups																	
VIII vs. Others																	
G	.01	.01[a]	.01[a]	.05		.10	.01[a]	.05[a]	.05	.01[a]	.01		.01[a]				
B		.01[a]	.05[a]	.01	.05[a]		.01[a]		.01	.10[a]	.05		.01[a]		.05		

Note.—G = girls, B = boys. *Others* refers to all children of that sex whose families were visited, except those in the pattern under consideration. Since the statistics change for each pattern comparison, the *N*, mean, and standard deviation are not given for Others.

[a] Indicates that Others is higher.

TABLE 10

PATTERN COMPARISONS FOR 15 PARENTAL BEHAVIOR RATINGS (PBR) CONSTRUCTS-QUA-ITEMS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Pattern	PBR constructs-qua-items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility & Clarity of Parents' Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient, Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
I. Authoritarian															
N															
G	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
B	8	7	8	8	7	7	8	8	8	7	6	8	8	7	8
M															
G	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.5	4.0	4.0	3.5	4.0	2.0	2.5	2.5	2.0	3.0
B	4.0	1.6	3.0	2.9	3.1	3.1	4.0	4.0	3.3	3.6	2.2	2.8	2.9	2.1	3.3
SD															
G	1.41	—	.00	.00	1.41	.71	1.41	1.41	.71	1.41	1.41	2.12	.71	1.41	.00
B	1.31	.53	.00	.35	.38	.69	.53	.76	.46	.79	.98	.46	.83	.69	.71
II. Authoritative															
N															
G	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	6	7	7
B	12	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	10	12	12	11	12	11	12
M															
G	4.0	3.0	3.4	3.3	3.6	3.6	3.9	3.4	3.0	3.9	3.6	4.0	2.7	2.9	2.6
B	4.8	2.8	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.7	4.8	3.8	2.9	4.0	3.2	3.7	2.6	3.3	2.4
SD															
G	.89	.82	.53	.49	.79	.98	.69	.79	.82	.69	.53	.82	.52	.69	.79
B	.75	.75	.49	.49	.83	.78	.39	.58	.57	.60	.83	.79	.51	1.10	.67
III. Authoritative-Nonconforming															
N															
G	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4
B	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

TABLE 10—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR constructs-qua-items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility & Clarity of Parents' Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient, Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
M															
G	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.3	3.5	3.3	3.3	2.0	3.3	3.8	3.5	3.3	3.5	2.5
B	2.5	2.5	3.0	1.5	4.0	3.5	3.0	2.0	2.0	3.5	3.5	4.0	2.5	2.5	2.5
SD															
G	.82	.50	.50	.96	.96	.58	.50	.58	1.00	.50	.96	.98	.50	.58	.58
B	.71	.71	.00	.71	—	.71	.00	1.41	.00	.71	.71	.00	.71	.71	.71
IV. Nonconforming															
N															
G	6	6	7	6	6	7	5	5	5	7	7	7	5	7	7
B	6	7	8	8	8	8	8	5	7	8	7	8	7	8	8
M															
G	3.3	3.0	2.6	3.0	2.7	3.9	2.6	2.6	1.2	3.4	3.7	4.4	2.8	3.7	2.1
B	3.0	2.7	2.8	3.0	2.9	3.5	3.0	1.8	1.7	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.0	3.8	2.0
SD															
G	.52	.63	.79	.00	.82	.90	.55	.55	.45	.79	.76	.79	.45	.76	.90
B	.89	.76	.71	1.07	.64	.53	.53	1.10	.76	.76	.79	.74	.58	.89	.76
V. Nonconforming-Permissive															
N															
G	7	7	7	7	6	7	5	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	7
B	4	4	4	4	3	4	2	2	3	4	4	4	4	4	4
M															
G	2.9	2.6	1.9	2.7	2.2	3.6	2.2	2.0	1.4	3.1	4.3	4.4	3.6	3.3	2.1
B	2.8	2.3	2.3	3.5	2.3	3.3	3.0	2.5	2.0	3.3	3.5	4.3	3.5	4.5	2.5

TABLE 10—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR constructs-qua-items													
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility & Clarity of Parents' Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient, Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
SD															
G	1.07	.53	.90	.76	.75	1.13	.84	.82	.53	.69	.71	.53	.89	.76	.69
B	1.26	.50	.50	1.00	.58	.96	.00	.71	.00	.50	.58	.96	.58	.58	.58
VI. Permissive															
N															
G	7	5	6	5	6	7	6	6	6	7	7	7	4	6	6
B	7	6	7	6	7	7	6	6	7	6	7	6	6	7	7
M															
G	2.6	1.4	2.2	2.8	2.3	2.1	1.7	2.5	1.7	2.9	3.3	3.4	4.0	3.2	2.8
B	2.7	1.7	2.6	2.5	1.9	2.1	1.8	2.5	2.1	2.2	3.1	3.0	4.0	2.9	3.3
SD															
G	.98	.55	.98	.45	1.51	.90	.82	.55	.52	1.22	.49	.98	.00	.75	.41
B	.95	.52	.79	1.22	1.07	.69	.75	.84	.90	.98	1.22	.63	.89	1.35	.76
VII. Rejecting-Neglecting															
N															
G	6	6	5	5	3	6	5	6	6	5	5	5	4	6	5
B	5	3	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5
M															
G	3.7	1.3	3.0	2.4	3.3	2.7	2.8	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.2	2.0	2.3	2.3	3.4
B	3.6	1.7	3.0	2.6	2.8	2.0	2.8	3.0	2.8	2.5	3.0	3.0	3.8	2.8	3.4
SD															
G	.52	.52	.71	.55	.58	.52	.45	.82	.63	.89	.84	.00	.96	1.03	.89
B	.55	.58	.00	.89	.50	.00	1.26	.00	.50	1.00	1.41	1.41	1.26	.96	.55

TABLE 10—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR constructs-qua-items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility & Clarity of Parents' Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient, Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
VIII. Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting															
N															
G	8	8	7	8	7	7	7	8	8	5	8	8	7	8	8
B	8	8	8	7	7	8	6	8	8	6	7	8	6	7	7
M															
G	3.5	1.4	2.9	3.1	2.7	2.1	3.4	3.9	2.8	3.0	2.1	2.3	2.7	2.1	3.4
B	3.9	1.6	3.0	3.3	2.3	2.0	3.7	3.5	3.1	3.0	2.6	2.4	3.0	2.3	4.0
SD															
G	.53	.52	.38	.35	.95	.90	.53	.64	.46	.00	.35	.71	.49	.83	.52
B	.83	.52	.53	.76	1.38	.76	.52	.53	.35	.63	.53	.52	.63	.49	.82
Significant differences between groups															
I vs. Others															
G			.05						.10		.10[a]				
B		.05[a]					.10	.01	.01		.01[a]	.10[a]		.05[a]	
I vs. II															
G											.05				
B		.01	.10	.05			.01				.05	.01		.05	.05
vs. III															
I G			.05												
B		.10		.01			.05	.05	.01			.01			

TABLE 10—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR constructs-qua-items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility & Clarity of Parents' Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient, Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
Significant differences between groups															
I vs. IV															
G			.05				.10	.10	.01		.05	.10		.05	
B		.01					.01	.01	.01		.05	.05		.01	.01
I vs. V															
G			.05				.10	.05	.01		.05	.05			
B		.10	.01		.05		.05	.05	.01		.05	.01		.01	.10
I vs. VI															
G			.05			.10	.05	.10	.01		.10		.10		
B	.10				.05	.05	.01	.01	.01	.05			.05		
I vs. VII															
B						.05	.05	.05		.10					
I vs. VIII															
G			.01			.10			.10						
B						.01									.10
II vs. Others															
G	.10	.05	.05	.10	.05		.01		.05	.05					
B	.01	.01	.01	.10	.10	.01	.01	.01		.01			.05		.05[a]
II vs. III															
G			.01		.05										
B	.01			.01			.01	.01	.10						
II vs. IV															
G			.05		.10		.01	.10	.01					.05	
B	.01		.05				.01	.01	.01						

TABLE 10—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR constructs-qua-items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility & Clarity of Parents' Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient, Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
	Significant differences between groups														
II vs. V															
G	.10		.01		.01		.01	.01	.01	.10	.10		.10		
B	.01		.01				.01	.05	.05	.05			.01	.10	
II vs. VI															
G	.05	.01	.05		.10	.05	.01	.05	.01	.10			.01		
B	.01	.01	.05	.10	.01	.01	.01	.01	.05	.01		.10	.01		.05
II vs. VII															
G		.01		.05		.10	.05			.01	.01	.01			
B	.01	.05		.05		.01	.01	.05		.01			.05		.05
II vs. VIII															
G		.01	.05		.10	.05				.05	.01	.01		.10	.05
B	.05	.01			.10	.01	.01			.01		.01		.05	.01
III vs. Others															
B				.01[a]											
III vs. IV															
G												.10			
III vs. V															
G							.10	.05				.05			
B				.10										.05	
III vs. VI															
G		.10				.05	.01	.10					.05		
B						.05	.10					.10	.10		

TABLE 10—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR constructs-qua-items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility & Clarity of Parents' Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient, Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
Significant differences between groups															
III vs. VII															
G		.01				.05					.05	.01		.10	
B	.10					.01									
III vs. VIII															
G		.01				.05					.01	.05		.05	.05
B	.10	.10			.05	.05		.05	.01		.10	.01			.10
IV vs. Others															
G		.05				.05			.01[a]		.10	.01		.05	.10[a]
B		.05				.10		.01[a]	.01[a]		.10			.05	.01[a]
IV vs. VI															
G		.01				.01	.10					.10	.01		
B		.05			.05	.01	.01			.05			.05		.01
IV vs. VII															
G		.01		.05		.05			.01	.10	.01	.01		.05	.05
B		.10				.01		.10	.05	.10					.01
IV vs. VIII															
G		.01				.01	.05	.01	.01		.01	.01		.01	.01
B	.10	.01				.01	.05	.01	.01		.05	.01		.01	.01
V vs. Others															
G			.01[a]		.10[a]		.05[a]	.01[a]	.01[a]		.01	.01			.10[a]
B	.10[a]		.05[a]									.05		.01	
V vs. VI															
G		.01				.05					.05	.05			.10
B						.10	.10			.10		.05		.05	

Table 10 (*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR constructs-qua-items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility & Clarity of Parents' Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient, Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
Significant differences between groups															
V vs. VII															
G		.01	.05		.10			.05	.01		.01	.01	.10	.10	.05
B			.05			.05			.10					.05	.05
V vs. VIII															
G		.01	.05			.05	.05	.01	.01		.01	.01	.10	.05	.01
B	.10	.10	.05			.05		.10	.01		.05	.01		.01	.05
VI vs. Others															
G	.05[a]	.05[a]	.05[a]			.05[a]	.01[a]		.10[a]				.05[a]		
B	.05[a]				.05[a]	.01[a]	.01[a]			.01[a]			.01[a]		
VI vs. VII															
G	.05						.05	.10	.01		.05	.01	.05		
B	.10														
VI vs. VIII															
G	.05						.01	.01	.01		.01	.05	.01	.05	.10
B	.05						.01	.05	.05			.10	.05		
VII vs. Others															
G		.05[a]		.10[a]					.05	.05[a]	.05[a]	.01[a]	.05	.10[a]	.05
B						.05[a]				.05[a]			.10[a]		
VII vs. VIII															
G				.05			.10								
B								.10							
VIII vs. Others															
G		.01[a]				.05[a]		.01			.01[a]	.01[a]		.01[a]	.01
B		.05[a]				.01[a]			.05			.01[a]		.10[a]	.01

Note.—G = girls; B = boys. *Others* refers to all children of that sex whose families were visited, except those in the pattern under consideration. Since the statistics change for each pattern comparison, the *N*, mean, and standard deviation are not given for Others. Comparisons not statistically significant have been omitted.

[a] Indicates that Others is higher.

TABLE 11

DESCRIPTION OF PARENT ATTITUDE INQUIRY (PAI) CLUSTERS

Item	Average r
Mother PAI clusters	
1. Early Maturity Demands (reliability = .85, $r^{-2} = .12$)	
16[a] Three-year-old should help	.48
58[a] Household duties by three	.47
108[a] Should help mother by three	.47
9[a] Chores by three and a half	.40
103[a] Preschooler can be of real help	.33
51[a] Can put own toys away by two and a half	.32
43[a] Can take care of younger sib by four	.30
96[a] Should care for own room by five	.28
2. Values Conformity (reliability = .77, $r^{-2} = .27$)	
76[a] Should obey all school rules	.44
107[a] Should always obey teachers	.43
20[a] Should conform to school rules	.42
83[a] Should respect authority	.31
99[a] Family rules firmly enforced	.30
3. Angered Over Lack of Control (reliability = .80, $r^{-2} = .05$)	
15[a] Often angry with child	.53
36[a] Child makes me angry	.53
88[a] Can get child to obey	−.41
37[a] Easy to control preschool child	−.35
4. Firm Enforcement (reliability = .84, $r^{-2} = .20$)	
57[a] Seen as firm by others	.53
101[a] Sees self as firm	.52
77[a] Desires obedience more than most	.49
30[a] Personal freedom overvalued today	.43
11[a] Demands much of child	.35
5. Promotes Nonconformity (reliability = .82, $r^{-2} = .36$)	
69[a] Does not want child to be a conformist	.32
10[a] Wants child interesting and different	.31
112[a] Wants child to stand out	.31
49[a] Preservation of traditional religious values good	−.31
7[a] Should be polite to teacher	−.30
72 Children must respect authority	−.27
12[a] Child may talk back	.26
104[a] Should learn to accommodate to group	−.25
54[a] Important to fight for ideals	.25
67[a] Children expected to conform too much	.24
50[a] Conforming child less interesting	.24
28[a] Wants child different from crowd	.21
6. Discourages Infantile Behavior (reliability = .66, $r^{-2} = .12$)	
80[a] Withdraws bottle by three and a half	.42
55[a] Withdraw pacifier by three	.40
87[a] Should stop sucking thumb by four	.39
25 Toilet training by four	.24
7. Authoritarianism (reliability = .84, $r^{-2} = .43$)	
81[a] Should not talk back	.39
29[a] Should honor parents	.34
92[a] O.K. for child to question decisions	−.30
105[a] Punitive about child hitting mother	.29
98[a] O.K. for child to argue	−.29
21[a] Impudence should be punished	.29
72[a] Children must respect authority	.27
42[a] All parents deserve respect	.26
50 Conforming child less interesting	−.25
91[a] Parents should take preschooler's opinion seriously	−.25

Table 11—(*Continued*)

Item	Average *r*
84 Children need more guidance today	.24
33[a] Should come immediately when called	.23
31[a] Preservation of order and tradition good	.23
8. Impatient (reliability = .69, r^{-2} = .03)	
46[a] Impatient about dawdling	.43
106[a] Impatient about bedtime delay	.42
23[a] Impatient about procrastination	.40
9. Consistent, Articulated Child-Rearing Philosophy (reliability = .68, r^{-2} = .05)	
1[a] Clear child-rearing position	.31
5[a] Has thought about child-rearing policy	.31
3[a] Strong convictions about child rearing	.30
4[a] Child-rearing theories are helpful	.28
110[a] Lives on schedule	.19
Father PAI clusters	
1. Early Maturity Demands (reliability = .85, r^{-2} = .10)	
58[a] Household duties by three	.51
108[a] Should help mother by three	.47
16[a] Three-year-old should help	.46
9[a] Chores by three and a half	.41
103[a] Preschooler can be of real help	.35
43[a] Can take care of younger sib by four	.30
51[a] Can put own toys away by two and a half	.27
96[a] Should care for own room by five	.26
2. Values Conformity (reliability = .83, r^{-2} = .38)	
76[a] Should obey all school rules	.50
107[a] Should always obey teachers	.46
83[a] Should respect authority	.43
20[a] Should conform to school rules	.40
29[a] Should honor parents	.35
30 Personal freedom overvalued today	.34
72 Children must respect authority	.33
99[a] Family rules firmly enforced	.33
3. Angered Over Lack of Control (reliability = .78, r^{-2} = .07)	
15[a] Often angry with child	.42
36[a] Child makes me angry	.40
88[a] Can get child to obey	−.38
37[a] Easy to control preschool child	−.35
65[a] Can get child to bed	−.32
4. Firm Enforcement (reliability = .78, r^{-2} = .15)	
57[a] Seen as firm by others	.52
101[a] Sees self as firm	.51
77[a] Desires obedience more than most	.41
11[a] Demands much of child	.38
5. Promotes Nonconformity (reliability = .74, r^{-2} = .14)	
28[a] Wants child different from crowd	.46
54[a] Important to fight for ideals	.43
112[a] Wants child to stand out	.35
69[a] Does not want child to be a conformist	.31
6. Discourages Infantile Behavior (reliability = .72, r^{-2} = .09)	
80[a] Withdraws bottle by three and a half	.39
87[a] Should stop sucking thumb by four	.35
55[a] Withdraw pacifier by three	.29
25[a] Toilet training by four	.27
71[a] Should dress self by five and a half	.27

Table 11—(*Continued*)

Item	Average *r*
7. Authoritarianism (reliability = .76, r^{-2} = .25)	
98[a] O.K. for child to argue	−.49
92[a] O.K. for child to question decisions	−.45
81[a] Should not talk back	.39
29 Should honor parents	.36
75[a] Will reason with child about bedtime	−.30

Note.—Reliability = the reliability of the composite of the cluster definers (Spearman-Brown); r^{-2} = reproducibility of the mean of the squared correlations among items; average *r* = the average correlation of the item with the other cluster definers.
[a] Indicates the items defining the cluster.

tive). For fathers, PAI Cluster 1, Early Maturity Demands, correlated significantly with Mother PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting, and with Joint PBR Cluster 2, Enrichment of Child's Environment (negative).

PAI Cluster 2: Values Conformity

For both parents, this cluster was defined by items measuring obedience to school rules. Using *cos θ* as an index, the mother and father solutions were comparable for both boys (.79) and girls (.86). For both parents, significant correlations of PAI Cluster 2 occurred with Mother PBR Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality (negative); with Father PBR Cluster 5, Promotes Nonconformity (negative); and with Father PBR Cluster 6, Authoritarianism. Significant PBR correlates for mothers only were both Mother and Father PBR Cluster 1, Firm Enforcement, and Mother PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting. The significant PBR correlates for fathers only were Joint PBR Cluster 2, Enrichment of Child's Environment (negative), and Father PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting.

PAI Cluster 3: Angered Over Lack of Control

This cluster had two components, frequent anger with child and inability to get the child to obey. The mother and father solutions were comparable for girls (.80) but less so for boys (.75). The significant PBR correlate for mothers was Mother PBR Cluster 3, Passive-Acceptant (negative). For fathers, significant PBR correlations were with Joint PBR Cluster 1, Expect Participation in Household Chores (negative), Father PBR Cluster 1, Firm Enforcement (negative), Father PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting (negative), Father PBR Cluster 6, Authoritarianism (negative), and with Father PBR Cluster 3, Passive-Acceptant. This cluster was associated (Table 19) with higher occupation and education level for fathers of girls, and lower educational level for mothers of both boys and girls. For fathers, high scores on Angered Over Lack of Control seemed to be an indicator of withdrawal from the role of authority accompanied by inner anger, a form of behavior which also characterized the most educationally advantaged fathers (by comparison with Others) in the previous study (Baumrind & Black, 1967).

PAI Cluster 4: Firm Enforcement

For both parents this cluster measured a positive value placed upon firmness in handling the child and obedience from the child. The mother and father solutions were very comparable for both boys (.84) and girls (.81). For both parents, significant correlations of this cluster occurred with scores on Mother and Father PBR Cluster 1, Firm Enforcement; Joint PBR Cluster 3, Directive; Joint PBR Cluster 5, Discourage Infantile Behavior; Father PBR Cluster 5, Promotes Nonconformity (negative), and Mother PBR Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality (negative). For mothers only, additional significant correlates were Joint PBR Cluster 1, Expect Participation in Household Chores, and Mother PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting. For fathers only, an additional significant correlate was Father PBR Cluster 6, Authoritarianism.

PAI Cluster 5: Promotes Nonconformity

The four items which defined this cluster for fathers were a subset of the 11 items which defined the cluster for mothers. The definers for the fathers described a preference for a child who was individualized and motivated by ideals. The additional items describing the cluster for mothers but not for fathers placed an emphasis on nonconformity rather than on accommodation to the group. As would be expected, the mother-father solutions were not closely comparable for boys or girls (.57 and .68). Significant correlations with the PBR for both parents were with Father PBR Cluster 5, Promotes Nonconformity; Mother PBR Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality; and Joint PBR Cluster 2, Enrichment of Child's Environment. For fathers, a significant correlate was Father PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting (negative); for mothers, Mother PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting (negative). High scores on Promotes

TABLE 12

RELATIONSHIPS OF MOTHER PARENT ATTITUDE INQUIRY (PAI) CLUSTERS VERSUS FATHER PAI CLUSTERS

Father PAI clusters	Statistic	Child's sex	Mother PAI clusters								
			1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-rearing Philosophy
1. Early Maturity Demands	r	G	(.42)	.17	.05	.24	−.39	.26	.18	−.08	−.15
		B	(.51)	.16	−.14	.33	−.15	.19	.14	.21	−.01
	$\cos\theta$	G	(.85)	.13	−.17	.14	.04	.20	.01	.04	.13
		B	(.90)	.13	.03	.21	−.23	.24	.12	.10	.11
2. Values Conformity	r	G	.22	(.40)	.07	.20	−.33	−.06	.57	.08	.26
		B	.20	(.52)	−.21	.12	−.42	.18	.32	−.01	.21
	$\cos\theta$	G	.12	(.86)	.03	.50	−.65	.51	.65	.14	.21
		B	.15	(.79)	−.06	.45	−.51	.31	.60	−.01	.17
3. Angered Over Lack of Control	r	G	−.25	−.08	(.24)	−.24	.16	−.16	−.25	.22	−.16
		B	.04	−.19	(.42)	−.04	.01	.01	−.13	.25	−.22
	$\cos\theta$	G	−.28	−.03	(.80)	−.08	.69	−.14	−.02	.23	−.25
		B	−.08	−.13	(.75)	−.12	.01	.11	−.06	.32	−.14
4. Firm Enforcement	r	G	.11	.46	.15	(.34)	−.07	−.09	.46	−.03	.27
		B	.11	.23	−.00	(.33)	−.29	.12	.32	−.07	−.08
	$\cos\theta$	G	.12	.46	−.06	(.81)	−.34	.28	.44	.21	.13
		B	.25	.42	−.06	(.84)	−.29	.28	.47	.03	.25
5. Promotes Nonconformity	r	G	−.02	−.16	−.10	−.02	(.22)	−.05	−.31	−.16	−.13
		B	−.28	−.18	−.16	−.09	(.55)	−.12	−.37	.06	−.35
	$\cos\theta$	G	.08	−.48	.01	−.17	(.68)	−.25	−.55	.15	−.08
		B	−.11	−.29	−.08	−.05	(.57)	−.04	−.51	−.04	−.01
6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	r	G	.18	.29	.08	.33	−.41	(.48)	.40	−.19	.23
		B	.16	.09	.15	.32	−.16	(.34)	.25	.33	.13
	$\cos\theta$	G	.29	.42	−.17	.33	−.35	(.63)	.39	−.04	.15
		B	.31	.24	.08	.24	−.20	(.78)	.43	.02	.02
7. Authoritarianism	r	G	−.17	.19	.34	−.07	.03	−.12	(.20)	−.12	−.02
		B	.16	.15	.12	.15	−.32	.12	(.26)	.05	.10
	$\cos\theta$	G	.04	.51	.05	.44	−.58	.29	(.66)	.20	.07
		B	.06	.46	.15	.37	−.51	.36	(.72)	.26	−.01

Note.—G = parents of girls; B = parents of boys. Values for Mother versus Father clusters with the same names are in parentheses.

Nonconformity characterized parents with higher occupational and educational level.

PAI Cluster 6: Discourages Infantile Behavior

This cluster measured early demands on the child to stop sucking bottle, pacifier, and thumb. The mother-father solutions were not closely comparable for boys (.78) or girls (.63). For both parents, this PAI cluster correlated highly with Joint PBR Cluster 5, Discourage Infantile Behavior, and Father PBR Cluster 5, Promotes Nonconformity (negative). In addition, it correlated significantly for mothers with Mother PBR Cluster 1, Firm Enforcement, and Joint PBR Cluster 1, Expect Participation in Household Chores.

PAI Cluster 7: Authoritarianism

This cluster was defined by quite different items for father and mother, and yet these items had sufficiently similar meaning and the factors had sufficiently similar patterns of factor coefficients that the cluster for each could be given the same name. However, the mother-father solutions were not closely comparable for boys or girls (.72 and .66). For fathers, the cluster measured restrictions placed upon verbal protest, and for mothers the cluster measured nonequalitarian attitudes and respect for parental authority. Significant PBR correlates for both parents were Mother PBR Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality (negative); Joint PBR Cluster 2, Enrichment of Child's Environment (negative); Father PBR Cluster 6, Authoritarianism, and Father PBR Cluster 5, Promotes Nonconformity (negative). For mothers only, additional correlates were Joint PBR Cluster 3, Directive; Mother and Father PBR Cluster 1, Firm Enforcement; Mother PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting; and Joint PBR Cluster 5, Discourage Infantile Behavior. For fathers only, additional correlates were Father PBR Cluster 3, Passive-Acceptant (negative); Father PBR Cluster 4, Rejecting; and Father PBR Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality (negative). This cluster seemed to be a general measure of authoritarian attitudes and thus, as would be expected from other studies, correlated negatively with occupational and educational level of both mother and father.

Mother PAI Cluster 8: Impatient

This was a cluster which appeared for mothers but not for fathers. It was defined by three items in which the mother admitted to becoming impatient over procrastination, dawdling, or bedtime delay. Significant PBR correlates were Father PBR Cluster 3, Passive-Acceptant, and Father PBR Cluster 6, Authoritarianism (negative). Mothers with high-socioeconomic status husbands (who generally were rather passive and nonauthoritarian) admitted to being more impatient with their daughters.

Mother PAI Cluster 9: Consistent, Articulated Child-Rearing Philosophy

This was a cluster which appeared for mothers but not for fathers. It was defined by items indicating that the mother had strong convictions about child rearing. The only significant PBR correlate was Father PBR Cluster 5, Promotes Nonconformity (negative). The pattern of intercorrelations suggests that mothers with high scores on this cluster have a directive, undifferentiated, rather than flexible, ideology.

Results

Child Behavior Effects Associated with Pattern Membership

Results are summarized for each of the eight patterns separately. Most data discussed are presented in Tables 1, 9, 10, 13, and 14. The sample characteristics by pattern are shown in Table 1. In Table 9, the significant pattern comparisons for the PBR clusters are presented. Table 10 contains the significant pattern comparisons for the 15 PBR constructs-qua-items. Table 13 contains the significant pattern comparisons for the PAI clusters. Table 14 contains the significant pattern comparisons for the Child Behavior *Q*-Sort clusters. In Tables 9, 10, 13, and 14 the term Others refers to all children of that sex whose families were home visited, except those in the pattern under consideration. Tests of significance involving Patterns III and V for boys, and Patterns I and III for girls are based on very small *N*s (4 or 2). Significant differences between these groups and others are discussed in the text, but individual pattern comparisons are considered only if very interesting. Pattern comparisons are considered only once, under the first pattern discussed; for example, Pattern I-Pattern II comparisons are considered under Pattern I, but not under Pattern II. The basic sample from which the groups are drawn has a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 on all cluster scores appearing in Tables 9, 13, and 14.

The reader's attention is directed to differences at the .10 as well as the .05 and .01 levels of significance in recognition of the fact that hypotheses based upon past results and a conceptual framework predict the direction of scores on the *Q*-sort clusters on the basis of pattern membership. These pre-

dictions, summarized in the Discussion section, are based upon a rationale discussed in detail in a previous paper (Baumrind, 1966) and empirical results from two previous studies (Baumrind, 1967; Baumrind & Black, 1967). It is important to identify results which run counter to these predictions so that the position which generates these hypotheses can be reevaluated where necessary. Predictions concerning pattern differences are summarized at the beginning of the Discussion section.

Pattern I: Authoritarian (Not Rejecting)

Only two families of girls fell within the definition of this pattern, while eight families of boys did so. On the PBR cluster scores (Table 9), when compared with Others, both Pattern I parents scored higher on Firm Enforcement; mothers scored lower on Encourages Independence and Individuality; fathers scored lower on Promotes Nonconformity and higher on Authoritarianism; and on the Joint clusters the family scored lower on Enrichment of Child's Environment. Mothers of these boys were less well educated (Table 1). Compared to Others, Pattern I mothers and fathers, as shown by PAI scores (Table 13), both highly Valued Conformity, had Authoritarian attitudes, and believed in Firm Enforcement. Mothers did not believe in Promoting Nonconformity, and did believe in Discouraging Infantile Behavior. When compared with Others (Table 14), sons of Pattern I parents were somewhat hostile and not Achievement Oriented, but not to a significant degree. Apparently these parents were not successful in producing the social conformity in their sons which they so highly valued. The two girls were also not Achievement Oriented and, in addition, were Suggestible. But, unlike the boys, they were socially conforming.

Pattern I-Pattern II differences for boys. On the PBR (Table 9), Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents (Pattern II), compared with Pattern I parents, Encouraged Independence and Individuality; mothers were more Self-Confident; fathers Promoted Nonconformity more; and on the Joint clusters the family had a more Enriched Environment, was *more* likely to Discourage Emotional Dependency and to Expect *more* Participation in Household Chores. Additionally, on the 15 constructs-qua-items (Table 10), Pattern II parents were rated *higher* on Firm Enforcement but lower on Expresses Punitive Behavior. On the PAI (Table 13), both Pattern II parents Valued Conformity less, and the father especially was less likely to score high on Authoritarianism. Pattern I fathers were somewhat better educated and Pattern I mothers less well educated than Pattern II fathers and mothers.

The differences in behavior shown by sons of Pattern I and Pattern II parents were striking (Table 14). Sons of Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents (Pattern II) were notably (well beyond the .01 level) less Hostile and Resistive, and they were also more Achievement Oriented.

Pattern I-Pattern IV differences for boys. On the PBR (Table 9) Pattern IV parents, designated Nonconforming (Not Permissive and Not Authoritative), scored, by comparison with Pattern I parents, much lower on Firm Enforcement and somewhat higher on Passive-Acceptant. Pattern IV mothers scored higher on Encourages Independence and Individuality and somewhat lower on Rejecting. Pattern IV fathers scored higher on Promotes Nonconformity and lower on Authoritarianism. On the Joint clusters, Pattern IV families scored higher on Enrichment of Child's Environment. On the PAI (Table 13), Pattern IV mothers scored higher on Promotes Nonconformity and lower on Authoritarianism, and Pattern IV fathers scored lower on Values Conformity and lower on Firm Enforcement. Thus, the differences between the two patterns in child-rearing practices were confirmed by their differences in values. Pattern IV mothers were better educated than Pattern I mothers. Boys whose parents were Nonconforming were more Achievement Oriented and somewhat more Independent than boys whose parents were Authoritarian.

Pattern I-Pattern VI differences for boys. Pattern VI parents, designated Permissive (Not Nonconforming), scored lower on the PBR on Firm Enforcement, and somewhat higher on Passive-Acceptant, than Pattern I parents. Pattern VI fathers actually scored somewhat lower on Encourages Independ-

TABLE 13

PATTERN COMPARISONS FOR PARENT ATTITUDE INQUIRY (PAI) CLUSTERS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Pattern	PAI clusters															
	Mother									Father						
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism
I. Authoritarian																
N																
G	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
B	8	7	8	7	8	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	6	6	8	8
M																
G	61.1	55.1	38.0	58.5	46.5	40.0	61.0	40.1	60.8	54.3	61.1	43.7	62.4	51.4	58.0	62.2
B	48.6	58.0	47.7	56.8	41.6	56.8	58.1	45.1	52.3	54.1	58.3	46.2	56.5	47.2	52.3	55.8
SD																
G	.6	6.4	—	3.8	23.3	14.7	12.4	23.2	.0	17.5	3.7	4.0	.1	10.7	.0	10.2
B	12.1	2.1	9.7	8.1	9.7	4.1	11.4	13.5	9.1	13.3	4.2	7.2	5.6	9.2	6.5	6.6
II. Authoritative																
N																
G	7	7	6	7	7	7	7	5	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	12	11	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	10	9	11	10	7	10	11
M																
G	45.6	46.8	47.6	47.3	53.2	51.0	46.6	54.2	48.8	43.5	49.4	53.1	51.7	46.0	49.1	48.7
B	51.4	50.3	50.3	53.4	50.7	52.9	51.8	51.8	52.8	49.5	48.3	46.5	55.2	55.7	49.4	46.5
SD																
G	6.0	13.0	7.8	10.7	6.9	11.8	7.2	5.0	8.2	4.5	13.8	8.1	10.4	11.9	8.7	7.8
B	10.0	9.0	9.7	8.6	11.2	6.5	12.0	8.7	10.0	9.2	12.9	8.0	8.6	9.6	11.8	8.6

TABLE 13—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters														
	Mother									Father					
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism
III. Authoritative-Nonconforming															
N															
G	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
B	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
M															
G	41.6	53.6	55.1	45.1	54.8	47.7	45.0	48.2	47.4	53.3	50.3	44.7	46.5	57.3	58.0	54.8
B	51.7	46.7	46.9	55.6	60.9	46.0	43.9	55.5	46.8	53.5	43.2	47.9	46.3	57.5	58.5	39.9
SD															
G	5.1	9.2	14.8	11.5	1.8	5.3	6.4	5.6	10.8	11.1	7.6	3.4	3.9	4.2	.0	14.6
B	10.7	17.2	4.8	.3	2.3	6.8	11.8	.0	18.6	.1	11.2	12.7	9.7	5.2	.0	.0
IV. Nonconforming															
N															
G	7	7	7	6	7	7	7	7	7	6	5	6	5	6	6	6
B	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	6	6	7	7
M															
G	53.5	43.5	49.9	47.6	53.6	50.9	45.8	50.5	46.7	50.3	46.9	46.0	44.5	54.9	51.7	45.2
B	47.6	53.0	48.3	53.0	57.8	51.5	45.6	50.6	52.2	48.4	48.5	50.6	43.6	52.3	50.9	50.9
SD															
G	11.2	10.2	10.7	11.9	5.2	3.9	7.2	5.6	12.4	11.3	9.6	12.8	11.4	5.5	8.1	6.0
B	5.9	7.6	11.7	10.7	3.8	9.0	4.9	9.2	11.5	8.7	9.9	13.2	11.2	7.5	9.7	11.2

TABLE 13—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters														
	Mother									Father					
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism
V. Nonconforming-Permissive															
N															
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	5	5	7	7
B	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	2	3	3	3
M															
G	49.8	45.7	50.5	42.5	54.1	45.4	44.7	56.5	51.7	40.6	46.8	59.6	43.2	47.7	36.3	43.3
B	43.1	39.0	36.6	40.2	51.4	45.5	43.5	40.2	48.9	44.8	41.2	48.5	49.8	52.9	38.6	42.2
SD															
G	9.2	11.5	8.8	10.5	7.4	9.7	9.6	.0	7.4	3.0	9.7	11.9	11.3	8.9	11.7	5.7
B	6.5	13.7	.0	7.4	11.7	9.6	8.8	15.2	10.8	8.2	13.4	9.1	14.6	12.9	12.9	4.1
VI. Permissive															
N															
G	6	6	6	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	6	6
B	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	5	6	6
M															
G	43.4	51.0	53.6	49.9	54.2	47.9	47.9	49.1	46.6	49.9	53.3	46.8	48.8	37.8	50.2	51.7
B	53.8	50.8	52.6	50.9	49.4	46.8	50.1	53.7	47.7	44.6	50.0	58.1	43.6	46.8	51.0	52.6
SD															
G	4.2	13.9	10.4	13.1	5.6	14.5	10.9	13.3	14.0	11.4	10.5	10.4	13.5	7.1	9.1	7.3
B	11.0	6.2	11.2	10.3	12.1	14.1	7.2	4.6	12.6	6.2	12.9	11.0	10.4	13.1	7.3	12.8

TABLE 13—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters														
	Mother									Father					
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism
VII. Rejecting-Neglecting															
N															
G	6	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
B	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5
M															
G	48.3	53.2	53.4	54.1	40.6	56.4	58.3	52.9	48.8	53.1	47.5	46.8	47.3	51.2	52.1	52.0
B	52.8	49.6	51.7	46.4	52.9	50.3	46.8	45.8	51.8	52.7	47.2	49.3	43.7	43.6	46.4	48.2
SD															
G	11.1	9.9	14.0	6.4	17.4	4.7	12.4	5.5	8.0	8.9	9.8	6.0	10.2	14.0	13.3	11.0
B	11.3	9.3	11.2	4.4	12.7	6.4	9.6	15.8	8.7	8.3	12.3	11.9	8.7	10.4	11.5	9.0
VIII. Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting															
N															
G	8	8	8	7	8	8	8	8	8	7	6	7	6	3	7	7
B	8	7	7	8	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	7	7	5	7	8
M															
G	53.4	54.0	57.2	51.0	48.5	50.9	51.6	50.8	47.6	53.8	52.5	50.2	54.8	48.3	50.1	53.4
B	51.7	52.7	51.3	55.0	47.3	47.7	50.3	51.1	47.7	52.9	51.4	48.8	58.0	42.2	50.0	58.9
SD															
G	10.0	4.1	6.8	7.9	8.0	11.0	9.7	8.6	13.6	10.7	12.2	10.6	9.4	10.0	8.7	11.4
B	9.7	9.7	8.3	10.2	10.7	13.1	11.1	6.1	13.2	12.1	7.8	8.2	3.3	7.3	10.9	9.8

TABLE 13—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters: Mother 1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy	Father 1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism
Significant differences between groups																
I vs. Others																
G	.10						.10						.10			.10
B		.05		.10	.05[a]	.10	.05				.01		.10			.10
I vs. II																
G	.05						.01		.10							.10
B		.05			.10						.10					.05
I vs. III																
G	.01						.10						.05			
B		.10			.05	.05					.01					.05
I vs. IV																
G						.10	.10						.10			.05
B					.01		.05				.05		.05			
I vs. V																
G				.10			.10	.10		.05	.10		.10		.05	.01
B		.01	.10	.01		.05	.10				.01				.05	.01
I vs. VI																
G	.01													.10		
B		.05				.10						.05	.05			
I vs. VII																
G						.05			.10							
B		.05		.05	.10	.10	.10				.05		.05			
I vs. VIII																
B											.05					
II vs. Others																
G										.10[a]						
B													.10			

TABLE 13—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters															
	Mother									Father						
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism
II vs. III																
G										.10						
II vs. IV																
B													.05			
II vs. V																
G															.05	
B		.10	.05	.05		.10		.10								
II vs. VI																
B												.05	.05			
II vs. VII																
G							.10			.05						
B													.05	.10		
II vs. VIII																
G	.10		.05							.05						
B														.05		.01
III vs. IV																
G	.10															
III vs. V																
G								.01		.05		.10			.05	.10
B			.05	.05												
III vs. VI																
G														.01		
III vs. VII																
G						.05	.10									
B				.05												

TABLE 13—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters															
	Mother									Father						
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism
III vs. VIII																
G	.10															
B													.05	.05		.05
IV vs. Others																
G		.10														
B					.05											
IV vs. V																
G								.05		.10		.10			.05	
B		.10		.10												
IV vs. VI																
G	.10													.01		
IV vs. VII																
G					.10	.05	.05									
IV vs. VIII																
G		.05														
B					.05								.01	.05		
V vs. Others																
G				.10[a]				.10		.05[a]		.01			.01[a]	.10[a]
B		.05[a]	.05[a]	.05[a]				.10[a]							.05[a]	
V vs. VI																
G										.10		.10		.10	.05	.05
B		.10	.05					.10							.10	
V vs. VII																
G				.05	.10	.05	.05			.01		.10			.10	
B			.10													

TABLE 13—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters: Mother 1. Early Maturity Demands	Mother 2. Values Conformity	Mother 3. Angered over Lack of Control	Mother 4. Firm Enforcement	Mother 5. Promotes Nonconformity	Mother 6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	Mother 7. Authoritarianism	Mother 8. Impatient	Mother 9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy	Father 1. Early Maturity Demands	Father 2. Values Conformity	Father 3. Angered over Lack of Control	Father 4. Firm Enforcement	Father 5. Promotes Nonconformity	Father 6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	Father 7. Authoritarianism
V vs. VIII																
G		.10								.01			.10		.05	.10
B		.10	.05	.05				.10								.05
VI vs. Others																
G														.01[a]		
B												.05				
VI vs. VII																
G														.10		
B										.05						
VI vs. VIII																
G	.05															
B													.01			
VII vs. Others																
G					.01[a]	.10	.05									
VII vs. VIII																
B													.01			.10
VIII vs. Others																
G			.10													
B													.05	.10[a]		.01

Note.—G = girls; B = boys. *Others* refers to all children of that sex whose families were visited except those in the pattern under consideration. Since statistics change for each pattern comparison, the *N*, mean, and standard deviation are not given for Others. Comparisons not statistically significant have been omitted.

[a] Indicates that Others is higher.

TABLE 14

PATTERN COMPARISONS FOR PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR *Q*-SORT CLUSTERS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV. Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
I. Authoritarian							
N							
G	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
M							
G	39.9	43.6	35.8	48.6	43.9	36.9	37.3
B	54.8	53.9	52.3	52.2	49.6	47.5	50.5
SD							
G	7.6	7.2	3.2	3.2	10.5	6.4	.05
B	9.5	12.6	11.1	8.1	13.4	9.2	6.4
II. Authoritative							
N							
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
M							
G	44.8	47.7	51.8	56.4	55.2	57.5	55.1
B	39.5	42.1	44.4	50.8	53.8	56.2	48.8
SD							
G	6.5	6.9	9.1	5.8	5.7	4.1	8.1
B	5.6	4.4	9.6	12.0	7.7	4.9	11.0
III. Authoritative-Nonconforming							
N							
G	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
B	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
M							
G	59.6	60.7	60.0	57.0	54.6	48.6	59.5
B	64.8	52.9	55.6	58.6	56.5	55.8	59.4
SD							
G	12.1	12.6	13.1	7.4	8.0	9.9	5.1
B	1.6	7.9	.5	.4	4.4	.8	6.1

TABLE 14—(*Continued*)

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV. Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
IV. Nonconforming							
N							
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
M							
G	48.2	43.9	44.8	43.5	45.9	49.8	45.4
B	50.8	46.3	48.8	52.8	51.1	57.3	57.2
SD							
G	10.6	5.7	7.9	8.2	10.2	11.7	10.0
B	6.5	9.5	10.7	7.1	8.9	7.0	6.5
V. Nonconforming-Permissive							
N							
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
M							
G	47.9	47.1	46.5	46.0	44.9	49.2	46.4
B	47.5	47.1	47.1	47.7	46.4	48.2	48.3
SD							
G	9.0	2.6	6.4	11.5	11.7	12.2	12.4
B	5.4	8.0	12.4	16.2	15.1	12.5	16.2
VI. Permissive							
N							
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
M							
G	48.7	53.3	49.0	49.5	51.4	55.2	53.4
B	55.1	55.0	53.8	48.2	47.4	42.1	44.1
SD							
G	7.1	10.6	7.5	11.5	11.5	6.6	11.6
B	9.8	10.1	11.2	12.5	10.1	8.9	8.9

TABLE 14—(*Continued*)

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV. Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
VII. Rejecting-Neglecting							
N							
G	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
B	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
M							
G	51.6	52.1	53.1	49.4	50.2	51.5	48.5
B	51.1	53.9	50.2	46.4	47.6	53.3	50.2
SD							
G	15.8	15.4	5.9	12.1	10.5	11.1	6.7
B	8.1	11.8	11.2	12.4	6.9	9.6	13.4
VIII. Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting							
N							
G	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
M							
G	48.6	48.6	48.6	48.5	50.4	50.2	46.5
B	50.6	48.2	49.0	47.5	52.1	48.2	45.3
SD							
G	10.8	12.9	11.0	10.3	9.2	8.9	8.8
B	8.8	10.1	10.9	10.1	11.1	8.9	10.0
Significant differences between groups							
I vs. Others							
G			.05[a]			.10[a]	.10[a]
I vs. II							
G			.10		.10	.01	.05
B	.01	.01				.05	

TABLE 14—(*Continued*)

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
I vs. III							
G			.10				.01
I vs. IV							
B						.05	
I vs. V							
G			.10				
I vs. VI							
G			.10			.01	
I vs. VII							
G			.01				.10
I vs. VIII							
G						.10	
II vs. Others							
G				.10		.05	
B	.01[a]	.01[a]	.05[a]			.05	
II vs. III							.10
G	.05	.10				.10	
B	.01	.05					
II vs. IV							
G				.01	.10		.10
B	.01						.10
II vs. V							
G				.10	.10		
B	.05					.10	
II vs. VI							
B	.01	.01	.10			.01	
II vs. VII							
B	.01	.01					
II vs. VIII							
G				.10		.10	.10
B	.01	.10				.05	

TABLE 14—(*Continued*)

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV. Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
III vs. Others							
G	.05	.05	.05				.10
B	.05						
III vs. IV							
G		.05	.05	.05			.05
B	.05						
III vs. V							
G	.10	.05	.05				.10
B	.05						
III vs. VI							
G	.10						
B						.10	.10
III vs. VII							
G							.05
B	.10						
III vs. VIII							
G							.05
B	.10						.10
IV vs. Others							
G		.10[a]		.10[a]			
B						.05	.05
IV vs. VI							
G		.10					
B						.01	.01
IV vs. VII							
G			.10				
IV vs. VIII							
B						.05	.05
V vs. VII							
G			.10				

TABLE 14—(*Continued*)

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV. Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
VI vs. Others							
B						.05[a]	
VI vs. VII							
B						.10	

Note.—G = girls; B = boys. *Others* refers to all children of that sex whose families were visited, except those in the pattern under consideration. Since the statistics change for each pattern comparison, the *N*, mean, and standard deviation are not given for Others. Comparisons not statistically significant have been omitted.

[a] Indicates that Others is higher.

ence and Individuality, which reflects their relative noninvolvement in the child-rearing process. On the Joint clusters, Pattern VI families scored lower on Expect Participation in Household Chores and Discourage Infantile Behavior, and somewhat lower on Directive. On the PAI, Pattern VI mothers scored lower on Values Conformity and somewhat lower on Discourages Infantile Behavior. Pattern VI fathers, compared to Pattern I fathers, did not believe in Firm Enforcement, but admitted more to being Angered Over Lack of Control (demonstrating the ambivalence about control which the author has found to characterize "permissive" fathers). There were no significant differences in Child Behavior cluster scores between sons of Authoritarian and sons of Permissive parents, although the latter boys had lower scores on Achievement Oriented and Independent.

Pattern I-Pattern VII differences for boys. In scores on the PBR, Pattern VII parents, designated Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian), had significantly lower scores on Firm Enforcement than Pattern I parents. Pattern VII fathers scored somewhat lower on Encourages Independence and Individuality than Pattern I fathers. On the constructs-qua-items, Pattern VII parents also showed less Flexibility and Clarity of the Parent's Views. On the PAI, both Pattern VII parents scored lower on Values Conformity and on Firm Enforcement. There were no significant differences in Child Behavior cluster scores between sons of Authoritarian (Not Rejecting) and sons of Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian) parents, although the latter boys tended to be less Dominant.

Pattern I-Pattern VIII differences for boys. On the PBR, by comparison with Pattern I parents, Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting (Pattern VIII) parents were by definition more Rejecting. They also had lower scores on Encourages Independence and Individuality, and higher scores on Discourage Emotional Dependency. On the constructs-qua-items, Pattern VIII parents' views show less Flexibility and Clarity. A unique feature of Pattern I parents, especially striking by comparison with Pattern VIII parents, was the discrepancy in the parents' educational level. The Pattern I fathers were among the most highly educated men in the sample, and significantly more so than Pattern VIII fathers, while their wives were the least well educated and significantly less well educated than Pattern VIII mothers. This discrepancy in education between parents may reflect the traditionalist background of the Pattern I parents with regard to adult sex role differentiation. On the PAI, fathers in Pattern I Valued Conformity more highly than fathers in Pattern VIII. There were consistent differences between the two Authoritarian patterns, in that Pattern I fathers were motivated more by principle and less by rejection of their sons, and the converse was true of Pattern VIII fathers. While nonsignificant, the differences in behavior of their sons were consistent, with sons of Pattern I parents showing more independence and aggression (i.e., higher scores on Independent, Hostile, Resistive, Domineering, and Dominant child behavior clusters) than sons of Pattern VIII parents.

Pattern II: Authoritative (Not Nonconforming)

Seven families of girls and 12 families of boys met the criteria which define this pattern operationally. On the PBR cluster scores, when compared with Others, mothers and fathers of both boys and girls scored higher on Firm Enforcement. Mothers of both boys and girls were more Self-Confident. Compared to Others on the Joint ratings, families of both boys and girls Expected Participation in Household Chores, and were Directive. Families of boys in particular provided more Enrichment of Child's Environment, and unlike families of girls also Discouraged Emotional Dependency, and Discouraged Infantile Behavior. Fathers of boys only were significantly more likely to Encourage Independence and Individuality, and not to be Passive-Acceptant. Pattern II parents could specify aims and methods of discipline, promoted their own code of behavior, could not be coerced by the child, and set standards of excellence for the child. These very striking behavioral differences between Pattern II parents and Others, further supported by almost all the PBR constructs-qua-items, were not reflected in pat-

tern differences on the PAI cluster scores. Pattern II parents' attitudes concerning child rearing tended to be modal throughout and well balanced between promotion of social conformity and promotion of the child's individuality. On the PAI, fathers of girls placed more emphasis on Early Maturity Demands, and fathers of boys more emphasis on Firm Enforcement. In general, the demands by Pattern II fathers on their sons for achievement and social responsibility were very high, higher than the demands of Pattern II parents on their daughters (Table 13). For boys only, there was some indication (.10 level of significance) that Pattern II child-rearing practices characterized parents of somewhat older preschoolers in larger families. For boys especially, there were striking contrasts in child behavior scores measuring facets of social responsibility between Pattern II families and Others. Boys from Pattern II families were more Friendly, Cooperative, and Achievement Oriented, and less Domineering. Girls from Pattern II families were more Achievement Oriented, and somewhat more Dominant (.10). The only relevant Child Behavior Cluster where significant correlations with a sample characteristic appeared was with Resistive. Age and number of children correlated in opposite directions with Resistive cluster scores (Table 19). In general, older boys were more Resistive. But boys from Authoritative homes, who on the average were older, were less Resistive. However, boys from larger families were also less Resistive. Since sons of Authoritative parents come from larger families, family size cannot be ruled out as a causal factor for the low resistiveness of these boys. It appeared that Pattern II parents effectively encouraged all aspects of social responsibility in their sons, and achievement orientation and independence in their daughters.

The breakdown of the pattern differences involving children of Pattern II parents was quite interesting. Pattern I-Pattern II differences have already been discussed. Results involving Pattern II versus other patterns with five or more families are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Pattern II-Pattern IV differences. On the PBR, Pattern IV parents, designated Nonconforming (Not Permissive and Not Authoritative), by comparison with Pattern II parents on the PBR, were more likely with both girls and boys to Promote Nonconformity (fathers) and not to score high on Firm Enforcement (mothers and fathers). With boys only, both Pattern IV parents were more Passive-Acceptant, and fathers were less Authoritarian. On the Joint clusters, the Pattern IV families did not Expect Participation in Household Chores, were not Directive, and did not Discourage Emotional Dependency in boys. On the PAI, Pattern IV fathers of boys did not believe in Firm Enforcement, while Pattern II fathers of boys believed strongly in Firm Enforcement. (Pattern II boys were somewhat older than Pattern IV boys.) Pattern II-Pattern IV child behavior scores differed for boys and girls. Boys whose parents were Nonconforming were more Hostile and somewhat more Independent than those whose parents were Authoritative. Girls with Pattern IV parents, on the other hand, were somewhat less Independent and Purposive and very much less Dominant than girls with Pattern II parents. Authoritative parents were very successful, compared to Nonconforming parents, in promoting social responsibility in both boys and girls (a goal to which Nonconforming parents probably do not assign high priority). But, compared to Nonconforming parents, Authoritative parents of boys (who were even more demanding of maturity and obedience than Authoritative parents of girls), did seem to discourage independence in their sons to some extent. It is noted in the discussion of Pattern III that Authoritative-Nonconforming parents, unlike Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents, have extraordinarily Independent children.

Pattern II-Pattern V differences for girls. On the PBR, Pattern V parents, designated Nonconforming-Permissive, scored lower on Firm Enforcement and were more Passive-Acceptant than Pattern II parents. Fathers were nonrejecting and likely to Promote Nonconformity. Jointly, the Pattern V family, by comparison with the Pattern II family, did not Expect Participation in Household Chores, were not Directive, did not Discourage Emotional Dependency, and to a lesser degree did not Discourage Infantile

Behavior. Pattern V fathers indicated on the PAI that they did not Discourage Infantile Behavior. The two patterns did not differ significantly on any of the sample characteristics. Girls whose parents were Authoritative were somewhat more Dominant and Purposive than girls whose parents were Nonconforming-Permissive. As noted in the Pattern II-Pattern IV comparisons discussed above, parental Nonconformity, unless accompanied by firm control and demands for mature behavior, did not lead to individuality and independence in girls.

Pattern II-Pattern VI differences. On the PBR, Pattern VI parents, designated Permissive (Not Nonconforming), were both more Passive-Acceptant with both boys and girls, and lacking in Firm Enforcement, as compared to Pattern II parents. Pattern VI mothers of both boys and girls, and fathers of boys only, scored comparatively lower on Encourages Independence and Individuality. Pattern VI mothers of both boys and girls were less Self-Confident. On the Joint ratings, Pattern VI families of both boys and girls did not Expect Participation in Household Chores, provided a less Enriched Environment, were not Directive, did not Discourage Emotional Dependency; and additionally, with boys, were not at all inclined to Discourage Infantile Behavior. Pattern VI, compared to Pattern II, parents then were more indulgent with boys than with girls, but not more encouraging of independence. On the PAI, Pattern VI fathers of boys admitted to being Angered Over Lack of Control and to placing relatively low value on Firm Enforcement. Sons of Pattern VI parents were somewhat younger and less intelligent (.10 level of significance). For girls, there were no significant differences in scores on the Child Behavior clusters between the two patterns, although the direction of the differences was the same as in the Pattern II-Pattern V differences discussed above, namely, girls of Authoritative parents scored higher on the Dominant and Purposive clusters than girls of Permissive parents. For boys, very sharp behavioral differences appeared, with sons of Permissive parents more Hostile, Resistive, and Domineering, and less Achievement Oriented than sons of Authoritative-Not Nonconforming parents. These pattern differences for boys cannot be due to the differences in age which did exist, since scores on those variables which correlated significantly with age (Resistive, Domineering), *increased* with age (correlation for boys with Resistive was .24 and with Domineering was .29, Table 19) and the sons of Pattern VI parents were somewhat younger rather than older than the sons of Pattern II parents. The score differences on Achievement Oriented (and indeed, the differential child-rearing practices) may, however, be functions of the higher IQ of the sons of Authoritative parents or, if an environmental rather than a genetic explanation is accepted, both IQ and achievement orientation may be joint functions of the contrasting child-training practices. These contrasts in child-rearing practices between Pattern II and Pattern VI parents were, as was true of the contrasts in child behavior, much more striking for boys than for girls.

Pattern II-Pattern VII differences. On the PBR, Pattern VII parents, designated Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian), by comparison with Pattern II parents were both rated lower for both boys and girls on Firm Enforcement and on Encourages Independence and Individuality, and higher on Rejecting. In addition, mothers were rated lower on Self-Confident, and fathers of boys higher on Passive-Acceptant (Authoritative fathers were rated very low), while fathers of girls scored somewhat higher on Authoritarianism. On the Joint clusters, Pattern VII families of both boys and girls were rated lower on Enrichment of Child's Environment, and families of boys lower on Discourage Emotional Dependency, on Expect Participation in Household Chores, and slightly lower on Discourage Infantile Behavior (Authoritative families were rated very high). On the PAI, Pattern VII mothers of girls scored higher on Authoritarianism, fathers of girls scored higher on Early Maturity Demands, and fathers of boys scored lower on Firm Enforcement and Promotes Nonconformity. Pattern VII fathers of girls were slightly less well educated, and family size of boys was smaller. For girls, the pattern differences were not significant although Pattern II girls were more socially responsible (Friendly, Cooperative),

Achievement Oriented, and Independent. Boys with Rejecting-Neglecting parents were significantly less Friendly and less Cooperative than boys with Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents.

Pattern II-Pattern VIII differences. On the PBR, Pattern VIII parents, designated Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting, were both rated lower with both boys and girls on Encourages Independence and Individuality, and higher on Rejecting than Pattern II parents. Pattern VIII mothers of both boys and girls were less Self-Confident, and mothers of girls were slightly less Passive-Acceptant. Authoritarian fathers of boys, while rated higher than average on Firm Enforcement, were still rated significantly lower than Authoritative fathers. Authoritarian, compared to Authoritative, fathers of girls scored higher on Authoritarianism and somewhat lower on Promotes Nonconformity. On the PAI, both Authoritarian parents of girls valued Early Maturity Demands more than Authoritative parents, mothers of girls admitted more to being Angered Over Lack of Control, and fathers of boys believed more in Authoritarianism and did not Promote Nonconformity. There were no significant differences in sample characteristics between the two patterns for girls, but at the .10 level, boys of Pattern VIII parents were somewhat younger and less intelligent, and born into smaller families earlier in the birth order. The differential impact of the two patterns of parental authority seemed considerable. Both boys and girls whose parents were Authoritarian-Rejecting were less Achievement Oriented than children whose parents were Authoritative. In addition, girls of Pattern VIII parents were less Dominant and Independent, and boys were less Friendly and Cooperative.

Pattern III: Authoritative-Nonconforming

Two families of boys and four families of girls met the criteria for both Patterns II and IV and were therefore placed in Pattern III. While tests of significance are not very meaningful with *N*s so small, both the families and the children were sufficiently distinctive (in terms of the large number of significant differences in parent and child behavior comparisons) to merit discussion. On the PBR, the six sets of parents were characterized by extremely high scores on Encourages Independence and Individuality; all six fathers by low scores on Authoritarianism; and on the Joint clusters, the six families were characterized by great Enrichment of Child's Environment. Fathers, but not mothers, of the two boys were Passive-Acceptant, and were rated low on Firm Enforcement. Parents of the four girls, however, were not Passive-Acceptant and scored just above the median for Firm Enforcement. There were no outstanding sample characteristics for these parents. On the PAI, all fathers had very high scores both on Promotes Nonconformity and on Discourages Infantile Behavior, indicating that the fathers expected their children to show both a great deal of maturity and individuality. There was considerable uniformity in score and configuration in the *Q*-sort cluster scores among all six boys and girls. These children had the highest mean standard score on Independence (59) with relatively small variance (5 for girls and 6 for boys), with every child scoring above the mean. They were Dominant and Purposive, compared to other children, but also very Hostile to peers. Half of the children were extremely Resistive with adults. The two boys were highly Achievement Oriented, surprisingly so, since in the general population of boys, Achievement Orientation is negatively correlated to a significant degree with Hostile and Resistive behavior (−.46 and −.40 in the present sample, Table 4). It seemed as though Authoritative-Nonconforming parents, especially fathers, Discouraged Emotional Dependency, made Early Maturity Demands, and provided a highly Enriched Environment so that the child, through his own competence and achievement, would be enabled to become independent of the establishment and his peers. As a result, and probably with the blessings of their parents, both boys and girls, even at this early age, behaved in an autonomous and aggressive manner outside the home. However, within the home, and in all six cases, these children were still expected by at least one parent to conform to parental expectations and to follow parental directives. This pattern of child rearing, balancing as it does extreme practices and attitudes to-

ward authority, is relatively rare, even in the hip population studied.

Pattern IV: Nonconforming (Not Permissive and Not Authoritative)

Seven families of girls and eight families of boys met the criteria designated by the operational definition of this pattern. On the PBR, when compared with Others, mothers of both boys and girls and fathers of girls scored high on Encourages Independence and Individuality; mothers and fathers of boys scored low on Rejecting; and fathers of boys scored high on Passive-Acceptant. Fathers of boys scored slightly lower on Firm Enforcement. Fathers of both girls and boys scored high on Promotes Nonconformity and low on Authoritarianism. On the Joint ratings, families of both boys and girls scored very high on Enrichment of the Child's Environment. On individual items, both parents expressed their own individuality, solicited the child's opinion often, invoked cognitive insight, and set standards of excellence for the child. On the PAI cluster scores, mothers of boys scored high on Promotes Nonconformity, and mothers of girls scored low on Values Conformity. This pattern, compared to Others, had no significant sample characteristics. Boys of Nonconforming parents were significantly more Achievement Oriented and Independent than other boys. Girls of Nonconforming parents were somewhat more Cooperative and Submissive than other girls, attributes which, on the basis of PBR and PAI scores, would not be particularly desirable from the viewpoint of their parents, especially their mothers. These Nonconforming parents seemed, then, to produce achievement-oriented and independent sons, and socially responsible but not independent daughters. A possible reason for this discrepancy is presented in the Discussion section.

Results involving Pattern IV-Pattern I, and Pattern IV-Pattern II differences have already been discussed. Because of the small *N* of Pattern III boys and girls, and of Pattern V boys, not much should be made of the comparisons in child behavior scores associated with membership in these patterns. However, they were of sufficient theoretical interest to deserve brief mention. For girls, the striking features associated with Authoritative-Nonconforming (Pattern III) upbringing were entirely absent when parents were Nonconforming, but not Authoritative (Pattern IV). Pattern IV girls, unlike Pattern III girls, are not Independent or Resistive. Instead, their scores were almost indistinguishable from Pattern V girls, whose parents were Nonconforming-Permissive. The Hostility which the two Pattern III boys showed was absent in Pattern IV boys. The Independence and Achievement Orientation which characterized boys whose parents were Nonconforming (Pattern IV) and Authoritative-Nonconforming (Pattern III) did not characterize boys whose parents were Nonconforming-Permissive (Pattern V).

Pattern IV-Pattern V differences for girls. On the PBR, Pattern V fathers, designated Nonconforming-Permissive, were more Passive-Acceptant and scored lower on Firm Enforcement than Pattern IV fathers. Pattern V mothers scored somewhat higher on Passive-Acceptant and somewhat lower on Rejecting. On the Joint clusters, Pattern V families scored lower on Expect Participation in Household Chores, Discourage Emotional Dependency, and Enrichment of Child's Environment. On the PAI, Pattern V mothers claimed to be more Impatient and fathers to be less likely to Discourage Infantile Behavior. There were no child behavior differences between the two patterns. Daughters of Nonconforming-Permissive, and Nonconforming (Not Permissive and Not Authoritative), parents both scored somewhat below the average on all *Q*-sort cluster scores, indicating that they were neither markedly irresponsible nor markedly independent.

Pattern IV-Pattern VI differences. On the PBR, Pattern VI parents, designated Permissive (Not Nonconforming), scored lower for both girls and boys on Encourages Independence and Individuality than Pattern IV parents. Pattern VI mothers scored lower on Firm Enforcement and Self-Confident. Pattern VI mothers of girls were more Passive-Acceptant. Pattern VI fathers of boys did not score as low as Pattern IV fathers on Rejecting and Authoritarianism, although their scores were not much above the median on either cluster; they scored somewhat

lower on Firm Enforcement. On the Joint clusters, Pattern VI families of both boys and girls scored lower on Expect Participation in Household Chores, and on Enrichment of Child's Environment; families of girls scored lower on Discourage Emotional Dependency, and families of boys scored lower on Discourage Infantile Behavior. On the PAI, Pattern VI fathers of girls scored lower on Promotes Nonconformity. Pattern VI boys' IQ scores were not as high as those of Pattern IV boys. Daughters of Permissive parents were somewhat more Resistive than daughters of Nonconforming parents. Sons of Permissive parents were very much less Achievement Oriented and Independent than sons of Nonconforming parents. The former boys scored very low and the latter boys very high on these clusters. Since Child's IQ was positively correlated with both Independence and Achievement Orientation, it is not clear whether these behavioral differences should be ascribed to IQ or to the contrasting patterns of child rearing affecting both IQ and child behavior. In support of socialization practices as the major causal factor, it should be noted that the extremely high emphasis on enrichment of the home environment, and on encouraging autonomy and individuality shown by the Nonconforming families, would provide an ideal climate for development of cognitive functioning as well as independence and achievement in a boy, especially by contrast with the climate provided by the nonstimulating, overprotective Permissive parents.

Pattern IV-Pattern VII differences. On the PBR, Pattern VII parents, designated Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian), by comparison with Pattern IV parents, scored very much lower for both boys and girls on Encourages Independence and Individuality and higher on Rejecting. Mothers of both boys and girls were less Self-Confident. Pattern VII fathers of both boys and girls scored lower on Promotes Nonconformity and Passive-Acceptant and higher on Authoritarianism. On the Joint clusters, Pattern VII families provided much less Enrichment of Child's Environment and were slightly more Directive. On the PAI, Pattern VII mothers of girls scored higher on Discourages Infantile Behavior, and Authoritarianism. There were no significant differences in sample characteristics between the two patterns. Despite the differences in child-rearing practices, child behavior differences were few (although there was one similarity in that the child was left to his own devices in both kinds of homes: in Pattern IV homes, by design, and in Pattern VII homes, by relative neglect). Girls with Pattern IV parents were somewhat more Tractable.

Pattern IV-Pattern VIII differences. On the PBR, Pattern VIII parents, designated Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting, by comparison with Pattern IV parents, scored lower for both boys and girls on Encourages Independence and Individuality, lower on Passive-Acceptant, and higher on Rejecting. Both Pattern VIII parents of girls, and fathers of boys, scored higher on Firm Enforcement. Pattern VIII fathers of both boys and girls scored lower on Promotes Nonconformity and higher on Authoritarianism. On the Joint ratings, Pattern VIII families scored lower on Enrichment of Child's Environment, and families of boys scored higher on Discourage Emotional Dependency. On the PAI, Pattern VIII mothers of girls scored higher on Values Conformity and Pattern VIII mothers of boys scored lower on Promotes Nonconformity. Pattern VIII fathers of boys were somewhat less well educated and their sons were, on the average, considerably less intelligent. Sons of Nonconforming parents scored higher on Independence and Achievement Orientation. (Note the discussion under Pattern IV versus Pattern VI differences on possible causal relations between child behavior, IQ, and child-rearing practices.)

Pattern V: Nonconforming-Permissive

Four families of boys and seven families of girls met the criteria by which both Pattern IV Nonconforming and Pattern VI Permissive were operationally defined. These families were designated Pattern V. Both parents of boys and girls, when compared with Others on the PBR, were characterized by low scores on Firm Enforcement. Both parents of girls and fathers of boys had low scores on Rejecting; both parents of girls and mothers of boys scored high on Pas-

sive-Acceptant. Mothers were characterized by high scores on Encourages Independence and Individuality. Fathers scored low on Authoritarianism, and fathers of boys only high on Promotes Nonconformity. Jointly, the families scored low on Directive, the families of girls low on Expect Participation in Household Chores, and the families of boys high on Enrichment of Child's Environment. Neither parent would force a confrontation when the child disobeyed, while both parents listened to critical comments, gave further explanations when the child disobeyed, encouraged intimate verbal contact, did not discipline harshly, did not punish, and were not concerned about obedience. On the PAI, when compared with Others, mothers scored somewhat low on Firm Enforcement. Fathers scored low on Discourages Infantile Behavior. Fathers of girls scored low on Early Maturity Demands and Authoritarianism, and high on Angered Over Lack of Control. Mothers of boys scored low on Values Conformity. There were no significant sample characteristics for this pattern. On the *Q* sort, there were no significant differences for either boys or girls. Daughters of Nonconforming-Permissive parents had a pattern of scores on the *Q* sort very similar to, but even more modal than, those of daughters of Nonconforming parents. In both cases, the girls lacked Independence and were not Irresponsible (Hostile or Resistive) or Dominant. At least at this age, Permissive parents who are antiauthoritarian do not, on the average, produce nonconforming or independent daughters.

There were no interesting significant pattern comparisons on the Child Behavior clusters which include Pattern V for either boys or girls. (Those for boys are not summarized here because of the small *N*, as well as lack of interest.)

Pattern V-Pattern VI differences for girls. On the PBR, Pattern VI parents, designated Permissive, scored lower on Encourages Independence and Individuality than Nonconforming-Permissive parents. Pattern VI mothers were less Self-Confident. Pattern VI fathers scored slightly higher on Rejecting and Authoritarianism. On the Joint clusters, the family scored lower on Enrichment of Child's Environment. These differences in child-rearing practices did not result in measurable differences in child behavior.

Pattern V-Pattern VII differences for girls. On the PBR, Pattern VII parents, designated Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian), scored higher than Pattern V parents on Firm Enforcement, lower on Encourages Independence and Individuality, lower on Passive-Acceptant, and higher on Rejecting. Pattern VII fathers scored lower on Promotes Nonconformity and higher on Authoritarianism. Pattern VII mothers were slightly less Self-Confident. Jointly, Pattern VII parents scored higher on Expect Participation in Household Chores, lower on Enrichment of Child's Environment, and somewhat higher on Discourage Infantile Behavior. As was true with daughters of Pattern IV parents, daughters of Pattern V parents were somewhat more Tractable than daughters of Pattern VII parents.

Pattern V-Pattern VIII differences for girls. On the PBR, Pattern VIII parents, designated Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting, differed from Pattern V parents almost in precisely the same way as Pattern VII parents discussed above. Scores on the PAI further supported the obvious differences in attitudes concerning Firm Enforcement, Values Conformity, and Authoritarianism. The two patterns are similar, in that parents tended to leave their children to their own devices for long periods of time, in one case out of principled nonintervention, and in the other case out of negligence. There were no significant pattern differences between daughters of Nonconforming-Permissive and Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting parents. In both cases, as with daughters of Pattern IV parents, these girls were rather nondescript, with modal scores on clusters measuring social responsibility and independence.

Pattern VI: Permissive (Not Nonconforming)

Seven families of girls and seven families of boys met the criteria which operationally defined this pattern. On the PBR cluster scores, by comparison with Others, both parents of boys and girls scored low on Firm Enforcement and high on Passive-Acceptant. Mothers of both boys and girls scored low on Self-Confident. Fathers of boys scored

low on Encourages Independence and Individuality. On the Joint clusters, compared to Others, Pattern VI families of both boys and girls scored low on Expect Participation in Household Chores, Directive, and Enrichment of Child's Environment, while families of boys scored very low on Discourage Infantile Behavior. On individual items, both parents refused to exert force or influence, were unclear about their parental role, could be coerced by the child, avoided open confrontation, did not require the child to pay attention, did not disapprove of a defiant stance, and tried to remain sweet and patient when the child disobeyed. These Pattern VI parents were indulgent and undemanding (with boys more than with girls), but apparently did not actively promote independence or self-determination. On the PAI, by comparison with Others, fathers of girls scored low on Promotes Nonconformity, and fathers of boys scored high on Angered Over Lack of Control. There were no significant sample characteristics for this pattern. When compared to Others, sons of Permissive parents were somewhat more Resistive, and less Achievement Oriented. There were no significant differences for daughters of Permissive parents; however, the direction of the mean standard scores indicated that they, like sons of Permissive parents, were Resistive, but unlike sons, were Achievement Oriented rather than the opposite. The Pattern VI families seemed to have few clear positive goals or values, but did try to refrain from interfering with their children's natural development.

Pattern IV-Pattern VII differences. On the PBR, by comparison with Pattern VI parents, Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian) parents of girls (Pattern VII) scored higher on Firm Enforcement. Pattern VII mothers of girls also scored lower on Encourages Independence and Individuality, and on Passive-Acceptant, and higher on Rejecting. Pattern VII fathers of girls scored somewhat higher on Authoritarianism and lower on Passive-Acceptant. On the Joint ratings, Pattern VII families of boys and girls scored higher on Expect Participation in Household Chores, while only families of boys were more Directive. On the PAI, Pattern VII fathers of boys believed more in making Early Maturity Demands. There were no significant sample characteristic differences for these two patterns. When compared to sons of Permissive parents, sons of Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian) parents were somewhat more Achievement Oriented.

Pattern VI-Pattern VIII differences. On the PBR, by comparison with Pattern VI parents, Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting parents (Pattern VIII) scored higher on Firm Enforcement and lower on Passive-Acceptant. Pattern VIII mothers also scored lower on Encourages Independence and Individuality, and on Passive-Acceptant, and higher on Rejecting. Pattern VIII fathers of boys were slightly more Rejecting, while fathers of girls scored low on Promotes Nonconformity, and very high on Authoritarianism. On the Joint clusters, Pattern VIII families scored higher on Expect Participation in Household Chores, and somewhat higher on Discourage Emotional Dependency. Families of boys scored slightly higher on Directive and Discourage Infantile Behavior. On the PAI, Pattern VIII mothers of girls believed more in making Early Maturity Demands, and fathers of boys in Firm Enforcement. There were no significant sample characteristic differences for these two patterns. The scores of the boys or girls whose parents were Permissive, compared to those whose parents were Authoritarian, did not differ on the Child Behavior clusters.

Pattern VII: Rejecting-Neglecting (Not Authoritarian)

Six families of girls and five families of boys met the criteria which operationally define this pattern. On the PBR cluster scores, when compared with Others, both parents of boys and girls scored lower on Encourages Independence and Individuality, the mothers to a more significant degree. For girls, Pattern VII mothers were more Rejecting, and on the Joint clusters the family scored lower on Enrichment of Child's Environment. There were seven additional differences (three for girls, four for boys) between Pattern VII parents and Others that were somewhat significant; for example, mothers of both boys and girls were less Self-Confident and fathers of girls scored somewhat higher on Rejecting; fathers of

TABLE 15

PARENT BEHAVIOR RATINGS (PBR) CLUSTER DIFFERENCES: GIRLS VERSUS BOYS

Differences in Mother clusters

Mother clusters	Mothers of girls			Mothers of boys			*p*
	N	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	
1. Firm Enforcement	69	48.5	10.3	80	51.3	9.6	.10
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	69	49.7	11.5	80	50.2	8.6	*ns*
3. Passive-Acceptant	69	50.1	10.1	80	49.9	10.0	*ns*
4. Rejecting	69	50.8	10.2	80	49.3	9.9	*ns*
5. Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior	69	49.7	10.2	80	50.2	10.0	*ns*

Differences in Father clusters

Father clusters	Fathers of girls			Fathers of boys			*p*
	N	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	
1. Firm Enforcement	66	47.8	9.9	78	51.9	9.8	.05
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	66	50.6	11.1	78	49.5	9.1	*ns*
3. Passive-Acceptant	65	50.5	10.4	78	49.6	9.8	*ns*
4. Rejecting	65	48.3	9.6	78	51.4	10.2	.10
5. Promotes Nonconformity	66	50.0	10.5	78	50.0	9.7	*ns*
6. Authoritarianism	66	50.7	11.3	78	49.4	8.9	*ns*

Differences in Joint clusters

Joint clusters	Parents of girls			Parents of boys			*p*
	N	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	
1. Expect Participation in Household Chores	69	48.8	9.0	80	51.1	10.8	*ns*
2. Enrichment of Child's Environment	69	50.3	11.7	80	49.7	8.4	*ns*
3. Directive	69	50.4	12.2	80	49.7	7.8	*ns*
4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	69	49.1	9.5	80	50.8	10.5	*ns*
5. Discourage Infantile Behavior	69	51.0	9.1	80	49.1	10.7	*ns*

boys scored somewhat lower on Firm Enforcement. Most parents who were Rejecting-Neglecting were also Authoritarian, and thus were placed in Pattern VIII. As was true of Pattern VIII parents, discussed later, Pattern VII parents were rejecting and/or neglecting only by comparison with the highly nurturant, involved Others. Significant

attitudinal differences between Pattern VII parents and Others appeared on the PAI for mothers of girls, who scored higher on Authoritarianism and lower on Promotes Nonconformity. There were no important sample statistics which characterized this pattern. The scores of neither boys nor girls differed significantly from Others of the same sex on any of the Child Behavior clusters.

Pattern VII-Pattern VIII differences. On the PBR, Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting parents (Pattern VIII) differed from Rejecting-Neglecting parents who were not Authoritarian (Pattern VII), in that Pattern VIII mothers of girls and both Pattern VIII parents of boys scored higher on Firm Enforcement. On the Joint clusters, Pattern VIII families of boys scored higher on Discourage Emotional Dependency. The two patterns showed no differences in sample characteristics, nor did the groups of children differ significantly on Child Behavior cluster scores.

Pattern VIII: Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting

Eight families of girls and eight families of boys met the criteria which operationally defined both Pattern I and Pattern VII. These families were designated Pattern VIII. On the PBR cluster scores, when compared with Others, both parents scored low on En-

TABLE 16

PARENT ATTITUDE INQUIRY (PAI) CLUSTER DIFFERENCES: GIRLS VERSUS BOYS

Differences in Mother clusters

Mother clusters	Mothers of girls			Mothers of boys			*p*
	N	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	
1. Early Maturity Demands	106	49.8	9.8	119	50.2	10.3	*ns*
2. Values Conformity	104	49.2	9.6	119	50.7	10.3	*ns*
3. Angered over Lack of Control	105	49.8	10.3	119	50.1	9.8	*ns*
4. Firm Enforcement	105	50.1	10.2	116	49.9	9.9	*ns*
5. Promotes Nonconformity	105	50.2	10.1	119	49.8	10.0	*ns*
6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	102	50.6	9.5	117	49.5	10.5	*ns*
7. Authoritarianism	106	49.6	9.8	119	50.3	10.3	*ns*
8. Impatient	106	49.2	10.6	119	50.7	9.5	*ns*
9. Consistent, Articulated Child-Rearing Philosophy	106	50.2	9.8	119	49.9	10.2	*ns*

Differences in Father clusters

Father clusters	Fathers of girls			Fathers of boys			*p*
	N	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	
1. Early Maturity Demands	81	49.9	10.0	93	50.1	10.1	*ns*
2. Values Conformity	81	48.6	10.2	92	51.2	9.7	.10
3. Angered over Lack of Control	81	49.2	9.8	93	50.7	10.2	*ns*
4. Firm Enforcement	79	48.8	10.4	92	51.0	9.6	*ns*
5. Promotes Nonconformity	79	50.5	10.0	90	49.5	10.1	*ns*
6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	81	50.2	10.2	93	49.8	9.9	*ns*
7. Authoritarianism	81	48.5	9.4	93	51.3	10.4	.10

Note.—Cluster scores used in these tables are standardized across girls and boys combined.

TABLE 17

RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN AND BETWEEN MOTHER PARENT BEHAVIOR RATINGS (PBR), FATHER PBR, AND JOINT PBR CLUSTERS

A. Mother PBR clusters

Within sex (r)						Between sex ($cos\ \theta$)					
Mothers of boys (lower triangle)	Mothers of girls (upper triangle)					Mothers of girls PBR clusters	Mothers of boys PBR clusters				
	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
1. Firm Enforcement		−.31	−.62	.31	.25	1. Firm Enforcement	(.94)	−.19	−.65	.23	.39
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	.01		.42	−.61	.50	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	−.11	(.91)	.30	−.60	.48
3. Passive-Acceptant	−.60	.22		−.64	.20	3. Passive-Acceptant	−.62	.36	(.88)	−.55	.03
4. Rejecting	.14	−.64	−.54		−.37	4. Rejecting	.25	−.71	−.63	(.82)	−.43
5. Self-Confident	.45	.52	−.06	−.40		5. Self-Confident	.39	.56	.00	−.42	(.82)

B. Father PBR clusters

Within sex (r)							Between sex ($cos\ \theta$)					
Father of boys (lower triangle)	Fathers of girls (upper triangle)						Fathers of girls PBR clusters	Fathers of boys PBR clusters				
	1	2	3	4	5	6		1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Firm Enforcement		−.14	−.56	.41	−.49	.56	1. Firm Enforcement	(.91)	.09	−.63	.25	−.36	.52
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	.23		.27	−.57	.39	−.63	2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	.09	(.90)	.23	−.62	.23	−.56
3. Passive-Acceptant	−.54	.61		−.51	.40	−.50	3. Passive-Acceptant	−.60	.24	(.84)	−.50	.31	−.61
4. Rejecting	.10	−.61	−.45		−.42	.62	4. Rejecting	.34	−.66	−.55	(.99)	−.38	.66
5. Promotes Nonconformity	−.21	.21	.21	−.30		−.69	5. Promotes Nonconformity	−.41	.32	.34	−.41	(.97)	−.61
6. Authoritarianism	.11	−.18	.70	−.55	.37		6. Authoritarianism	.48	−.57	−.62	.62	−.51	(.81)

TABLE 17—(*Continued*)

C. Joint PBR clusters

Within sex (r)						Between sex ($\cos \theta$)					
Joint of boys (lower triangle)	Joint of girls (upper triangle)					Joint PBR clusters of girls	Joint PBR clusters of boys				
	1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
1. Expect Participation in Chores		.03	.37	.31	.24	1. Expect Participation in Chores	(.87)	.17	.61	.44	.49
2. Enrichment	.21		.18	.06	.02	2. Enrichment	.14	(.92)	.14	.16	.22
3. Directive	.42	.10		.03	.12	3. Directive	.41	.14	(.79)	.04	.24
4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	.32	.10	.01		.06	4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	.42	.14	.07	(.98)	.02
5. Discourage Infantile Behavior	.41	.21	.21	.14		5. Discourage Infantile Behavior	.43	.11	.32	.19	(.75)

Note.—Parentheses indicate clusters with identical designations.

courages Independence and Individuality, and high on Rejecting. Both parents of girls, compared to Others, scored high on Firm Enforcement and low on Passive-Acceptant. Mothers of boys, compared to Others, scored low on Passive-Acceptant and on Self-Confident. Pattern VIII fathers of both boys and girls scored high on Authoritarianism and low on Promotes Nonconformity. On the Joint clusters, Pattern VIII families of both boys and girls scored low on Enrichment of Child's Environment, and families of boys scored high on Discourage Emotional Dependency. On individual items, neither parent encouraged self-reliance or meaningful verbal interaction, or gave reasons with directives, while both parents used punishment frequently, could not define the child's individuality clearly, did not encourage intimate verbal contact, and did not invoke cognitive insight. On the PAI, Pattern VIII fathers of boys, compared to Others, believed more in Firm Enforcement and Authoritarianism. The IQ of boys with Pattern VIII parents was significantly lower than Others. Both boys and girls had comparatively low scores on Independence, but the mean difference from Others was not significant. Pattern differences were discussed in earlier sections. (Those significant were with Pattern II for both boys and girls, and with Pattern IV for boys.) These parents were concerned with promoting conformity. From their point of view, the policy of Pattern VIII parents was rather effective.

Parental Attitudes as Predictors of Parental Behavior

The PAI was originally developed in the hope that it could be used as an initial screening device for selecting subjects, and that the definitions of patterns could be based first upon a profile of scores on the PAI clusters and then upon a profile of scores on the PBR clusters. It was thought that the final group of families composing a pattern would be a subset of those first selected on the basis of PAI scores. This plan was abandoned when it became clear that willingness to take the inquiry seriously and in good faith, while itself a function of the variables which were being measured, contributed in unpredictable ways to unreliability in a given family's protocol. In general, conforming parents accepted the inquiry, while nonconforming parents objected to the inquiry even when parents like themselves had helped to formulate the questions. Many individualistic but not nonconforming parents felt that a self-report measure could not reflect their position accurately. The relative nonacceptability of the method, by comparison with personal interviews, is sufficient cause to question its validity and usefulness. Relatively uneducated subjects find it tedious to respond in written form. Many highly educated subjects are irritated by the lack of fit of the questions to their unique philosophical outlook. In the author's experience, the inquiry was most acceptable to moderately well-educated, conforming parents without high intellectual ambitions, and if the sample were limited to such parents the inquiry would be more useful.

That is not to say that the inquiry did not measure *attitudes*. While the way the respondent construed her relationship to the investigator and her general attitude about taking self-report tests did interact with the parent variables to be measured, nonetheless certain general attitudes toward authority were measured by the inquiry. Moreover, these attitudes about the child-rearing process related significantly and rationally to parental behavior. It should be noted that the PAI cluster reliabilities are not high, which may attenuate the PAI × PBR correlations. (There were also significant relationships between scores on the PAI and scores on the Preschool Behavior *Q* Sort, but these are not discussed here.)

Most tests of parent attitudes (Loevinger & Sweet, 1960; Schaefer & Bell, 1958), even when they yield several scales, are really measuring most reliably a single global factor, namely authoritarian versus nonauthoritarian attitudes. This global factor is readily measured by any one of these tests, but by now is of little theoretical interest. The PAI also measured authoritarian versus nonauthoritarian attitudes very well, in that these attitudes predicted parental behavior. Thus, as can be seen from Table 18, the PAI cluster designated Authoritarianism for both mothers and fathers correlated to a very significant degree with the appropriate PBR

TABLE 18

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PAI AND PBR CLUSTERS: GIRLS AND BOYS COMBINED

PBR clusters	Mother PAI clusters								
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy
Mother									
1. Firm Enforcement	.07	.19*	.01	.28**	−.18	.19*	.22*	.12	.04
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	−.19*	−.37**	−.07	−.25**	.44**	−.13	−.42**	−.07	−.05
3. Passive-Acceptant	−.15	−.17	−.20*	−.14	.08	−.11	−.06	−.14	.06
4. Rejecting	.16	.28**	.08	.23*	−.26**	.13	.23*	.12	.05
5. Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior	−.11	−.14	−.10	−.02	.10	.09	−.13	.06	.14
Father									
1. Firm Enforcement	.08	.23*	.03	.24**	−.14	.17	.28**	−.06	.04
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	−.15	−.02	−.06	.05	.07	.13	−.02	.13	.03
3. Passive-Acceptant	−.05	−.08	−.15	.11	.16	.01	−.09	.26**	.07
4. Rejecting	.06	.07	.09	−.03	−.17	−.07	.14	−.01	.10
5. Promotes Nonconformity	−.11	−.37**	−.06	−.22*	.45**	−.23*	−.46**	.06	−.19*
6. Authoritarianism	.11	.28**	.02	.15	−.25**	.01	.32**	−.20*	.03
Joint									
1. Expect Participation in Household Chores	.20*	.10	−.06	.22*	−.05	.20*	.15	−.04	.01
2. Enrichment of Child's Environment	−.13	−.17	−.15	−.07	.30**	−.04	−.26**	.03	.04
3. Directive	−.14	.13	.01	.22*	−.13	.04	.26**	−.02	.13
4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	.08	.02	.03	.00	.02	.16	−.05	.12	−.02
5. Discourage Infantile Behavior	.13	.13	−.07	.38**	−.16	.43**	.25**	−.03	.12

TABLE 18—(*Continued*)

PBR clusters	Father PAI clusters						
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism
Mother							
1. Firm Enforcement	.15	.13	−.03	.32**	.09	.16	.16
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	−.30**	−.37**	.16	−.23*	.24*	−.18	−.30**
3. Passive-Acceptant	−.08	−.04	.02	−.16	−.12	−.10	−.12
4. Rejecting	.25**	.09	−.11	.17	−.10	.14	.18
5. Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior	−.13	.01	.03	−.03	.07	−.01	−.12
Father							
1. Firm Enforcement	.12	.13	−.19*	.44**	.06	.14	.17
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality	−.16	−.08	.05	−.02	.13	.00	−.24**
3. Passive-Acceptant	.00	−.15	.19*	−.19	.10	.01	−.32**
4. Rejecting	.17	.21*	−.22*	.03	−.25*	.08	.35**
5. Promotes Nonconformity	−.06	−.39**	.14	−.30**	.34**	−.20*	−.26**
6. Authoritarianism	.13	.30**	−.22*	.31*	−.13	.08	.31**
Joint							
1. Expect Participation in Household Chores	.29**	.02	−.19*	.17	.08	.09	.10
2. Enrichment of Child's Environment	−.19*	−.23*	.06	−.11	.27**	−.01	−.26**
3. Directive	−.05	.09	−.05	.27**	.03	.14	.13
4. Discourage Emotional Dependency	.03	.02	−.07	.04	.00	.02	.05
5. Discourage Infantile Behavior	.16	.04	−.10	.24*	.14	.22*	−.01

Note.—These correlations are based on *N*s which average 120.
* $p < .05$.
** $p < .01$.

clusters. It correlated most highly with the clusters Rejecting and Encourages Independence and Individuality (negative) and the Father clusters, Authoritarianism and Promotes Nonconformity (negative). Moreover, Mother PBR Cluster 2, Encourages Independence and Individuality (negative), and the Father PBR clusters, Promotes Nonconformity (negative) and Authoritarianism, which corresponded to Mother Cluster 2, were well predicted by scores on the appropriate PAI clusters, namely by scores on Authoritarianism, Values Conformity, Promotes Nonconformity (negative), and, to a lesser extent, Firm Enforcement. It is also of interest that Authoritarian attitudes, as measured by the PAI, predicted very well the PBR cluster, Enrichment of Child's Environment. Authoritarian attitudes were, of course, associated with nonenrichment.

Each of the PAI clusters was significantly related to PBR clusters with similar names and item compositions. Thus the PAI cluster, Early Maturity Demands, correlated significantly with the PBR cluster, Expect Participation in Household Chores; and the PAI cluster, Firm Enforcement, correlated highly with the PBR Firm Enforcement clusters, with Directive, and with Promotes Nonconformity (negative).

Moreover, most of the PAI clusters correlated similarly with the PBR clusters as the similarly designated PBR clusters do with other PBR clusters. Thus the PAI cluster Firm Enforcement had similar PBR correlates as did the PBR cluster Firm Enforcement. In both cases, high scores on Firm Enforcement correlated with PBR clusters connoting a conforming, rigid way of relating to the child.

In conclusion, it would appear that while parental attitudes were predictably related to observed parental behavior, the shared variance was small. Certainly a self-report instrument, while appropriate as a measure of attitudes, was not an appropriate measure of parental practices. Moreover, the respondent's approach to taking the test, and therefore the nature of his response biases, was probably related to his actual attitudes. A self-report instrument, such as the PAI, is probably a more valid measure of the attitudes of moderately well-educated, conforming, middle-class parents than of antiestablishment, or very well-educated, or uneducated parents.

Correlation of Sample Characteristics and Child's IQ with Parent and Child Variables

The intercorrelations among the sample characteristics and child's IQ, and their correlations with the PBR clusters, the PAI clusters, and the child behavior clusters appear in Table 19.

Although the range of scores in the sample, by comparison with the general population, was restricted for child's IQ, and particularly for mother's and father's education, and father's occupation, these variables were correlated most highly with the child and parent measures.

The findings to be reported here, while tangential to the original objectives of the study, are of sufficient interest in themselves to warrant further analyses, and these are contemplated for the future.

Unlike the previous study (Baumrind & Black, 1967), and Bayley and Schaefer's study (1964), the child's IQ in this study was associated with the same attributes in boys and girls. Moreover, unlike the Bayley and Schaefer study, girls' IQs were by no means independent of the parental and child variables studied.

For both boys and girls, IQ was strongly associated with Achievement-Oriented and Independent behavior. In addition, the more intelligent boys were less Hostile, and the more intelligent girls were more Dominant and Purposive. Mothers of the more intelligent girls were significantly more likely to Encourage Independence and Individuality, and to be Passive-Acceptant and not Rejecting. Fathers of the more intelligent girls were significantly less Authoritarian. For girls especially, better educated mothers and fathers were significantly less Rejecting, less Authoritarian, and more Nonconforming.

Because of the very high relationships between child's IQ and such child behavior variables as Independence and Achievement Orientation, it is important to ask whether the pattern differences in child behavior discussed earlier could be predicted by knowledge of differences in IQ scores alone. Frequently, knowledge of differences in IQ

TABLE 19

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS AND *Q*-SORT, PARENT BEHAVIOR RATINGS, AND PARENT ATTITUDE INQUIRY CLUSTERS

Variable	Sample characteristics						
	Child's age	Child's IQ	Child's birth order	No. children	Mother's education	Father's education	Father's occupation
Sample characteristics							
Child's IQ							
G	.07						
B	−.01						
Child's birth order							
G	.04	.10					
B	−.01	.04					
No. children							
G	.15	−.03	.86**				
B	.05	.00	.87**				
Mother's education							
G	−.18	−.20	−.06	−.08			
B	−.21	−.16	−.26*	−.22			
Father's education							
G	.28*	.25	.13	.16	.62**		
B	−.06	.09	.08	.08	.18		
Father's occupation							
G	.18	.26	.08	.14	.58**	.86**	
B	−.04	.09	.06	.10	.37**	.71**	
Q-sort clusters							
I. Hostile-Friendly							
G	−.19	−.01	−.10	−.06	−.16	−.06	.03
B	−.03	−.27*	−.10	−.15	−.12	.04	−.04
II. Resistive-Cooperative							
G	−.14	.12	.00	.03	−.11	−.12	.01
B	.24*	−.19	−.28*	−.27*	−.07	.00	−.02
III. Domineering-Tractable							
G	.05	.25	−.11	−.19	−.18	−.13	−.08
B	.29*	−.12	−.20	−.12	.03	.09	.14
IV. Dominant-Submissive							
G	.05	.31*	−.16	−.30*	−.07	−.15	−.13
B	.20	.20	−.08	−.04	.10	.16	.11
V. Purposive-Aimless							
G	.23	.33*	−.07	−.17	.00	−.07	−.13
B	.16	.19	−.07	.10	.15	.09	.21
VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented							
G	.21	.47**	.07	.02	.07	−.04	−.06
B	−.01	.61**	.04	.10	.15	.07	.15
VII. Independent-Suggestible							
G	.08	.43**	−.15	−.24	−.02	−.03	−.02
B	.23	.36**	−.14	−.13	.15	.22	.14
Mother PBR clusters							
1. Firm Enforcement							
G	.07	−.18	.01	.07	−.05	−.09	−.01
B	.09	−.15	−.03	.04	−.03	−.12	.07

TABLE 19—(*Continued*)

Variable	Sample characteristics						
	Child's age	Child's IQ	Child's birth order	No. children	Mother's education	Father's education	Father's occupation
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality							
G	−.09	.27*	−.12	−.15	.35**	.28*	.18
B	−.06	.22	.07	.09	.12	.15	.18
3. Passive-Acceptant							
G	.01	.36**	.19	.11	.18	.18	.14
B	−.07	−.01	.08	−.04	.00	.07	−.05
4. Rejecting							
G	.06	−.27*	.07	.07	−.25	−.16	−.10
B	−.01	−.02	−.20	−.20	.02	−.20	−.09
5. Self-Confident, Secure, Potent Parental Behavior							
G	−.03	.12	.19	.17	.29*	.20	.14
B	.10	−.05	.19	.23*	.18	.10	.11
Father PBR clusters							
1. Firm Enforcement							
G	.06	−.20	.19	.21	−.37**	−.29*	−.20
B	.10	−.21	−.05	.11	−.14	−.07	.04
2. Encourages Independence and Individuality							
G	.01	.21	−.01	−.07	.46**	.48**	.53**
B	.11	.07	.11	.16	.13	.18	.26*
3. Passive-Acceptant							
G	.12	.10	−.01	.04	.23	.37**	.23
B	−.15	.14	.01	−.09	.25*	.10	.12
4. Rejecting							
G	−.01	−.14	.07	.07	−.40**	−.50**	−.36**
B	−.14	−.07	−.15	−.11	−.12	−.25*	−.30**
5. Promotes Nonconformity							
G	−.12	.13	−.14	−.16	.34**	.33*	.32*
B	.03	−.01	.09	.04	.14	.04	.14
6. Authoritarianism							
G	.05	−.36**	.21	.25	−.41**	−.45**	−.41**
B	.08	−.18	.01	.03	−.17	.03	−.09
Joint PBR clusters							
1. Expect Participation in Household Chores							
G	.06	−.15	.05	.01	−.23	−.33**	−.13
B	.14	−.05	−.05	.02	.04	−.20	−.07
2. Enrichment of Child's Environment							
G	−.03	.35**	−.03	−.04	.38**	.40**	.40**
B	−.02	.25*	.16	.18	.23*	.22	.31**
3. Directive							
G	.11	.06	.16	.17	.29*	.25	.28*
B	.13	.18	−.18	−.08	.00	−.01	.06
4. Discourage Emotional Dependency							
G	−.07	.08	.03	−.05	−.20	−.13	−.13
B	.30**	−.17	.04	.07	.11	−.27*	−.15

TABLE 19—(*Continued*)

Variable	Sample characteristics						
	Child's age	Child's IQ	Child's birth order	No. children	Mother's education	Father's education	Father's occupation
5. Discourage Infantile Behavior							
G	−.01	−.03	−.11	−.10	−.24	−.20	−.15
B	−.01	−.09	−.11	−.10	−.10	−.07	.13
Mother PAI clusters							
1. Early Maturity Demands							
G	−.29*	−.20	−.12	.01	−.34*	−.23	−.23
B	.00	−.01	−.03	−.02	−.15	−.16	−.23
2. Values Conformity							
G	.15	−.05	−.04	.05	−.14	.04	.14
B	−.05	.13	−.12	−.10	−.20	−.05	−.04
3. Angered over Lack of Control							
G	.08	−.09	−.38**	−.27	−.09	.03	.01
B	.04	−.04	−.32**	−.14	−.24	−.07	−.08
4. Firm Enforcement							
G	.13	−.01	−.07	.02	.16	.11	.22
B	−.21	−.23	−.18	−.14	−.07	−.15	−.08
5. Promotes Nonconformity							
G	−.12	.18	−.09	−.18	.14	.01	−.05
B	−.09	.29*	.07	.04	.16	.09	.10
6. Discourages Infantile Behavior							
G	−.08	−.05	−.08	−.04	−.08	.12	.17
B	−.07	.06	−.05	−.13	−.07	−.06	−.18
7. Authoritarianism							
G	.02	−.15	.08	.07	−.14	.01	.12
B	−.02	−.17	−.10	−.10	−.22	−.17	−.19
8. Impatient							
G	.29*	.14	.18	.23	.08	.20	.15
B	.05	.05	.08	.14	.16	−.13	−.04
9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy							
G	−.09	−.11	.13	.23	.08	.15	.12
B	−.15	.11	−.05	−.10	.13	.08	−.01
Father PAI clusters							
1. Early Maturity Demands							
G	−.09	−.32*	.01	.16	−.30*	−.15	.05
B	−.15	.09	.02	−.06	−.15	−.27*	−.15
2. Values Conformity							
G	−.05	−.22	−.04	−.01	−.11	−.02	.17
B	−.02	−.03	.03	−.01	−.10	.06	−.09
3. Angered over Lack of Control							
G	−.09	.19	−.09	−.09	.29*	.36*	.10
B	.04	−.13	−.19	−.19	.15	−.06	.01
4. Firm Enforcement							
G	.22	.02	.14	.19	.10	.25	.17
B	−.11	−.24	.14	.03	−.07	−.12	−.05
5. Promotes Nonconformity							
G	.07	.06	.02	.06	.16	.12	.19
B	−.08	.16	.13	.19	.13	.26	.41**

TABLE 19—(*Continued*)

Variable	Sample characteristics						
	Child's age	Child's IQ	Child's birth order	No. children	Mother's education	Father's education	Father's occupation
6. Discourages Infantile Behavior							
G	.05	−.31*	−.12	−.01	−.16	.06	.27
B	−.19	−.06	−.03	.04	−.13	.26*	.03
7. Authoritarianism							
G	.01	−.21	−.17	−.19	.02	−.18	.07
B	.18	−.34**	.02	−.03	−.08	−.26*	−.40**

Note.—G = girls; B = boys. The signs of correlations for mother's education, father's education, and father's occupation have been reversed so that a positive correlation reflects a positive relationship with more education and higher job classification.
* $p < .05$.
** $p < .01$.

would, in fact, have predicted the direction of pattern differences. However, in many instances the results were contrary to what IQ alone would predict. For example, (*a*) daughters of Nonconforming parents with an average IQ of 131 (above the mean of the sample) had scores below the mean on Independence and Achievement Oriented, while daughters of Authoritative-Nonconforming parents with a much lower average IQ of 118 (10 points below the mean of the sample) had the highest scores relative to all children on Independence; (*b*) the mean IQs of sons of Authoritative parents and sons of Nonconforming-Permissive parents are the same, 128. However, sons of Authoritative parents scored much higher on Achievement Oriented and Independence. Moreover, unless the assumption is made that IQ is determined totally by genetic factors, the hypothesis must be entertained that IQ is, to some extent, dependent upon socialization practices in interaction with genetic factors. For that reason, despite the importance of IQ in limiting the expressions of Independence and Achievement Orientation, it seems that IQ should be controlled only within broad limits in a study of the effects of socialization practices on child behavior. Clearly, IQ is an important factor in the constellation of traits contributing to competent and effective functioning. Even where the occupational and educational range of parents and the IQ range of children were restricted to upper levels, as in this sample, cognitive achievement and interpersonal independence were clearly related in important ways to the child's IQ and to an enriched environment. Children with high IQs and a more enriched environment had a competitive edge, both interpersonally and academically. Since IQ differences do, in fact, predict differences in achievement orientation and independence, it seems of the utmost importance to identify characteristics of the environment which contribute to high IQ and, wherever possible, to construct environments with these characteristics for preschool and school age children.

Discussion

Summary of Combined-Pattern Differences

A summary of combined pattern differences appears in Tables 20, 21, and 22. In these tables, patterns were combined, as follows: Pattern I, Authoritarian (Not Rejecting), and Pattern VIII, Authoritarian-Rejecting-Neglecting, to form Combined Pattern A, Authoritarian; Pattern II, Authoritative (Not Nonconforming), and Pattern III, Authoritative-Nonconforming, to form Combined Pattern B, Authoritative; Pattern V, Nonconforming-Permissive, and Pattern VI, Permissive (Not Nonconforming), to form Combined Pattern C, Permissive; Pattern IV, Nonconforming (Not Permissive and Not Authoritative), and Pattern V, Noncon-

TABLE 20

SUMMARY OF SOME COMBINED-PATTERN DIFFERENCES ON PBR CONSTRUCTS-QUA-ITEMS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Pattern	PBR Constructs-qua-Items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility and Clarity of the Parent's Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
A. (I + VIII) Authoritarian															
N															
G	10	9	9	10	9	9	9	10	10	7	10	10	9	10	10
B	16	15	16	15	14	15	14	16	16	13	13	16	14	14	15
M															
G	3.4	1.6	3.1	3.1	2.8	2.4	3.6	3.9	2.9	3.3	2.1	2.3	2.7	2.1	3.3
B	3.9	1.6	3.0	3.1	2.7	2.5	3.9	3.8	3.2	3.3	2.4	2.6	2.9	2.2	3.6
SD															
G	.7	.7	.6	.3	1.0	1.0	.7	.7	.6	.8	.6	.9	.5	.9	.5
B	1.1	.5	.4	.6	1.1	.9	.5	.7	.4	.8	.8	.5	.7	.6	.8
B. (II + III) Authoritative															
N															
G	10	11	11	11	11	11	11	10	10	11	11	11	10	11	11
B	14	13	14	14	13	14	14	14	12	14	14	13	14	13	14
M															
G	3.6	2.9	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.5	3.6	3.4	2.7	3.6	3.6	3.8	2.9	3.1	2.5
B	4.4	2.8	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.6	4.6	3.6	2.8	3.9	3.2	3.8	2.6	3.2	2.4
SD															
G	1.0	.7	.6	.7	1.0	.8	.7	.7	.9	.7	.7	.8	.6	.7	.7
B	1.1	.7	.5	.8	.8	.7	.8	.9	.6	.6	.8	.7	.5	1.1	.6
C. (V + VI) Permissive															
N															
G	14	12	13	12	12	14	11	13	13	14	14	14	9	13	13
B	11	10	11	10	10	11	8	8	10	10	11	10	10	11	11

TABLE 20 (*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR Constructs-qua-Items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility and Clarity of the Parent's Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV. Expresses Punitive Behavior
M															
G	2.7	2.1	2.0	2.8	2.3	2.9	1.9	2.2	1.5	3.0	3.8	3.9	3.8	3.2	2.5
B	2.7	1.9	2.5	2.9	2.0	2.5	2.1	2.5	2.1	2.6	3.3	3.5	3.8	3.5	3.0
SD															
G	1.0	.8	.9	.6	1.1	1.2	.8	.7	.5	1.0	.8	.9	.7	.7	.7
B	1.0	.6	.7	1.2	.9	.9	.8	.8	.7	1.0	1.0	1.0	.8	1.4	.8
D. (IV + V) Nonconforming															
N															
G	13	13	14	13	12	14	10	12	12	14	14	14	10	14	14
B	10	11	12	12	11	12	10	7	10	12	11	12	11	12	11
M															
G	3.1	2.8	2.2	2.8	2.4	3.7	2.4	2.3	1.3	3.3	4.0	4.4	3.2	3.5	2.1
B	2.9	2.5	2.6	3.2	2.7	3.4	3.0	2.0	1.8	3.4	3.5	3.8	3.2	4.0	2.5
SD															
G	.9	.6	.9	.6	.8	1.0	.7	.8	.5	.7	.8	.6	.8	.8	.8
B	1.0	.7	.7	1.0	.6	.7	.5	1.0	.6	.7	.7	.8	.6	.9	.7
IV															
N															
G	6	6	7	6	6	7	5	5	5	7	7	7	5	7	7
B	6	7	8	8	8	8	8	5	7	8	7	8	7	8	8
M															
G	3.3	3.0	2.6	3.0	2.7	3.9	2.6	2.6	1.2	3.4	3.7	4.4	2.8	3.7	2.1
B	3.0	2.7	2.8	3.0	2.9	3.5	3.0	1.8	1.7	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.0	3.8	2.0

TABLE 20—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PBR Constructs-qua-Items														
	I. Expect Participation in Household Chores	II. Enrichment of Child's Environment	III. Directive	IV. Discourage Emotional Dependency	V. Discourage Infantile Behavior	VI. Flexibility and Clarity of the Parent's Views	VII. Firm Enforcement	VIII. Obedience as Salient Positive Value	IX. Promotes Respect for Established Authority	X. Confidence in Self as Parent	XI. Encourages Independence	XII. Encourages Verbal Exchange	XIII. Reluctant to Express Anger	XIV. Promotes Individuality	XV Expresses Punitive Behavior
SD															
G	.5	.6	.8	.0	.8	.9	.4	.5	.4	.8	.8	.8	.4	.8	.9
B	.9	.8	.7	1.1	.6	.5	.5	1.1	.8	.8	.8	.7	.6	.9	.8
Significant pattern differences															
A vs. B															
G		.01				.05					.01	.01		.01	.01
B		.01	.10			.01	.01		.05	.05	.05	.01		.01	.01
A vs. C															
G	.10		.01				.01	.01	.01		.01	.01	.01	.01	.01
B	.01		.05				.01	.01	.01	.10	.05	.01	.05	.01	.10
A vs. D															
G		.01	.05			.01	.01	.01	.01		.01	.01		.01	.01
B	.05	.01	.05			.01	.01	.01	.01		.01	.01		.01	.01
B vs. C															
G	.05	.05	.01		.10		.01	.01	.01	.10			.01		
B	.01	.01	.01		.01	.01	.01	.05	.05	.01			.01		.10
B vs. D															
G			.01		.10		.01	.01	.01			.05			
B	.01		.01				.01	.01	.01	.10			.05	.05	
IV vs. C															
G		.05				.10							.05		
B		.05			.05	.05	.10			.05			.05		.10

TABLE 21

SUMMARY OF SOME COMBINED PATTERN DIFFERENCES ON THE PARENT ATTITUDE INQUIRY (PAI) CLUSTERS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Pattern	PAI clusters[a]								
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered Over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy
A. (I + VIII) Authoritarian									
N									
G	10	10	10	9	10	10	10	10	10
B	16	16	16	16	15	16	16	16	16
M									
G	55.9	54.9	52.7	55.2	49.4	50.8	54.3	48.6	50.3
B	52.0	55.8	48.3	58.2	43.7	51.7	57.5	48.1	50.0
SD									
G	9.5	7.4	11.3	6.4	8.7	9.6	10.4	11.7	13.2
B	12.7	7.9	7.1	6.8	9.6	10.0	10.2	10.6	11.2
B. (II + III) Authoritative									
N									
G	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	9	11
B	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
M									
G	44.3	49.5	50.5	49.0	52.5	50.4	48.0	51.6	48.3
B	51.3	48.1	47.4	54.2	54.0	52.5	47.6	52.4	51.9
SD									
G	5.8	11.9	9.7	9.3	7.2	9.7	7.1	5.9	8.7
B	7.9	11.8	8.1	8.3	9.9	7.9	10.6	8.2	10.8
C. (V + VI) Permissive									
N									
G	13	13	13	13	12	13	13	13	13
B	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
M									
G	45.4	48.7	53.7	45.6	49.7	44.0	45.7	53.1	49.4
B	46.6	45.6	50.8	45.0	50.4	45.4	47.5	48.3	48.1

TABLE 21—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters[a]								
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered Over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy
SD									
G	5.9	11.4	8.1	12.7	7.2	12.3	9.1	9.4	10.7
B	7.3	11.4	12.6	10.0	11.6	10.7	10.3	11.7	11.3
D. (IV + V) Nonconforming									
N									
G	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
B	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
M									
G	49.1	45.3	52.4	44.1	53.8	45.5	43.7	53.5	49.2
B	45.9	46.7	46.9	45.4	54.9	47.4	45.5	46.8	51.0
SD									
G	10.3	8.7	11.6	11.8	6.4	10.1	7.3	4.9	10.2
B	5.9	11.8	12.8	11.3	7.9	10.7	8.2	12.1	10.8
IV									
N									
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
M									
G	53.4	45.1	48.2	44.9	54.9	51.4	45.0	50.5	46.7
B	47.7	51.4	49.4	48.5	56.2	51.6	48.2	50.6	52.2
SD									
G	12.8	7.7	12.4	13.1	5.1	5.1	5.9	5.6	12.4
B	4.6	8.5	13.8	10.9	4.9	9.2	7.7	9.2	11.5
Significant pattern differences									
A vs. B									
G	.01								
B		.05			.01		.05		

TABLE 21—(*Continued*)

Pattern	PAI clusters[a]								
	1. Early Maturity Demands	2. Values Conformity	3. Angered Over Lack of Control	4. Firm Enforcement	5. Promotes Nonconformity	6. Discourages Infantile Behavior	7. Authoritarianism	8. Impatient	9. Consistent Child-Rearing Philosophy
A vs. C									
G	.01			.01			.05		
B		.05		.01			.05		
A vs. D									
G		.01		.05			.01		
B		.05		.01	.01		.01		
B vs. C									
B				.05		.10			
B vs. D									
B	.10			.05					
IV vs. C									
G	.10								

Note.—G = girls; B = boys. Comparisons not statistically significant have been omitted.
[a] Clusters 1 through 7 are standardized after combining the corresponding Mother and Father clusters. Clusters 8 and 9 are for mothers only.

TABLE 22

SUMMARY OF SOME COMBINED PATTERN DIFFERENCES ON PRESCHOOL BEHAVIOR *Q*-SORT CLUSTERS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV. Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
A. (I + VIII) Authoritarian							
N							
G	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
B	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
M							
G	46.8	47.6	46.0	48.6	49.1	47.6	44.7
B	52.7	51.0	50.7	49.9	50.8	47.8	47.9
SD							
G	10.5	11.8	11.2	9.2	9.2	9.9	8.7
B	9.1	11.4	10.8	9.2	12.0	8.8	8.6
B. (II + III) Authoritative							
N							
G	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
B	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
M							
G	50.2	52.4	54.8	56.6	55.0	54.3	56.7
B	43.1	43.7	46.0	51.9	54.2	56.1	50.3
SD							
G	11.2	10.9	10.9	6.1	6.2	7.7	7.2
B	10.5	6.1	9.7	11.4	7.2	4.5	11.0
C. (V + VI) Permissive							
N							
G	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
B	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
M							
G	48.3	50.2	47.7	47.8	48.1	52.5	49.9
B	52.4	52.1	51.3	48.0	47.1	44.3	45.6

TABLE 22—(*Continued*)

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV. Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
SD							
G	7.8	8.1	6.8	11.2	11.7	10.0	12.1
B	9.0	9.8	11.5	13.2	11.2	10.2	11.4
D. (IV + V) Nonconforming							
N							
G	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
B	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
M							
G	48.1	45.5	45.6	44.7	45.4	49.5	45.9
B	49.7	46.6	48.2	51.1	49.6	54.3	54.3
SD							
G	9.4	4.5	6.9	9.7	10.6	11.5	10.8
B	6.1	8.6	10.7	10.5	10.9	9.7	10.9
IV							
N							
G	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
B	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
M							
G	48.2	43.9	44.8	43.5	45.9	49.8	45.4
B	50.8	46.3	48.8	52.8	51.1	57.3	57.2
SD							
G	10.6	5.7	7.9	8.2	10.2	11.7	10.0
B	6.5	9.5	10.7	7.1	8.9	7.0	6.5

TABLE 22—(*Continued*)

Pattern	*Q*-sort clusters						
	I. Hostile-Friendly	II. Resistive-Cooperative	III. Domineering-Tractable	IV. Dominant-Submissive	V. Purposive-Aimless	VI. Achievement Oriented-Not Achievement Oriented	VII. Independent-Suggestible
Significant pattern differences							
A vs. B							
G			.10	.05	.10	.10	.01
B	.05	.05				.01	
A vs. D							
B						.10	.10
B vs. C							
G			.10	.05	.10		
B	.05	.05			.10	.01	
B vs. D							
G		.05	.05	.01	.05		.01
B	.10						
IV vs. C							
G		.10					
B						.01	.05

Note.—G = girls; B = boys. Comparisons not statistically significant have been omitted.

forming-Permissive, to form Combined Pattern D, Nonconforming. In addition, Pattern IV scores are examined separately since there is an overlap in the definitions of Combined Patterns C and D, and it is of interest to contrast the effects of Permissive and Nonconforming upbringing. To accomplish this, Combined Pattern C and Pattern IV are compared. In Table 20, combined pattern differences in parental practices are summarized by means of the 15 PBR constructs-qua-items. In Table 21, combined pattern differences in parents' attitudes are summarized using Mother and Father PAI cluster scores. In Table 22 is summarized the impact upon boys and girls of these contrasting patterns of parental authority using scores on the *Q*-sort clusters.

Most, if not all, current empirically based models of child behavior are two dimensional. The names given the two dimensions vary with the investigators, depending upon his view of social-psychological functioning. However, at the item level it appears that, almost universally, one dimension can be found which describes Responsible versus Irresponsible behavior, that is the conforming, accommodating, socialized component of competent behavior and its opposite; and a second dimension orthogonal to it can be found which describes Independent versus Suggestible behavior, that is, the independent, creative, assertive, individualistic component of competent behavior and its opposite. What, then, do the data summarized in Tables 20, 21, and 22 suggest about the effects of contrasting patterns of parental authority—Authoritarian, Authoritative, Permissive and Nonconforming—upon the development of competence via Social Responsibility and competence via Independence in the young child?

Social Responsibility refers to the behaviors covered by Preschool Behavior *Q*-Sort Clusters I, II, and VI, and is used when the generalization applies to at least two of the three clusters; Independence refers to the behaviors covered by *Q*-Sort Clusters III, IV, V, and VII, and is used when the generalization applies to at least three of the four clusters. The reader will note from Figure 1 that Social Responsibility (Clusters I, II, VI) refers to stable-responsible rather than to conforming behavior, and that Independence (Clusters III, IV, V) refers to nonconforming-active rather than to irresponsible behavior.

Certain hypotheses consistent with previous work and supported by a conceptual framework (Baumrind, 1966, 1967) were formulated concerning the relationships between pattern membership and child behavior. A summary of the relevant results follows each hypothesis. The hypotheses and the findings are interdependent rather than independent.

Hypothesis 1

The children of Authoritarian parents, relative to other children, are lacking in Independence, but not in Social Responsibility. On indexes of Social Responsibility, these children have modal scores.

Daughters of Authoritarian parents were significantly less Independent than daughters of Authoritative parents. Sons of Authoritarian parents were somewhat less Independent (.10) than sons of Nonconforming parents. Sons of Authoritarian parents, relative to sons of Authoritative parents, were less Socially Responsible, but that was due to the very high scores on the indexes of Social Responsibility of sons of Authoritative parents rather than to low scores on the part of sons of Authoritarian parents. Daughters of Authoritarian parents were somewhat less Achievement Oriented than daughters of Authoritative parents.

Hypothesis 2

The children of Authoritative parents, relative to children of all other parents but Authoritarian parents, are Socially Responsible, and relative to children of all other parents but Nonconforming parents, are Independent.

Sons of Authoritative parents were significantly more Socially Responsible than sons of Authoritarian or Permissive parents, and somewhat more Friendly than sons of Nonconforming parents. Daughters of Authoritative parents were somewhat more Achievement Oriented than daughters of Authoritarian parents. While children of Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents were Socially Responsible, children of

Authoritative-Nonconforming parents were Hostile to peers and Resistive to adult authority. The dimension of conformity-nonconformity was crucial in predicting Hostility and Resistiveness of children of Authoritative parents.

Hypothesis 3

The children of Permissive parents, relative to the children of Authoritarian and Authoritative but not to the children of Nonconforming parents, are lacking in Social Responsibility. These children do not have (as advocates of permissiveness would predict) high scores on indexes of Independence.

Sons of Permissive parents were lacking in Social Responsibility relative to sons of Authoritative but not relative to sons of Authoritarian parents, and were much less Achievement Oriented than sons of Pattern IV (Nonconforming) parents. Daughters of Permissive parents were not lacking in Social Responsibility. Daughters of Permissive parents were less Independent (especially with regard to Dominance) than daughters of Authoritative parents, but were not less Independent than daughters of Authoritarian or Pattern IV parents. Sons of Permissive parents were somewhat less Purposive than sons of Authoritative parents, and significantly less Independent than sons of Pattern IV parents.

Hypothesis 4

The children of Nonconforming parents, relative to the children of Authoritarian and Authoritative parents, but not to the children of Permissive parents, are lacking in Social Responsibility, and relative to the children of Authoritarian and Permissive, but not to the children of Authoritative parents, are more Independent.

Children of Nonconforming parents were not lacking in Social Responsibility relative to any other group. Daughters of Authoritative and of Permissive parents were both more Resistive than daughters of Pattern IV parents, who were just Nonconforming. Sons of Pattern IV parents were considerably more Achievement Oriented than sons of Permissive parents. Daughters of Nonconforming parents were less Independent than daughters of Authoritative parents. Sons of Pattern IV parents were significantly more Independent than sons of Permissive parents.

It is clear from the above summary that the various hypotheses are supported differentially for boys and girls. Does this mean that there are sex differences in socialization effects?

Sex Differences In Child and Parent Behavior And In Socialization Effects

Girl versus Boy Differences

As indicated earlier, the usual sex differences at this age between boys and girls were revealed, with boys showing more hostility to peers and resistance to adult supervison and less achievement orientation. It is of interest that resistiveness to adult authority and achievement orientation were highly negatively correlated for boys and not at all related for girls, and that domineering behavior on the part of girls was more highly related to constructive activity than it was for boys. It looks as though girls, in order to be achievement oriented and purposive, should, relative to other girls, be nontractable. Independence is more difficult to achieve for girls than for boys, and probably requires, even at this young age, a certain amount of rejection of peer and adult influence, and training in true independence of normative standards.

Sex Differences in Socialization Practices

Not much is known about the differential ways in which boys and girls are socialized, except that they are all-pervasive and begin at birth. Assimilation by the rater of sex-appropriate behavior and notice taken of sex-inappropriate behavior occur so automatically that, once the rater knows the sex of the child, it must be assumed that all ratings of the child are affected by that knowledge. Therefore, it is likely that the true differences are far more pervasive than the data reveal.

Table 15 contains the significant mean differences for the cluster scores on the PBR for parental treatment of boys versus girls. Table 16 contains similar information on the PAI. Very few significant differences appear in either table. Most notably, both mothers and fathers of boys, in compari-

with girls, were more likely to enforce a directive when the child initially disobeyed (cluster Firm Enforcement). Fathers only were slightly more rejecting with boys (cluster Rejecting). On the PAI clusters, fathers of boys, compared to girls, were somewhat more Authoritarian and more likely to Value Conformity.

Problems in Determining Sex-Related Differences in Socialization Effects

The relationships within and between the PBR clusters for girls and boys are present in Table 17. As can be noted from this table, all five Mother-cluster solutions and six Father-cluster solutions were highly comparable across sex of child. However, even where *cos θ*s were very high, important differences in within-cluster correlations appeared (e.g., Rejecting with a *cos θ* of .99 for fathers of boys versus fathers of girls, correlated with Firm Enforcement in the Father-of-Girls solution, .41, and in the Father-of-Boys solution, .10). These contrasting correlates bring into question the psychological equivalence of the entities (e.g., Firm Enforcement) given the same designation.

The mean standard scores on a PBR cluster for parents of boys and parents of girls within a given pattern sometimes differed. This signifies that even patterns with the same name (and exactly the same operational definitions) were not necessarily equivalent. Thus, one cannot speak with assurance of sex-related effects of pattern membership.

Sex Differences in Socialization Effects

Independence in girls, but not in boys, was clearly associated with Authoritative upbringing (whether conforming or nonconforming) more than with Permissive, Authoritarian, or Nonconforming upbringing. For boys, Authoritative-Nonconforming, and Nonconforming (Not Permissive) rather than Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) upbringing, were associated with high scores on indexes of Independence. Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents of boys were even firmer, more punishing, and more demanding than Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents of girls, although Pattern II parents of both boys and girls relative to other parents were very demanding. These differences in child-rearing practices may well have accounted for the greater Independence of daughters, compared to sons, of Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents. The alternate hypothesis is that Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents produce independence in girls but not in boys.

Friendly, cooperative behavior in both girls and boys was clearly associated with Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) or, to a somewhat lesser extent, Nonconforming upbringing, rather than with Permissive or Authoritarian upbringing.

Achievement-oriented behavior was clearly inhibited by Permissive upbringing for boys, but the same could not be said for girls. Since Permissive parents of girls were somewhat *more* nondirective and lax in their enforcement policies, relative to boys, the hypothesis of a sex-related difference in the effect of Permissive upbringing on achievement orientation for boys versus girls should be considered. Permissive upbringing for girls but not for boys may have a beneficial effect on the development of achievement orientation in the preschool years. When results for Pattern II, Authoritative (Not Nonconforming), and Pattern VI, Permissive (Not Nonconforming), alone were compared, it became especially apparent that above-average scores on Achievement Oriented and Independence (*Q*-Sort Clusters VI and VII) in girls were associated with two contrasting patterns of parental practices. One pattern was characterized by high stimulation and demands (Authoritative-Not Nonconforming) and the second pattern (Permissive-Not Nonconforming) was characterized by absence of pressure toward either conformity or anticonformity. In the case of Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parents, daughters were positively trained to be achievement oriented, independent, and socially responsible. In the case of Permissive (Not Nonconforming) parents, daughters were merely not trained to be the opposite of achievement oriented and independent; that is, they were not trained to be passive, nonachieving, or dependent. In both cases, dependence upon social norms, in order to conform to these norms (as in the case of

Authoritarian parents), or in order to react against these norms (as in the case of the Nonconforming parents), was avoided. Such dependence upon social norms, in contrast to an independent attitude toward these norms, seems to inhibit the development of instrumental competence in girls. For boys, independence can be achieved without violating social norms. If achieved, however, only by conformity to these norms, such independence may be fragile and easily threatened.

For a further discussion of the development of instrumental competence in girls, see Baumrind (1970).

Socialization Practices Associated with Social Responsibility in Young Children

These comments apply particularly to boys, since socialization practices seem to have a clearer impact upon the development of Social Responsibility in boys.

Since neglectful and extremely punitive practices are known to characterize the parents of extremely aggressive and delinquent boys, many experts in the field assumed that firm control and high maturity demands would have the same effect on the development of chronic rebellion in children. This assumption has not been supported by the majority of relevant studies. In general, close supervision, high demands for obedience and personal neatness, and sharing of household responsibilities do *not* provoke chronic rebelliousness in children even at adolescence. On the contrary, such disciplinary practices are generally associated with responsible behavior. For example, Bandura and Walters (1959), Glueck and Glueck (1950), and McCord, McCord, and Howard (1961) found that *higher* demands were made by parents of the *least* hostile or delinquent children; Finney (1961) found that, while parental rigidity was associated with covert hostility in children, firm control was associated with development of conscience. The condition most conducive to antisocial aggression because it most effectively rewards such behavior is probably one in which the parent is punitive and arbitrary in his demands, but then inconsistent in responding to the child's disobedience.

Findings from several studies also suggest that parental demands provoke rebelliousness only when the parent both restricts autonomy of action and does not use rational methods of control. In one study of 211 third graders' attitudes (Hoffman, Rosen, & Lippit, 1960), the children who described their parents as both coercive, and permissive of high autonomy of action in prescribed areas, compared with the remainder of the sample, were *higher* in academic success, use of directives, social power, group leadership, and friendliness. That is, they were both more assertive and more responsible than children who described their parents as either very coercive or very permissive. Pikas (1961), in his survey of 656 Swedish adolescents, showed that significant differences occurred in their acceptance of parental authority, depending upon the reason for the directive. Authority based on rational concern for the child's welfare was accepted well by the child, but arbitrary, domineering, or exploitive authority was rejected. Pikas' results are supported by Middleton and Snell (1963), who found that parental discipline regarded by the child as either very strict or very permissive was associated with rebellion against the parent's political viewpoints. Elder (1963), working with adolescents' reports concerning their parents, found that conformity to parental rules typified adolescents who saw their parents as having ultimate control but who gave the child leeway in making decisions (Democratic), and who also provided explanations for rules (Parental Power Legitimization).

In the present study, Social Responsibility was most strongly associated with Authoritative (Not Nonconforming) parental control. The sons of such parents were more Socially Responsible than the sons of Permissive or Authoritarian parents, both in the sense that they were more friendly and cooperative and in the sense that they were more constructively achievement oriented. Emphasis on Nonconformity by the parents did not of itself lead to unfriendly, resistive behavior. The six children of Authoritative-Nonconforming parents, however, were aggressive and resistive. Authoritative-Nonconforming parents modeled and reinforced aggressive behavior, and approved of nonconforming behavior outside the home. They enjoyed

displays of temper and often provoked their children into such displays. Their children, interestingly enough, despite the high negative correlation between Resistive and Achievement-Oriented behavior in the overall sample studied, and in most other studies of achievement effects in nursery school (e.g., Crandall, Orleans, Preston, & Rabson, 1958) were both highly Achievement Oriented and Resistive.

Several generalizations and propositions can be drawn from the previously reported results, and from the literature concerning the relations of certain parental practices and the development of Social Responsibility in young children. The following propositions assume that it is more meaningful to talk about the effects of *patterns* of parental authority than about the effects of single parental variables. Without certain other conditions being present (these conditions are mentioned), the strength or direction of an expected parent-child relationship might well be altered.

Proposition 1

The modelling of socially responsible behavior facilitates the development of Social Responsibility in young children, and more so if the model is seen as having control over resources the child desires and strong involvement with the child.

The parent who subordinates her impulses enough to conform with social regulations and is herself charitable and generous will have her example followed by the child. To the extent that such a model has high social status (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963) —and a strong involvement with the child (Bandura & Walters, 1959)—the model will be most effective in inducing socially responsible behavior. Contrary to the original hypothesis, the fact that a parent sees herself as nonconforming or even antinomian (i.e., Combined Pattern D or Pattern IV) does not necessarily mean that her child will lack Social Responsibility. This may be because these parents were, as people, rather gentle and passive, especially by contrast with Authoritative-Nonconforming parents, and modeled these qualities. The Authoritative-Nonconforming parent, in Berkeley as elsewhere, is probably more genuinely individualistic and in a more anomalous position and, as such, more likely to model as well as to reinforce socially resistive and self-assertive behavior than the more passive Permissive-Nonconforming parent.

Proposition 2

Firm enforcement policies in which behavior desired by the parent is positively reinforced and behavior regarded as deviant by the parent is negatively reinforced, facilitate the development in the child of socially responsible behavior, provided, of course, that the parent desires the child to behave in a socially responsible manner and is therefore rewarding such behavior.

The use of reinforcement techniques serves to establish the potency of the reinforcing agent and, in the mind of the young child, to legitimate her authority. The use of negative sanctions properly applied can be a clear statement to the child that the rules are there to be followed and that to disobey is to break a known rule. Punishment provides the child with necessary information. As Spence (1966) found, the authority's nonreaction is interpreted by subjects, as it probably is by children, as signifying a correct response. Siegel and Kohn (1959) found that nonreaction by an adult present when a child was behaving aggressively resulted in greater incidence of such acts in the future. That is, when a child misbehaves and an adult is present and does not express disapproval, her nonreaction is interpreted by the child as approval and the future incidence of such behavior is increased. By virtue of her role as an authority, a parent who is present cannot help but affect the future behavior of a misbehaving child. Disapproval should reduce the incidence of such behavior, while approval or nonreaction to such deviant behavior should increase its incidence. Proper use of differential punishment and reward can aid the child to discriminate between superficially similar acts and to conform to natural and social law (the most fundamental of which is alternatively referred to as Karma, law of reciprocity, "As you sow so shall you reap," or the Golden Rule).

Permissive parents did not use negative sanctions consistently and tried not to inter-

vene. Their children, as would be expected from the above hypothesis, were more Resistive, and less Achievement Oriented than children of Authoritative parents who were consistently firm in their enforcement policies.

Proposition 3

Nonrejecting parents are more potent models and reinforcing agents than rejecting parents, and thus nonrejection should be associated with socially responsible behavior in children, provided that the parents value and reinforce such behavior.

Authoritarian parents compared to Authoritative parents Express more Punitive Behavior (Construct-qua-Item XV) and, as would be expected from the above hypothesis, their sons in particular are less Socially Responsible.

It should be noted that a distinction is made between the effects of nonrejection and the effects of passive-acceptance in this hypothesis. It is expected that nonrejecting rather than acceptant parental behavior will be associated with socially responsible behavior in children. As Bronfenbrenner (1961) pointed out about adolescents, "it is the presence of rejection rather than the lack of a high degree of warmth which is inimical to the development of responsibility in both sexes [p. 254]."

Proposition 4

Parents who are just and fair, and who use reason to legitimate their directives are more potent models and reinforcing agents than parents who do not encourage independence or verbal exchange.

Consider the interacting effects of negative reinforcement and the use of reasoning on the behavior of children. It appears that the use of verbal rationale accompanying punishment nullifies the special effectiveness of immediate punishment, and also of relatively intense punishment (Parke, 1969). Thus a parent, by symbolically reinstating the deviant act, explaining the reason for punishment, and telling the child exactly what behavior is preferable to the deviant behavior, need not resort to intense or instantaneous punishment. Immediate, intense punishment may have undesirable side effects, in that the child is *conditioned* through fear to avoid deviant behavior, and is not helped to control himself consciously and willingly. Such conditioning fails to provide the child with information about cause and effect relations, which he can transfer to other situations. Also instantaneous, intense punishment produces a high anxiety level which interferes with performance, and, in addition, increases the likelihood that the child will avoid the noxious agent, thus reducing the agent's future effectiveness as a model or reinforcing agent.

This is not to say that use of reason alone without negative sanctions will result in socially responsible behavior. Negative sanctions give operational meaning to the consequences signified by the reason and to the rule itself.

Authoritarian parents did not Encourage Verbal Exchange (Construct-qua-Item XII). Thus, according to this hypothesis, their frequent use of negative reinforcement, because it was not accompanied by use of reason to give legitimacy to their directives, should have been ineffectual in the production of socially responsible behavior relative to parents who used both reason and power. Indeed, their children were not as Socially Responsible as those of Authoritative parents who did encourage independence and verbal exchange.

Socialization Practices Associated with Independence in Young Children

These comments apply particularly to girls, since socialization practices seem to have more of an impact upon the development of Independence in girls than in boys.

Just as it was once assumed that firm control and high maturity demands led to rebellious and irresponsible behavior in children, so was it once assumed that similar parental behavior led to passivity and dependence in young children. The preponderance of evidence is contrary to this assumption. It appears that children are not that easily cowed by parental pressure. Hoffman, Rosen, and Lippitt's (1960) results indicate that parental assertiveness, and submissiveness in the child, are negatively correlated. Sears' (1961) findings for early socialization and

later aggression suggest that high punishment for aggression, like Hoffman's "reactive unqualified power assertion," does not lead to submissive behavior, provided that certain other conditions also characterize the parent-child relationship.

> There are individual differences in vigor and reactivity which may alter young children's reactions to parental power. A gentle, sensitive child might well react to high-power directives with passive, dependent responses, whereas an aggressive, vigorous child might react self-assertively or oppositionally, modeling himself after the aggressive parent. The same parent variables which increase the probability that the child will use the parent as a model should increase the likelihood that firm control will result in assertive behavior. Thus, the controlling parent who is warm, understanding, and autonomy-granting should generate less passivity (as well as less rebelliousness) than the controlling parent who is cold and restrictive because of the kinds of behavior she will reinforce and the traits she presents as a model [Baumrind, 1966, p. 899].

Several propositions are offered concerning the relations between certain parental practices and the development of Independence in young children.

Proposition 1

Early environmental stimulation and complexity facilitate the development of Independence.

The early development of cognitive skills and linguistic ability, and stimulation of an interest in school achievement characterized those Head Start programs which were most successful (Hunt, 1968). Fowler (1962) pointed out, prior to the popularity of cognitively oriented programs for the disadvantaged, that early childhood stimulation should enhance the competence of the young child, poor or affluent, and thus his self-esteem. Such stimulation should not impair his personality development as, with very little evidence, some experts feared.

In this study, as the proposition suggests, the presence of Enriched Environment (Construct-qua-Item II) and pressure to achieve characterized the families of the most independent children, that is the children of the Authoritative and Nonconforming parents, relative to the Permissive or Authoritarian parents.

Proposition 2

Passive-acceptant and overprotective parental practices inhibit the development of Independence in children.

The passive-acceptant and overprotective parent rewards dependent behavior and protects the child from stress. The demanding and not overprotective parent permits the child to extricate himself from stressful situations and places a high value on tolerance of frustration and courage. Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) found that high achievement motivation was facilitated by maternal behavior high both in warmth when the child pleased the parent, and in hostility and rejection when the child displeased the parent. Hoffman et al. (1960) found that mothers of boys motivated to achieve were more coercive than mothers of boys who performed poorly. Crandall, Dewey, Katkovsky, and Preston (1964) found that mothers of achieving girls were less nurturant. Kagan and Moss (1962) found that achieving adult women had mothers who, in early childhood, were unaffectionate, not protective, and "pushy." In a prior study (Baumrind & Black, 1967), paternal punitiveness was associated positively with indexes of independence in girls. In the present study also, there were indications for girls that a certain degree of parental nonacceptance or rejection was associated positively with Independence, in that the most Independent girls did have parents who were either not Passive-Acceptant or were somewhat Rejecting. Authoritative parents were (by definition) not Passive-Acceptant (PBR Cluster 3) while fathers in Permissive homes were Passive-Acceptant, but had scores above the median on Rejecting (PBR Cluster 4). (Since the PBR clusters, Passive-Acceptant and Rejecting, for fathers of girls correlated $-.51$ in the general sample, these data for Permissive parents are all the more provocative.) Rejection in a context of restrictiveness, such as was shown by Authoritarian parents, seems to have the opposite effect on girls, and to immobilize and inhibit self-expression.

Proposition 3

Parental values which stress individuality and self-expression facilitate the develop-

ment of Independence in the child, provided that these qualities in the parent are not accompanied by unwillingness to make demands upon the child.

The expression of individuality and independence by the parents is an important factor in promoting self-assertiveness in the child. Thus, Norman (1966) found that the same-sex parents of gifted achieving children had significantly lower conformity scores and higher independence scores than did the same-sex parents of gifted children who were not achieving.

For boys, Independence was clearly a function of Nonconforming but not Permissive parental attitudes and behavior. For girls, however, Nonconforming attitudes and behaviors were associated with Independence in the child only when parents were also Authoritative. Authoritative parents of girls and Nonconforming (not Permissive) parents of both boys and girls, compared to other parents studied, tended to encourage their children to ask for, even to demand, what they wanted (provided that these demands were not at variance with parental policy) and then to acquiesce to these demands. By contrast, Authoritarian parents, as shown by their high scores on Obedience as a Positive Salient Value (Construct-qua-Item VIII) and Promotes Respect for Established Authority (Construct-qua-Item IX), and by low scores on Promotes Individuality (Construct-qua-Item XIV), did not value willfullness on the part of the child. Their children were not Independent. Permissive parents were clearly ambivalent about rewarding willfullness. They did not differentiate between mature or praiseworthy, and regressive or deviant demands placed upon them by the child, by consistently acceding to mature or praiseworthy demands and rejecting regressive or deviant demands. Permissive parents instead would accede to the child's demands until their patience was exhausted and then punish the child, sometimes very harshly. Thus, Permissive fathers, of boys in particular, by comparison with Authoritative-Nonconforming fathers, Expressed Punitive Behavior (PBR Cluster 4), admitted to being Angered Over Lack of Control (on PAI Cluster 3), and did not consistently reward specific expressions of individuality and self-assertiveness. Their sons were even less Independent than sons of Authoritative parents, and very much less Independent than sons of Nonconforming parents.

Proposition 4

Firm control can be associated in the child with Independence, provided that the control is not restrictive of the child's opportunities to experiment and to make decisions within the limits defined.

It is important to distinguish between the effects on the child of restrictive control and of firm control. By restrictive control is meant extensive proscriptions and prescriptions which cover many areas of the child's life and need systems and limit his autonomy to try out his skills in these areas. By firm control is meant firm enforcement of rules, effective resistance to the child's coercive demands, and willingness to guide the child by regime and structured interventions. It does not imply many rules or intrusive directiveness of the child's activities.

Becker (1964) summarized the interacting effects on child behavior of restrictiveness versus permissiveness with warmth versus hostility. He reported that warm-restrictive parents tended to have passive, well-socialized children. Baumrind (1967) found that warm-controlling, by contrast with Becker's warm-restrictive, parents were not paired with passive children, but rather with responsible, assertive, self-reliant children. Parents of these responsible, assertive, self-reliant children enforced directives and resisted the child's demands but they were not restrictive. Apparently early control, unlike restrictiveness, does not lead to "fearful, dependent, and submissive behaviors, a dulling of intellectual striving and inhibited hostility," as Becker (1964, p. 197) described children of restrictive parents. Becker reported that children of warm-nonrestrictive parents were socially outgoing, successfully aggressive, independent, and friendly. In my previous study, children of warm-noncontrolling parents were immature and avoidant, rather than self-assertive and self-reliant.

When granting autonomy is an indication of detachment rather than warmth, its opposite, restric-

tiveness is not associated in the child with hostility or passivity. A careful examination of the findings of Schaefer and Bayley (1963) makes the point rather well. The conceptual definition of Schaefer and Bayley's variable "autonomy" (low) is quite similar to that of Kagan and Moss's variable "restrictiveness" (high), but maternal "autonomy" does not covary positively, except for girls at ages 9–14, with maternal warmth (measured by the variable "positive evaluation"). At ages 9–14, for girls, when "autonomy" and "positive evaluation" covary positively (.40), the variable "autonomy" is associated in adolescent girls with popularity, contentment, and low hostility. At 0–3 years, when "autonomy" and "positive evaluation" are somewhat negatively related (—.28), there are no significant associations between the maternal variable "autonomy" and any of the child behavior ratings. For boys also, "autonomy" is correlated negatively (—.07 to —.33) with "positive evaluation." It is interesting, therefore, to note that "autonomy" measured at 0–3 years is associated with timid, inhibited, courteous, and tactful behavior in adolescent boys, and at 9–14 with unfriendly, uncooperative, uninterested behavior, rather than with self-reliance, buoyancy, and self-assertiveness. Maternal "autonomy," as measured by Schaefer and Bayley, seems to reflect detached uninvolvement, except for mothers of girls 9–14, when it is correlated positively with most measures of maternal warmth. The effect on the child covaries with these maternal correlates [Baumrind, 1966, pp. 899–900].

In this study, control exerted by Authoritative parents of boys (and, of course, Authoritarian parents) was somewhat restrictive, by comparison with control exerted by Authoritative parents of girls, and was not associated with above-average levels of Independence, as was Authoritative control with girls. However, firm control is not linearly related to dependence. Thus, Authoritative parents of girls exerted very much firmer control than did Permissive parents of girls, and their children, as predicted by this hypothesis, were more rather than less Independent. (To the extent that the effects of firm control are sex related, boys seem to be *less* rather than more adversely affected by similar degrees of firmness.)

Proposition 5

Substantial reliance upon reinforcement techniques unaccompanied by appeals to reason should lead to dependent, overly compliant, or passively resistive behavior.

To the extent that the parent uses verbal cues judiciously, he increases his child's ability to discriminate, differentiate, and generalize. According to Luria (1960) and Vygotsky (1962), the child's ability to "order" his own behavior is based upon verbal instruction from the adult which, when heeded and obeyed, permits eventual cognitive control by the child of his own behavior. Thus, when the adult legitimizes power, labels actions clearly as praiseworthy or changeworthy, explains his rules, and encourages vigorous verbal give and take, obedience is not likely to be achieved at the cost of passive-dependence upon authority.

It is self-defeating to attempt, by extrinsic reinforcement, to shape behavior which by its nature is autogenic. The healthy infant, by inclination, is explorative and curious, and alternately seeks stress and quiescence. According to many investigators (e.g., McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953), infantile feelings of pleasure originally experienced after mild changes in sensory stimulation become associated with early efforts at independent mastery of challenging or novel events. The child anticipates pleasure upon achievement of a level of skill somewhat above his present performance level. Although the process of independent mastery can be accelerated if the parent broadens the child's range of experiences and makes certain demands upon the child which are within his ability to meet, she must take care not to substitute extrinsic reward and social approval for the intrinsic pleasure associated with mastery of the environment and the exercise of the will.

It was apparent from the content of the interviews as well as from the pattern of scores on the PBR clusters, and constructs-qua-items, that Authoritative-Nonconforming parents were particularly unwilling to "condition" the behavior of their children without appeals to reason. Perhaps the unwillingness of Authoritative parents, especially Authoritative-Nonconforming parents, to place reliance upon reinforcement techniques contributed substantially to the absence in their children of passive, dependent, submissive behavior.

Proposition 6

Self-assertiveness and self-confidence in the parent, expressed in part by the moderate use of power-oriented techniques of dis-

cipline, are associated with Independence in the young child.

The self-assertive, self-confident parent provides a model of similar behavior for the child. Also the parent who uses power-oriented rather than love-oriented techniques of discipline achieves compliance through means other than guilt. Power-oriented techniques can achieve behavioral conformity without the child internalizing parental standards before he can judge these standards. It may be that the child is, in fact, more free to formulate his own standards of conduct if techniques of discipline are used which stimulate resistiveness or anger rather than fear or guilt. This may be especially important for girls. The belief in one's own power and the assumption of responsibility for one's own intellectual successes and failures are important predictors of independent effort and intellectual achievement (Crandall, Katkovsky, & Crandall, 1965). This sense of self-responsibility in children seems to be associated in parents with power-oriented techniques of discipline and critical attitudes toward the child rather than with lax discipline and few demands.

Both the Authoritative and the Nonconforming parents in this study were characterized by Confidence in Self as a Parent (Construct-qua-Item X), Flexibility and Clarity of the Parent's Views (Construct-qua-Item VI), and no Reluctance to Express Anger (Construct-qua-Item XIII). Together with a policy of relatively firm enforcement and nonrejection, these indexes add up to a pattern of parental authority which relies upon use of power and reason rather than upon love and guilt or fear to achieve compliance.

Summary

As a summary generalization, it can be said that Authoritative parents are most likely to facilitate the development of competence via responsible behavior and competence via independent behavior in young children. While true as an overall generalization, the following specifications should be added:

1. Authoritative parental behavior, compared to all other patterns of parental authority, while clearly associated with Independent, Purposive, Dominant behavior in girls, was only clearly associated with the same behavior in boys when the parents were also Nonconforming.

2. Authoritative parental control, compared to Authoritarian and Permissive parental control, while clearly associated with all indexes of Social Responsibility in boys, was clearly associated in girls only with high Achievement, and not with Friendly and Cooperative behavior. In fact, when parents were Nonconforming as well as Authoritative, girls were Hostile and Resistive.

It was also demonstrated (contrary to hypotheses) that parental Nonconformity is not associated with lack of Social Responsibility in either boys or girls. More specifically:

1. For girls, unless the parents were also Authoritative, Nonconformity in parents was associated with Cooperative rather than with Resistive behavior.

2. For boys, Nonconformity in parents was associated with high Achievement, and with Independence relative to either Authoritarian or Permissive, but not to Authoritative parent behavior.

Additionally, the data suggest the following new hypotheses:

1. Authoritarian upbringing (in the attenuated form observed among upper-middle-class, white Berkeley families) is not associated with either markedly high or low levels of competence in boys or girls. Boys and girls are affected somewhat differently by Authoritarian practices, with independence in girls, and social responsibility in boys, most adversely affected by such practices.

2. Preschool girls, while less resistive and hostile, are as achievement oriented and independent as preschool boys. These aspects of instrumental competence in girls are probably socialized out by parental or extrafamilial influences. If girls were stimulated and encouraged to remain achievement oriented and independent, or perhaps merely not punished for being so, they should continue to be achievement oriented and independent relative to boys in later life.

3. Very few parents actually fulfill the criteria set for a positive definition of permissiveness—that is, a definition which excludes neglect as a reason for lax control and substitutes instead principled opposition to the use of coercion. Where the reasons for minimizing control were based upon principle, and the parents were both nonrejecting, parents in this study tended in practice to make moderate demands upon the child and to exert moderate control. The effects of lax control and few demands seem to be somewhat different for preschool boys and girls. For boys, such behavior is inversely related to competence. But for girls such behavior combined with some degree of paternal rejection actually seems to stimulate and permit expressions of resistiveness to adults and indirectly to facilitate the expression of autonomous strivings of a constructive as well as a socially disruptive nature. Pressures either to conform or to anticonform seem to interfere with the development in girls of the ability to act assertively and autonomously without dependence upon social norms.

(4) A new kind of parent was observed and referred to as Harmonious (Baumrind, 1971). These parents were nonconforming, provided a very enriched environment, and encouraged independence. While some of these parents met the criteria for Pattern IV (Nonconforming), and were included therein, others met the criteria for none of the eight identified patterns. Harmonious families had one identifying characteristic in common. The observers assigned to study these eight families would not rate the family on the items measuring Firm Enforcement. In each case, the observer felt that any rating on these items would be misleading since the family was characterized by *having control* (i.e., the child seemed to intuit what the parent wanted and to do it) but by not *exercising control* (i.e., the parent almost never directed or commanded the child).

While Permissive parents avoided exercising control but were angry about not having control, and Authoritarian and Authoritative parents exercised control willingly, Harmonious parents seemed neither to exercise control, nor to avoid the exercise of control. Instead, they focused upon achieving a quality of harmony in the home, and upon developing principles for resolving differences and for right living. Often they lost interest in actually resolving a difference once agreement upon principles of resolution had been reached. These parents brought the child up to their level in an interaction but did not reverse roles by acting childishly, as did some Permissive and Nonconforming parents. Harmonious parents were equalitarian in that they recognized differences based upon knowledge and personality, and tried to create an environment in which all family members could operate from the same vantage point, one in which the recognized differences in power did not put the child at a disadvantage. They lived parallel to the mainstream rather than in opposition to it. In their hierarchy of values honesty, harmony, justice, and rationality in human relations took precedence over power, achievement, control, and order, although they also saw the practical importance of the latter values. Many of these families were preparing themselves for communal living, and indeed the qualities developed by Harmonious families seem ideally suited for some type of extended family organization. It would be of interest to identify more families who meet the criteria for Harmonious, and for Authoritative-Nonconforming pattern membership, and to study the effects upon children of what may be newly developing forms of family organization based upon humanistic or antinomian values.

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