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King, John Haskins

A SEARCH FOR DETERMINANTS OF THE AUTHORITARIAN PARENTING
STYLE

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

PH.D. 1985

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A SEARCH FOR DETERMINANTS
OF THE AUTHORITARIAN
PARENTING STYLE

by

John Haskins King

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the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

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Approved by


Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School of The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Adviser Rebecca M. Smith

Committee Members Sarah M. Shoffner

Nancy White

E. M. Rallings

March 18, 1985
Date of Acceptance by Committee

March 18, 1985
Date of Final Oral Examination

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The purpose of this qualitative research study was to find determinants of the authoritarian parenting style and to develop a model of how determinants contribute to the expression of the style. To accomplish this goal, a five-stage, semi-structured, intensive interview procedure was developed.

The general research question was: How do authoritarian parents come to utilize the authoritarian style? Three research questions were formed: (a) Have authoritarian parents experienced authoritarian parenting themselves? (b) How have authoritarian parents reacted to conflict with their own parents? (c) Is the dominant conflict style that children adopt in interaction with their parents linked to the later demonstration of the authoritarian style?

Data were collected from 20 subjects, identified as authoritarian in parenting style, by use of the in-depth, five-stage, semi-structured, intensive interview. The qualitative research method, analytic induction, was employed in the analysis of interview data.

Results of the study were used to develop the following final hypothesis about how an individual becomes an authoritarian parent: An individual will probably become an authoritarian parent, if that individual (a) was reared by at least one authoritarian parent; (b) reacted to the parent with either a docile (conforming) or actively resistant conflict style; or a mixed docile, actively resistant, passively resistant conflict style, but not a purely passively resistant conflict style; (c) experienced fear of the parent with whom there was more conflict; (d) was never meaningfully exposed to another parenting

style, and/or concluded that the authoritarian style worked well on self, and/or concluded that it is possible to shape children toward an ideal image.

In addition, the results showed that the docile conflict style was the one most frequently adopted by the interviewed subject when they themselves were children. This finding was interpreted from a social power-exchange theory viewpoint.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW
OF LITERATURE

Interest in the topic of parenting styles can be traced to the 1940s when Alfred Baldwin, who was at the Fels Institute, described two major dimensions on which parents differed--democracy and control (Baldwin, 1949; Baldwin, Kalhorn, & Breese, 1945). Later, Diana Baumrind, who has been the champion of parenting style research to date, broadened and deepened the conceptualization of parenting style in a series of studies done in 1967, 1968, 1971, and 1973. Much of her emphasis was on parental control and how it varied according to three styles--the permissive, the authoritative, and the authoritarian.

Researchers have also studied specific aspects of parenting style, such as high expectations (Edwards & Whiting, 1977; Whiting & Whiting, 1973); low expectations (Block, 1971; Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957); parental restrictiveness and authoritarianism (Baumrind, 1967, 1971, 1973, 1977; Becker, 1964; Coopersmith, 1967; Feshback, 1974; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967). These studies have generally focused on the impact of various aspects of parenting style on children.

No one, however, had looked systematically at the origin of any particular parenting style, or tried to document the process by which parents come to rely on any given style. This represented a glaring gap in the research, especially from an applied perspective, since two

of Baumrind's three styles, the permissive and the authoritarian, have been linked to a variety of undesirable outcomes for children.

Purpose of the Study

This research project was designed to help close this gap. Using analytic induction, the project, as its primary goal, sought to explore and explain, in a causal, etiologic¹ sense, the authoritarian parenting style phenomenon.

Review of Literature

Research which has focused on child-rearing practices has usually started with the specification of a parental style typology and/or specific attributes of parental style, then proceeded to study the effect of the latter on children's behavior or other areas of interest. When Baldwin, Kalhorn, and Breese (1945) conducted their study, parents were rated on two dimensions: democracy and control. Parents were rated high on democracy if the following phenomena were observed:

1. There was much communication between the parent and child.
2. The child was allowed to participate in family decision-making.
3. The child was given a great deal of personal freedom as long as it did not jeopardize safety or the rights of others.
4. Independence was encouraged.
5. Excess emotionality was discouraged.

Parents were rated high on control if they strongly restricted the child's behavior and met with little resistance during discipline.

Democracy and control were not considered independent of one another, although each was considered to have a somewhat different influence. They overlapped in the sense that democratic parents were above average on the control dimension. The study concluded that children of democratic parents tended to be adept in social situations and oriented toward meeting their goals socially through both verbal and physical means--sometimes aggressively. These children were considered generally insensitive to the needs of other children. Children of controlling parents were found to be obedient, unaggressive, lacking in persistence, and fearful. There was, however, a major problem with this study in that parental control was rated high only in families where there was little or no resistance to discipline.

In a series of studies, Baumrind (1967, 1971, 1973) looked for a relationship between parents' approaches to children and children's characteristics. She identified three parenting styles, each quite different with regard to parental control. Baumrind (1971, pp. 22-23) described these parenting styles as follows:

Authoritarian. Parents who fit this classification were likely to attempt to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of their children in accordance with an absolute set of standards; to value obedience, respect for authority, work, tradition, and the preservation of order; and to discourage verbal give and take. In addition, these parents sometimes rejected their children.

Authoritative. Parents who fit this classification were likely to attempt to direct the child in a rational issue-oriented manner; to encourage verbal give and take, explain the reasons behind demands

and discipline but also use power when necessary; to expect the child to conform to adult requirements but also be independent and self-directing; to recognize the rights of both adults and children; and to set standards and enforce them firmly. These parents did not regard themselves as infallible but also did not base decisions primarily on the child's desires.

Permissive. Parents who fit this classification were likely to attempt to behave in an accepting, positive way toward the child's impulses, desires, and actions; to use little punishment; to consult the child; to make few demands for household responsibility or order; to allow the child to regulate his or her own activities as much as possible and avoid the exercise of control; and to attempt to use reasoning but not overt power to achieve objectives. Baumrind concluded that children reared under these different styles differed behaviorally. Concisely summarized:

1. The children of authoritarian parents obtained only moderate scores on social responsibility, and demonstrated little independence.

2. The children of authoritative parents were both independent and socially responsible.

3. The children of permissive parents were not very independent and demonstrated a great lack of social responsibility. The general conclusions were true for both boys and girls, but there were some sex-related differences noted. Authoritarian parenting and permissive parenting were related to more angry and defiant behavior among boys, as well as to less independent behavior. Girls reared authoritatively

were more achievement-oriented and self-reliant than were boys reared authoritatively. The latter tended to be friendly and cooperative.

Baumrind (1977), in a follow-up study with a group of children first studied when they were preschoolers, found that permissive parenting was negatively associated with achievement orientation and self-confidence among children at the age of eight or nine. Also, boys reared with an authoritarian style were more likely than girls to demonstrate a declining interest in achievement and social contact at these ages.

Emmerich (1977) found evidence similar to Baumrind's in a study of 596 preschoolers, all of whom were eligible for Head Start. Mothers were rated on two variables--control and imperativeness of instructions given to their child. Results indicated that sons of mothers who were both imperative and controlling rated low on measures of autonomous achievement striving. Reflecting sex-related differences, daughters of such mothers were not as likely to rate low on this measure.

A number of other researchers have looked at the effect of authoritarian parenting on children. For example, Feshback (1974) found that the children of such parents lacked empathy. Coopersmith (1967) concluded that the authoritarian style often was associated with low self-esteem. Hoffman and Saltzstein (1967) noted that the children of such parents tended to rely on external rewards and punishments for motivation and self-control. Maccoby (1980) equated authoritarian parenting with arbitrary power assertion, and stated:

Clearly, arbitrary power assertion is associated with docile, unaggressive, and constricted behavior only if the parents' power-assertive stance is accompanied by other elements, such as close parental supervision and/or a reasonable level of affection. Without these additional conditions, arbitrary power assertion is associated with both defiant and antisocial behavior. (p. 385)

Theoretical Perspective

The social power-exchange theory of Rollins and Thomas (1975) is quite helpful when it comes to analyzing and understanding the potential effects of the authoritarian parenting style on children. In exchange theory it is assumed that individuals interact with others in a way which seeks to maximize rewards and minimize losses (punishments). It is assumed in this theory that all social interchanges involve the choice between social and psychological costs and rewards, or perhaps comparison level alternatives. In the parent-child relationship, Richer (1965) viewed the basic exchange to be that of child compliance for parental support. Here, also, the issue of parental control enters so that the exchange outcome, in terms of how the child reacts to the parent, can be viewed theoretically as dependent on the mix of parental control and support. As Rollins and Thomas (1975) emphasized, social power-exchange theory is focused on the dynamic nature of relationships.

The reinforcing effects of parental support on child compliance and social competence are contingent upon the importance to the child of receiving support, alternative sources of support for the child, and the power of the parents. At the same time, the reinforcing potential of the child's compliance on parental nurturance depends on how much the parent values the behavioral compliance....The social power-exchange theory assumes that a parental control attempt induces two forces in a child, a force to comply and a force to resist. (p. 355)

Missildine (1963), in a book written largely on the basis of his clinical experience as a psychiatrist, devoted a chapter to the impact of overcoercive parenting. He labeled overcoerciveness as "the most common pathogenic attitude among American parents" (p. 91). He also pointed out that adults who were overcoerced as children could usually be led to discover that they had developed in their own childhood one of three distinct patterns in dealing with the overcoercion:

Docility (Conformity). If the parent starts coercive control of the child early enough and maintains it consistently, the child generally follows directions without resistance. Such a child obeys without questioning or resisting the parent lest he lose parental love.

Active resistance. If the parental overcoercion has started relatively late in the child's development after the child has already developed some sense of his own ability and powers, the child may adopt a pattern of resisting and defying direction. This may provoke still more severe, threatening coerciveness from the parent to force the child to obey. The parent and child may be in frequent conflict, with the adult getting his way only because he is the stronger. The parent also possesses a powerful weapon: the withholding of parental affection and approval, which the child, however defiant, still needs desperately.

Passive resistance. If the parent has begun overly coercive direction and training after the child has begun to feel some of his power to resist but before he is able to defy the parent actively, the resistance may be passive in varying degrees. The child dawdles and delays in complying with the parent's direction. (pp. 97, 98)

Clinical experience has affirmed the findings of much of the research cited above, especially the conclusions drawn by those studies which looked at authoritarian parenting, and general parental restrictiveness, in combination with the degree of parental support

and warmth. Frustration over the difficulty of modifying the authoritarian parenting style in the clinical setting led to the idea of conducting family of origin interviews focused primarily on the parenting styles of the interviewed parents' parents. This was done to help explain the parenting styles of interviewed parents, enabling them to be more objective about the patterns of their own style. What emerged from trying this approach to therapy was an interest in trying to conduct a study on the etiology of the authoritarian parenting style, and a realization that the conflict coping patterns described by Missildine, as common to the overcoercive situation, might provide a key to understanding the emergence of this style.

Research Questions

The general research question of interest was this: How do authoritarian parents come to utilize the authoritarian style? Other research questions suggested by a review of the literature, related theory, and the researcher's clinical experience as pertinent to the task of the project were as follows:

1. Have authoritarian parents experienced authoritarian parenting themselves?
2. How have authoritarian parents reacted to conflict with their own parents?
3. Is the dominant conflict style that children adopt in interaction with their parents linked to the later demonstration of an authoritarian style?

Since no literature was found that showed a comprehensive view of the authoritarian parenting style, child response, and subsequent parenting style of that child as a parent, the major intent of the research was to derive a causal model of the intergenerational transmission of the authoritarian parenting style. An intensive description of the methodology chosen to accomplish this goal is presented in Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURES

According to Denzin (1970), there are three ways to pursue causal explanations: multivariate analysis, experimental design, and analytic induction. Multivariate analysis provides a way to analyze data so inferences about causation may be made. Sound experimental design enables the systematic collection of data so that conclusions about causation may be drawn. Analytic induction provides both a systematic way of collecting and analyzing data.

For this study the analytic induction method was chosen. This method was first elaborated by Znaniecki (1934) and has been used to study such topics as opiate addiction (Lindesmith, 1947), medical school social systems (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Strauss, 1961), embezzlement (Cressey, 1973), and the effects of divorce on children (Kurdeck & Siesky, 1980). As a method, analytic induction entails a systematic interplay between data collection, hypothesis generation, and hypothesis testing.

Advantages of Analytic Induction

Znaniecki (1934) proclaimed that analytic induction represents the preferred method for all sociological research. He was probably too exclusionary, but nonetheless, this method does have a number of valuable characteristics.

First of all, analytic induction is a qualitative method of inquiry into the nature of causation. This allows the researcher to seek and reach a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Second, analytic induction requires dynamic interaction between hypothesis of data and theory with the aim of evolving a universal explanation of the phenomenon under study. This is of utmost value since virtually all social phenomena are also interactive in nature.

Third, analytic induction is not a method by which the negative case is avoided or excluded. Instead, such cases are sought out and the researcher pushes for understanding and inclusion. Negative cases are used to negate a hypothesis, the criterion for testing theory.

Finally, analytic induction, at its best, is both qualitative and quantitative. This characteristic enables the researcher to unite in synthesis these two constitutional opposites but necessary components of the dialectic of research.

The Qualitative Aspects of Analytic Induction

A step-by-step procedure for executing the qualitative aspects of the analytic induction method has been outlined by Cressey (1973). The steps are as follows:

1. The researcher selects and roughly defines a phenomenon for which an explanation will be sought.
2. A tentative hypothetical explanation is proposed.

3. Each case is studied and its congruence with this tentative hypothetical explanation is assessed.

4. If the case is not adequately explained by the hypothesis, then either the hypothesis is modified, or the phenomenon of interest is redefined to exclude the exceptional case.

5. Any negative case requires a repeat of step number 4. However, when a small number of subsequently examined cases can be found to fit the hypothesis without exception, then practical certainty is attained.

6. This procedure of examining cases, redefining the phenomenon, and re-formulating the hypothesis is continued until a universal relationship is established, each negative case calling for a redefinition or a re-formulation (p. 16).

7. Finally, cases which do not represent examples of the phenomenon under investigation are examined to determine whether the hypothesis applies to them.

This last step is used for further proof in the scientific tradition that certain conditions should always be present when the phenomenon occurs and never present when the phenomenon is absent. This step aids in the ascertaining, refining, joining and separating necessary but not sufficient independent variables from necessary and sufficient independent variables.

The Quantitative Aspects of Analytic Induction

The quantitative component of the analytic induction method is best spelled out by Becker (1960). He noted that once the problems, constructs, phenomena, and indicators have been loosely designated

and roughly defined operationally, the researcher needs to check on their frequency and distribution in order to determine which are worth focusing on as the research endeavor progresses. The above, which are found to be infrequent, typical, or otherwise impertinent, are excluded from the study or redefined to be more relevant. In other words, as data emerge qualitatively and quantitatively, frequency and distribution tabulations help the researcher to systematically blend and incorporate into a better refined, and more inclusive and conclusive model the findings from individual case interviews or observations. Quantification begets parsimony and guides the dynamic interplay of hypothesis construction or construct reformulation.

Tabulation techniques also enable the researcher during wrap-up analysis to present both qualitative and quantitative support for final conclusions (Cook & Campbell, 1979). In addition, quantification allows the researcher the possibility to draw statistically significant probabilities in the event that it is decided to allow the entry of some negative cases.

A Pilot Study Using the Analytic Induction Method

As an aid to the formulation of this research project, a pilot study was conducted using the analytic induction method. Three cases from the researcher's clinical caseload were selected. Each case was believed to represent an authoritarian parenting style according to Baumrind's definition. The answers to a variety of questions were sought through in-depth interviews. Questions were often open-ended, but sometimes direct. These questions sought information concerning

(a) the interviewed parents' parenting style, (b) the parenting styles of each of the interviewed parent's parents, and (c) the dominant style in which each of the interviewed parents conflicted with each of his or her parents. Also, questions were asked concerning characteristics of the personal relationship each interviewed parent had with each of his or her parents--that is, how close did the interviewed parent feel to each of his or her parents? In each case, a married couple had initiated therapy in hopes of getting help for a child.

A Tentative Model of Intergenerational Transmission

It was evident from the histories gathered in each of the three cases that all six of the selected pilot study parents were in fact authoritarian, and that each had been exposed to an authoritarian parenting style when they themselves were children. Of these three pairs of parents, five of the six individuals were judged to have conformed to their authoritarian parents' expectations, while one reported a good bit of rebellion against the authoritarian style. Conformity appeared to be linked to feelings of closeness experienced by the interviewed parent in relation to the authoritarian parent, or to fear of the authoritarian parent. In the case of the authoritarian parent who rebelled, there appeared to be a lack of closeness and only a nominal amount of fear in regard to the authoritarian parent.

The results obtained in this pilot study were used in conjunction with the results found in related literature and the researcher's

clinical experience to construct a tentative model of the variables which appeared to influence the intergenerational transmission of the authoritarian parenting style (see Figure 1). The pilot study was also used to generate both general and specific (unstructured and structured) questions, operational definitions, a procedures format, a data collection, and an analysis plan to be employed in the actual study of origin of the authoritarian parenting style (see Appendixes A and B). A tentative hypotheses about determinants of the authoritarian parenting style was formed: If an individual has been reared by at least one authoritarian parent, and as a child developed either a docile (conforming) or actively resistant conflict style in relation to an authoritarian parent, instead of a passively resistant conflict style, then that individual is likely to become an authoritarian parent. The authoritarian parents will report, if they were docile conforming in conflict style as children that they perceived the conflicted parent as having high empathy and or high fear induction.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data for the major study were collected through face-to-face interviews. Analysis of the data, as required by the analytic induction method, occurred on a case-to-case basis, so that tentative hypotheses, constructs, and insights could be refined as needed in the pursuit of a comprehensive causal explanation of the authoritarian parenting style phenomenon. Concurrent tabulations aided in this process (see Appendix A).

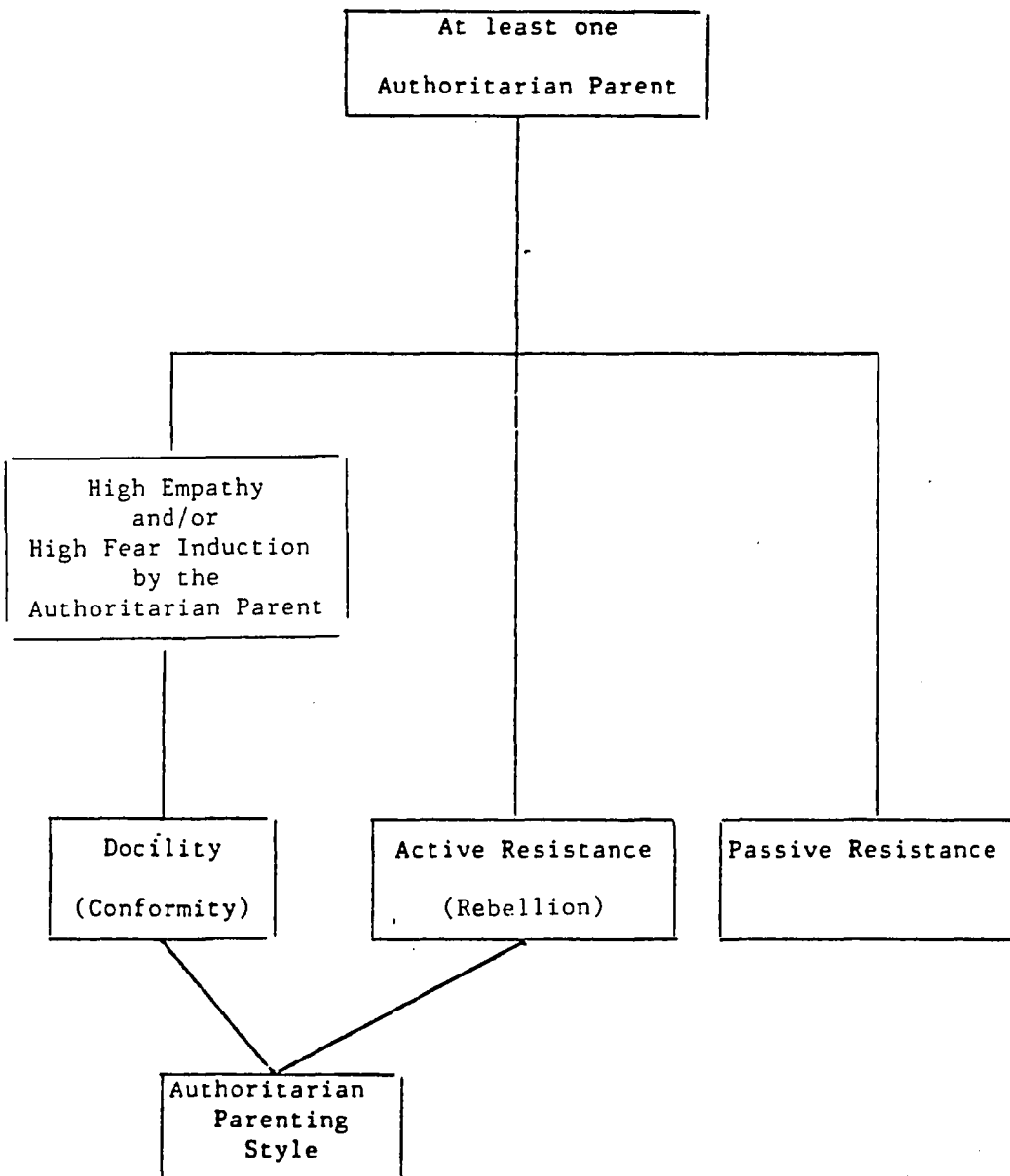


Figure 1. Model of Intergenerational Transmission of the Authoritarian Parenting Style

Subjects

Subjects for this research were parents who consented to participate in a study on the use of parental control and who met the criteria for classification as an authoritarian parent. Many of the subjects were mothers and fathers of children referred to the researcher for counseling. Other subjects were sought on a referral basis from other clinicians trained to identify authoritarian parents. Subjects were sought up to the point of practical certainty that the causal theory derived was correct. This required 20 subjects.

Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are requirements for both quantitative and qualitative research. However, in qualitative research, coefficients of reliability and validity are not used. Instead, repeated observations in cases demonstrate that the phenomenon exists. Repeated observation of the authoritarian parenting style under necessary and sufficient conditions assumes validity and reliability. Kidder (1980) gave Howard Becker credit for stating that reliability in qualitative research lies in the lack of contradiction of a phenomenon from one case to another.

Criteria for Classifying Parenting Styles

The Authoritarian Parenting Style

A slightly modified version of Baumrind's 1971 definition of the authoritarian parent was developed as a basis for designating

authoritarian parenting style criteria. A jury of peers who were advanced doctoral students, deemed the following definition to be valid: The authoritarian parent is one who attempts to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct, often an absolute standard. She or he values obedience, and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's actions or beliefs conflict with what he or she thinks is correct conduct. She or he believes in inculcating such instrumental values as respect for authority. She or he does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept her or his word for what is right.

The key ingredients of the revised definition above were abstracted and listed as criteria for classifying the authoritarian parent. The criteria are as follows:

1. The parent has a rigid standard of conduct for the child's behavior.
2. The parent regularly evaluates the child's behavior relative to this standard.
3. The parent demands obedience.
4. The parent favors punitive, forceful measures to gain the child's compliance.
5. The parent does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept her or his word for what is right. For this study, if parents demonstrated during the interview procedure four of the five criteria listed, they were classified as authoritarian (see Table 1).

Table 1

Criteria for Classifying Parenting Style

Authoritarian	Permissive	Authoritative
1. Rigid standards of conduct	1. Generally accepts child's actions	1. Gives reasons for decisions
2. Parent regularly judges child's behavior	2. Seldom punishes	2. Encourages verbal give and take
3. Demand obedience	3. Often consults child	3. Requires compliance to certain guidelines
4. Uses forceful, punitive measures	4. Requires few household responsibilities	4. Promotes independence
5. Does not encourage give and take	5. Doesn't require orderliness	5. Recognizes rights of the child
	6. Allows child to be largely self-directed	6. Admits mistakes
	7. Uses reasoning, not overt power with child	7. Uses power at times to overrule the child
4 of 5 = authoritarian	5 of 7 = permissive	5 of 7 = authoritative

Note:

If a parent did not classify as any of the above, they were classified as mixed in style.

The Permissive Parenting Style

The following criteria for the classification of a permissive parenting style were selected based on Baumrind's 1971 definition of this style.

1. The parent generally accepts the child's actions.
2. The parent seldom punishes the child.
3. The parent often consults the child during decision-making.
4. The parent makes few demands on the child for household responsibilities.
5. The parent is not much concerned that the child be orderly.
6. The parent allows the child to be essentially self-directed.
7. The parent uses reasoning, but not overt power in efforts to control the child.

For this study, the researcher classified as permissive a parent indicating five of the seven criteria listed above.

The Authoritative Parenting Style

Criteria suggested by Baumrind's definition for the identification of the authoritative style are as follows:

1. The parent gives reasons for parental demands and discipline.
2. The parent encourages verbal give and take with the child.
3. The parent requires that the child meet certain guidelines.
4. The parent promotes independence.
5. The parent recognizes the rights of both children and adults.
6. The parent admits mistakes to the child.
7. The parent uses power to override the child if necessary.

If parents indicated five of the seven criteria listed above, then they were classified as authoritative.

Interview Stages and Objectives

A five-stage interview sequence was followed (see Table 2). In Stage I the objective was to classify the parenting style of interviewed parents according to Baumrind's typology. If an authoritarian parent was discovered in Stage I, then the interviewing procedure proceeded with the identified parent to Stage II.

The objective of Stage II was to classify the parenting styles of each of the interviewed authoritarian parent's parents (if both were involved). It was expected, based on data from the pilot study, that interviewed authoritarian parents would reveal that they had experienced an authoritarian parent or parents. However, in the event that neither parent of an interviewed authoritarian parent was perceived to have been authoritarian, the interview nonetheless was continued. The objectives of Stage III were the following:

1. To determine whether the interviewed authoritarian parent perceived their own parents as high or low in empathy for them.

2. To determine whether the interviewed authoritarian parent experienced a high or low level of fear in relation to their own parents.

3. To have the interviewed authoritarian parent designate the parent with whom he or she had the greatest conflict. This last objective narrowed the interview focus for Stage IV to the selected parent. This selection was required because both the

Table 2

Interview Stages and Objectives

Interview Stages	Objectives	Method of Eliciting Responses
I.	1. To classify the interviewed parent's parenting style.	Step 1. Unstructured prompt Step 2. Structured probe
II.	2. To identify the parenting style of the interviewed parent's parent(s).	Step 1. Unstructured prompt Step 2. Structured probe
III.	3. To determine whether the interviewed authoritarian parents perceived their own parent(s) as high or low in empathy.	Forced choice
	4. To determine whether the interviewed parents experienced high or low fear in relation to their parent(s).	Forced choice
	5. To have the interviewed parent designate the parent with whom he or she had the greater conflict.	Forced choice
IV.	6. To classify the dominant conflict style of the interviewed authoritarian parent in relation to his or her own most conflict centered parent.	Step 1. Unstructured prompt Step 2. Forced choice
V.	7. To gather the authoritarian parent's own insights as to why he or she is authoritarian in style.	Unstructured prompt

researcher's clinical experience and pilot study indicated that an individual's predominant childhood conflict coping style can be directly linked to the most conflicted parent-child relationship.

The objective of Stage IV was to classify the predominant conflict coping style of the interviewed authoritarian parent in relation to the designated parent.

In Stage V the objective was to solicit the interviewed authoritarian parents' own insights into how they developed their style of parenting.

Method of Eliciting Responses: Unstructured

Prompts and Structured Probes

Becker (1960, 1970) noted that volunteered responses can be considered more valid than those which are made in response to direct questions. Such responses are more valid because the respondent is not in a forced choice situation. Following Becker's (1960) suggestion, volunteered responses were sought where practical through the use of unstructured prompt questions (Step 1). Follow-ups were then done with structured probe questions (Step 2). Stages I, II, and IV used the unstructured prompt step followed by a structured probe step format. Stage III used a forced choice approach only, and Stage V employed an unstructured prompt only (see Table 2). Answers matching criteria were coded as UR's (unstructured responses) and SR's (structured responses) where appropriate.

Stage I: Classifying the Parent's Parenting Style

The interviewing procedure in Stage I first began with Step 1, unstructured prompts designed to elicit information about a parent's parenting style--whether it was authoritarian, permissive, authoritative, or mixed. The following unstructured prompts were first used:

1. What are your views on the general nature of children?
2. How do you feel children should be reared?

They were revised to the following:

1. How do you feel your children should be reared?
2. Describe the relationship you have with your children and how you actually go about the job of parenting.

Responses to these and all questions were taped but the interviewer tabulated and made notes on responses concurrently. After Stage I, Step 1, the interviewer used his notes and tabulations to make an informed choice as to the appropriate Stage I, Step 2 structured probes to be used (See Appendix for tabulation form).

If, for example, the Step 1 unstructured prompts resulted in information indicating an authoritarian style (see Table 2), the interviewer proceeded with the following Stage I, Step 2 structured probes--specific questions keyed directly to the authoritarian style classification criteria. The responses elicited by these probes served to add more conclusive support or challenge to the initial authoritarian classification of the interviewed parent's style.

Stage I, Step 2 probes were as follows:

1. Do you have a set of standards that you make sure your child understands and follows? Give examples.

2. Do you often consider whether your child is meeting your standards?

3. Do you feel your child should be obedient? Explain.

4. How do you make sure your child behaves? Explain.

5. Do you feel that your child should be allowed to talk back to you? Explain.

If the Step 1 unstructured prompts suggested a permissive parenting style, then the following structured questions, based on the classification criteria, were used to verify the permissive parenting designation:

1. How tolerant are you of your child's actions? Give examples.

2. How often do you punish your child?

3. How often do you consult with your child concerning decisions about him/her or the family? Give examples.

4. Does your child have responsibilities around the house?

5. Do you feel that children should be required to be neat? Explain.

6. How much control over a child's activities do you feel a parent should have?

7. How do you get your child to do as you wish?

If the Step 1 unstructured prompts suggested an authoritative parenting style, then the following Step 2 structured probes were used to verify or reject this style.

1. Do you give your child reasons for your parenting decisions?
Explain.

2. Do you encourage your child to talk with you about his or her conflicts with you? Explain.

3. Do you firmly require that your child follow certain guidelines? Explain.

4. Do you encourage your child's independence? Explain.

5. Do you feel that both children and adults have rights in the family? Explain.

6. Do you admit mistakes that you have made to your child?
Discuss.

7. Do you use your power as a parent to simply overrule the wishes of your child? Explain.

Parents who defied classification in any of the major parenting style categories were classified as mixed in style.

Stage II: Identifying the Parenting Style of the Interviewed Parent's

Parents:

During Stage II, the first objective was to determine the parenting styles of the interviewed authoritarian parent's parents when he or she was a child. Child was operationally defined as 0 to 16 years of age. Stage II started with the following step 1 unstructured prompts concerning each of the interviewed parent's parents.

1. Describe the relationship you had with your mother/father when you were a child growing up in your family.

2. What was your mother's/father's approach to and philosophy of childrearing?

Using the classification criteria for each of the parenting styles as a guide, the researcher then, based on notes and tabulations, selected a structured inquiry regimen accordingly. If Stage II, Step 1 (unstructured prompts) suggested an authoritarian style for the interviewed parent's mother, then the following Step 2 structured probes, matched to the classification criteria, were used:

1. Did your mother give you reasons for her demands and discipline? Explain.
2. Did your mother encourage you to discuss topics that you and she were in disagreement about?
3. Did your mother require you to follow certain guidelines? Explain.
4. Did your mother encourage your independence? Explain.
5. Did your mother recognize both the rights of you as a child and her rights as an adult? Explain.
6. Did your mother admit when she had made a mistake concerning things between you and her?
7. Did your mother sometimes simply overrule you at times when you and she disagreed? Explain.

If a permissive style was suggested by Stage II, Step 1, then the following structured probes were used to verify or refute the classification:

1. Did your mother tolerate your actions and opinions?
2. How much did your mother punish or discipline you?
3. Did your mother consult with you about decisions concerning you or other members of the family?

4. What kinds of responsibilities did your mother require you to assume around the house?

5. Was your mother concerned that you be neat or keep your things neat?

6. How much control did your mother have over your activities?

7. How did your mother get you to do what she wanted?

Based on how the above elicited data matched criteria for a given parenting style, the interviewed parent's mother was designated as either authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, or mixed in style.

The above questions were then repeated to explore the interviewed parent's relationship with his or her father. Once this had been done, the researcher was able to classify the parenting styles of the interviewed parent's parents.

Stage III: Assessing Levels of Empathy and Fear

As indicated in the review of literature (Becker, 1964; Maccoby, 1980), the level of perceived parental warmth versus hostility had an impact on whether children tended to conform to or rebel against an authoritarian parent. Taking into account this previous finding and combining it with information gathered in the pilot study, it was suggested that a more appropriate, dichotomous construct is high empathy vs. low empathy. High empathy was operationally defined as the retrospective assessment by the interviewed parents that their mother/father usually cared about and tried to understand their feelings during childhood. Low empathy was operationally defined as the retrospective assessment by the interviewed parents that their

mother/father did not usually care about or try to understand their feelings during childhood. The retrospective perception of high vs low empathy was assessed by the use of the following forced-choice questions: In your memory of childhood, did your mother/father almost never or almost always care about and try to understand your feelings? Choose one answer.

The pilot study also made it clear that fear of an authoritarian parent may have much to do with whether the demands of such a parent are conformed to or handled in other ways. Therefore, to meet Objective 2 of Stage II, interviewed authoritarian parents were assessed as to the level of fear they experienced in relationship to their own parents. Fear was operationally defined as the retrospective awareness of the imminent possibility of dreaded consequences--verbal, physical, or otherwise--if the demands of the parent were not followed. Interviewed parents were queried in the following forced-choice manner: In your memory of childhood, were you almost always, or almost never aware of the imminent possibility of dreaded consequences--verbal, physical, or otherwise--if you did not do as your mother/father directed you to do? Choose one answer.

Based on responses to the above questions, the researcher was able to classify the interviewed authoritarian parent's parents according to one of the following categories:

1. low empathy--low fear
2. high empathy--low fear
3. low empathy--high fear
4. high empathy--high fear

Objective 5 of Stage III was to have the interviewed parent designate the parent with whom he or she had the greatest conflict. This was done with a forced-choice question: With which of your parents did you experience the greatest conflict?

Stage IV: Classifying the Interviewed Parent's Childhood Conflict Style

Missildine (1963) classified three distinct styles through which children of overcoercive or authoritarian parents deal with conflict in relation to their parent--docility or conformity, passive resistance, and active resistance or rebellion. The pilot study suggested that the docile or conforming type of childhood conflict coping style may be the conflict style most frequently linked to the later emergence of an authoritarian parenting style. The pilot study also indicated that the actively resistant style may occasionally precede the manifestation of an authoritarian style. The passively resistant style was not indicated as a precursor of the authoritarian style in the limited pilot study.

It appeared, therefore, that classifying the dominant conflict-coping style of an authoritarian parent as a child, might yield important data pertinent to understanding how the style emerges. The criteria developed for each style by the researcher and listed in Table 3 were used in the classification of the interviewed parent's childhood conflict-coping style.

Once again a two-step sequence was used. The following unstructured prompt constituted Stage IV, Step 1:

Table 3

Criteria for Classifying the Interviewed Parent's
Childhood Conflict Style

Docility ¹ (Conformity)	Active Resistance ² (Rebellion)	Passive Resistance ³
1. Did as requested even when upset by request.	1. Yelled at parent.	1. Ignored parent's requests.
2. Rarely showed anger.	2. Argued with parent.	2. Promised to do as told, but failed to follow through.
3. Avoided conflict situations.	3. Physically fought with parent.	3. Deliberately slowed down when doing as parents requested.
	4. Openly refused to cooperate with parent.	4. Did opposite of what parent requested.

¹Docility style 2 of 3 criteria.

²Active resistance style = 3 of 4 criteria.

³Passive resistance style = 3 of 4 criteria.

Note: If a parent did not classify as any of the above styles, they were classified as mixed in conflict style.

In what ways did you most often express your angry feelings when you were upset with your mother/father? (The researcher oriented the question toward the parent designated as the most conflict centered.) Once again, the interviewer took notes and as conflict style criteria were mentioned designated them under unstructured responses.

For Stage IV, the researcher used a forced-choice format of questions keyed to the three major conflict style classification criteria. According to which of the conflict styles was suggested by the Step 1 unstructured prompt, the researcher proceeded with one of three sets of criteria-oriented questions in the forced-choice format. The following questions were posed when a docile style was indicated.

1. Did you usually do as you were told even if you were upset by your parent's request? Yes___ No___

2. Did you rarely show your anger to your parent?
Yes___ No___

3. Did you usually avoid conflict situations with your parent?
Yes___ No___

Affirmative responses to two of the three criteria/questions above led to classification in this category of conflict style.

When an active resistance style was indicated, these questions were asked:

1. Did you often yell at your parent? Yes___ No___

2. Did you often argue with your parent? Yes___ No___

3. Did you ever physically fight with your parent? Yes___ No___

4. Did you often openly refuse to cooperate with your parent? Yes ___ No ___

Affirmative responses to three of the four criteria/questions above led to classification in the active resistance category of conflict style.

When a passive resistance style of conflict was indicated, these questions were asked:

1. Did you often ignore your parent's requests? Yes ___ No ___

2. Did you often promise to do as you were told but then fail to follow through? Yes ___ No ___

3. Did you often deliberately slow down or loaf when doing something your parent requested? Yes ___ No ___

4. Did you often do the opposite of what your parent requested? Yes ___ No ___

Affirmative responses to three of the four criteria/questions above led to classification in the passive resistance category of conflict style.

If the interviewed parents did not meet the criteria for classification in a particular conflict style category, they were ranked according to their strength of alignment with each of the conflict style categories, and classified as mixed in style.

Stage V: Gathering the Interviewed Parents' Insights

Up to this point in the interview procedure, the emphasis was on gathering specific data considered to be relevant to understanding the authoritarian parenting phenomenon, based on previous studies and

the researcher's pilot study. However, it was deemed advisable to seek, at this stage in the procedure, the interviewed authoritarian parents' insights into how they had come to rely on their particular parenting style. This was done with the following unstructured prompt: Why do you think you have the kind of parenting style you have?

Procedure Summary

The preceding discussion of procedures shows how the subjects were led through a sequential five-stage interview consisting of a combination of unstructured prompts, structured probes, and forced-choice queries. This research procedure yielded in-depth data, rich in nature, which is a primary goal of qualitative research. To help the reader understand more clearly the richness of data, the importance of the subjects' commentary, and the kinds of responses generated by the different stages and steps of the research procedure, the next chapter will be devoted to a description of the sample and an overview of interview responses.

CHAPTER III
SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS AND OVERVIEW
OF INTERVIEW RESPONSES

Potential authoritarian parents were interviewed. Of the 29 interviewed, 20 were confirmed as authoritarian and were interviewed in depth. Of these 20 parents, 10 were male and 10 were female. Two males and one female were black; the other 17 subjects were white.

The interviewed parents covered the spectrum of socioeconomic types. The range in family income was from less than \$10,000 per year to greater than \$80,000 per year. The range in education was from high school graduate to professional school graduate.

The sample was gathered from two sources: (a) the researcher's own family-counseling clientele and (b) referrals from other family counselors who had been briefed as to the purpose of the study and the general traits of authoritarian parents.

All subjects received feedback as to the purpose of the study and the meaning of their responses, immediately after the interview. All questions posed by subjects were addressed, and they were invited to contact the researcher if future questions arose.

The sample subjects provided the researcher with many interesting, poignant, and insightful commentaries. A representative overview of subjects' responses, following the order of the five-stage interview, is now presented.

Stage I: Identifying the Authoritarian Parenting

Style of Subjects

Starting at the beginning of the interview, unstructured prompt questions were used to give the researcher leads as to the probable parenting style of the subject. The following unstructured prompts were used with the first few subjects but were soon altered, because the first question was judged to be too non-behavior-oriented, abstract, and theoretical. Thus: the original unstructured prompts--

1. What are your views on the general nature of children? and

2. How do you feel children should be reared?

were changed to the following wording and order:

1. How do you feel your children should be reared?

2. Describe the relationship you have with your child or children and how you actually go about the job of parenting?

As expected, a number of subjects revealed their probable authoritarian style when responding to these prompts. For example, Subject 2, in response to the second prompt in the revised set above, replied:

I think I'm a controlling parent. Definitely, I think that I don't give them a lot of choices. It's do it my way or...I guess a lot of consequences. Too many I think sometimes.

Since #3, a mother with older teenagers, replied to the first revised prompt by saying:

I tried to teach them good, just basic morals, not particularly, necessarily religious morals, although they are intertwined. But, honesty, primarily to themselves and of course to others. Respect for God and country, parents, and other people in authority. And this doesn't necessarily mean I succeeded. It's what I tried to do. I think like every other parent, you've got great expectations that are never fulfilled.

In response to the second prompt, Subject #3 continued by saying: "I'm very strong-willed, and either you do as I say or you will hear about it. And I make no bones about how I feel. If I don't like what you're doing, you'll hear about it."

Subject #11, a frustrated young mother with high and rigid expectations, gave the following response as a part of her answer to the second unstructured prompt:

Every day I see our relationship as, it's a thing of when I get up I'm ever mindful of trying to be in control, of having the upper hand between Jimmy and I in different situations during the day--who's going to win, Jimmy or I?

Set of Standards

Unstructured prompts were followed by structured probes designed to confirm a suspected parental style classification by determining congruence with classification criteria. Since the focus of this research was on the authoritarian style, only illustrative answers related to authoritarian style probes will be cited.

The first probe was this: "Do you have a set of standards that you make sure your child understands and follows?" Parents who elaborated on their answer often mentioned general moral standards and the issue of respect for others and particularly those in authority. Some specified a range of behavioral standards, and a number talked of high standards related to academic performance. For example, Subject #14 in essence listed her standards verbally by answering:

Honesty, do not steal, don't sneak around, do what you're told and keep clean. You don't run off with kids in the woods at all hours and not tell us where you're going. Don't destroy property and do your school work. You don't call names and cuss...obscene names at people. In public there are ways that

you behave such as, you don't put your head down on the table in the cafeteria, or lie down on a church pew, or start having a howling tantrum in the middle of the store or something like that.

Subject #20, a father who just obtained custody of his teenage son in recent years and who represents an exceptional authoritarian parenting case to be discussed later stated:

We've got down to the point where we've actually written down the schedule from the time he gets out of bed until the time he goes to school. We've written them on chalkboards where he has to check them off. We've tried many, many methods....We have specifically told Bobby certain rules: rules against lying, stealing, obtuse behavior to, you know, the school rules and things like this.

Subject #7 and #8 both spoke about standards pertaining to academic excellence. Subject #7 stated: "I try to be real tolerant, but I do expect them to excel. I just really do. I think when they've got a Dad as smart as their Dad is, and I know I'm smart, then I don't see any excuse."

Subject #8, in response to this probe, stated that she would like for her children to

Be model obedient children. That my son would maintain his grades instead of fluctuating so much because of his laziness and that even if he's gonna...even if he can't learn, but that's no excuse, he can learn if he really applies himself...that he would stop being a class clown.

Awareness of Following Standards

The second Stage I authoritarian style probe was this: "Do you often consider whether your child is meeting your standards?" To this probe answers were often brief. For example: Subject #8 replied, "I consider it, but they're not." Subject #6 stated, "When the kids meet them, I'm aware of it and when they don't meet them, I'm aware of it."

A more elaborate answer was given by Subject #10, a hard-working blue-collar worker, who stated:

Yeah, and they're not. When I was their age, I was working hard at manual labor and farm work. They've got it made. All they do is play. I can't even get the oldest boy to take the garbage out and put it in the garbage can. I have to stay on him about that....He is a big, he's a good size boy for his age. When I was his age, I was...

Subject #13 put his answer this way:

Oh yeah, subconsciously I think about it most of the time...I feel that probably I've been too tough on them in trying to set too high standards for them that they can't accomplish... always expecting better of them than their actual performance.

Expectation of Obedience

Obedience, as topic of the third probe, yielded a number of poignant answers. The probe was this: "Do you feel your children should be obedient?" To this probe, Subject #4, a career military man, responded:

Obedience goes with a child like salt in bread. The child ends up being no good if he's not obedient, because he figures he can do anything he wants, say anything he wants. I realize, you know, this is a pretty free society we live in, but when you start infringing on the rights of other folks then you've got a problem. So, I think obedience teaches a kid that kind of respect. You know, I'm not talking about obedience to the point of brainwashing kids....What I'm talking about is just basics, human related values, you know. Obedience, politeness, there's another word for it--courtesy.

A young frustrated mother, Subject #11, mentioned before, stated after this probe:

See, I'm constantly thinking that I am the parent...this is my child and he is going to mind me regardless of what it takes, which may be very...maybe the wrong attitude to have, but I just am so determined that he will not grow up to be a child that runs all over a parent, like I have seen kids do today. I think this is the parent's fault if they let this happen. You can't blame it on the child--the child is growing up to learn that he doesn't respect his parents and he can just...he can get by

with anything, and I don't want that to happen with my son. That worries me a lot.

Subject #6, a highly educated employee of a major corporation, responded to this question by saying:

Obedient means that when I tell them or ask them to do something I expect, you know, I expect that to be carried out. I don't expect a lot of resistance. I will perhaps come across as a tyrant, an autocrat at times, and I've tried to encourage them, and perhaps the autocratic style at times tends to not permit them to feel that they have the freedom to express to me that Dad, I really feel that we could do this in this fashion...?

Subject #3, in response to this question, illustrates a fairly frequent phenomenon noticed in answers given by interviewees. In short, respondents would at times answer a direct probe one way, or partly one way, and then go on in their commentary to negate their first short answer. This is one good example of how qualitative research may pick up things that quantitative research may be likely to miss. Notice what happens in this answer and dialogue between the researcher and subject. Subject #3 responded:

Not indiscriminately. In other words, I was raised that my father was law, regardless whether I felt he was right or not. I try to give my children more of a choice. In other words, I don't hand out ultimatums. More like, you know, discuss it and what do we think is the best for them and let them voice their opinion, where I was never allowed to voice my opinion.

Researcher: Okay

Subject: I try very hard to stay away from ultimatums.

Researcher: On the other hand, you let them know if you don't agree with something?

Subject: Oh yeah. If I don't think they're making the right decision, I make no bones about telling them that I don't think it's the right decision.

Researcher: What happens after that?

Subject: We fight.

Researcher: You fight. Okay, how do you fight?

Subject: Verbally, mostly.

Researcher: Okay.

Subject: Sit there and shout at each other and scream and holler and carry on, just like normal people.

Researcher: So it sounds as though you give them a choice up to a point, but if you don't agree with their choice it comes down to...

Subject: Yeah, in other words what I try to do is let them make the choice and hopefully they'll make the right one rather than me enforcing what I think is the right one. And then when I see them straying or going in the wrong direction, try to pull them back in line.

Control over Behavior

The "fourth authoritarian style direct probe, "How do you make sure your child behaves?" often led to answers about physical, corporal punishment but also to answers illustrating other forms of forceful and punitive control.

For example, relative to physical punishment, Subject #10 replied:

Well, talking to them firstly. That's plan A. I've tried taking away privileges and I've tried restricting them, and it's fine as long as it works, but it doesn't always work. Then I believe in physical punishment. I don't believe much in using my hand. My father used to slap me in the face and I'm hard of hearing right now, but I don't know if that's part of it or not. But I've absorbed some awfully hard slaps from my father....But I try not to use my hand if possible. Yes, I've used a belt. And when I hit a child I mean for it to hurt! I ain't playing!

Subject #6 replied to this probe by stating:

With, in my opinion, very clear and next to immediate feedback. If I didn't like a particular behavior, they heard about it or felt it with a whack or some pretty strong talk from me that such and such behavior was not acceptable and I wouldn't tolerate it.

Another authoritarian Subject #15, who gave in his response a rationale for the use of physical punishment, replied:

Whenever they are around me they are perfect little angels, but yet and still, when they are with their mama, they get away with a lot more. So they know to respect me, because I guess they know I will whip their behinds, you know. They know...yeah...that dad

might talk now, but I remember that whipping he gave me a while back: and that's what I want them to remember. I want them to remember that when they are wrong I will whip their behind.... It's good for them to know that.

Several parents expressed an awareness that physical punishment might be losing its effectiveness and leading to excessive loss of control on the parents' part. For instance, Subject #9 stated:

When my son was fourteen, which is three years ago, I gave up on physical punishment, because I lost my temper with him and hit him...smacked him in the face, and I didn't much like the way I handled that situation. And so, I just quit whipping either one of them.

Another parent, Subject #11, in talking about spankings, stated:

I think that I should reserve spankings for...really, if he's in danger or if he's destroying other people's property, or if he's infringing on the rights of others...so I've been told, that's the three things you should reserve spankings for. And, I have used spankings for a lot of little things that he does throughout the day, which, you know, I think that's one reason why he doesn't respond to them now, because I did it too much.

Another respondent, Subject #14, when asked, "How do you make sure your child behaves?" replied:

I stay aware of what he's doing all the time. I keep an eye on where he is, the things he's been told to do, and whether he's done them or not. Where there's stuff hidden in his room...where there's stuff stolen out of the house to the clubhouse...you know. I just stay aware of where he is and what he's doing all the time.

Parent's Response to Child's Communication Attempts

This probe was designed to tap the interviewed subject's attitude toward their child's attempts to communicate with them during times of disagreement and tension. The probe: "Do you feel that your child should be allowed to talk back to you?" yielded a variety of responses. For example, Subject #10 replied: "No. I don't like sassy kids."

And the back talk, ours are expert at it, especially our youngest son. He's awful mouthy. And...all three of them are."

Another parent, Subject #3, answered, "No, I don't, but they do. But then, I did it too." And Subject #12 replied:

No, I didn't talk back to my parents, and I don't expect mine to talk back to me, which they do once in a while. And once in a while, they get smacked. A lot of times I let it slide, which they should be corrected on it anytime that they talk back. That's my fault for not correcting them.

Subject #13 responded by saying, "Absolutely not...it's just totally disrespectful, but it happens." Another interviewee, Subject #2, revealed her ambivalence pertaining to this issue, when she said: "That's where I get confused. Let them say what's on their minds and at the same time I want to tell them just shut up and go to their rooms. I guess I feel they should, but that I have the final say." Another parent, a mother, (Subject #1) described her reactions to "being talked back to" as follows:

That's what my son and I get into arguments over--talking back. I can't stand it...sometimes before I realize it I bash him. He's standing right near me and he back-talks me and I mean, just immediately before I even think.

And finally, Subject #18, a single mother with one teenage and one pre-adolescent son, elaborated a bit more in her answer, as can be seen in this dialogue between researcher and subject: "Well, I don't like it, but they do...I don't let them, they do it, because they know they can get away with it. But that to me is being disrespectful. That makes me--I think that makes me angry."

Researcher: "Have you been able to encourage them to discuss things with you if they disagree with you on things?" Subject:

No, I haven't been encouraging them to discuss it...Usually what happens is well, when we're angry, you know, we start yelling at each other, then we don't discuss it. Sometimes, a lot of times we don't discuss it afterwards. Sometimes we do...and it's not like a discussion--it's accusing each other.

Stage II: Assessing the Parenting Style
of Subject's Parents

The intent of Stage II was to identify the parenting styles of the identified authoritarian subject's parents. As in Stage I, questioning began with two broad unstructured prompts, depending on which parent relationship was being explored:

1. Describe the relationship you had with your mother/father when you were a child growing up in your family.
2. What was your mother's/father's approach to and philosophy of child rearing?

In a number of the responses recalling experiences the interviewed subjects had with an authoritarian parent of their own, one could identify a theme of perceived parental rejection, a trait of some authoritarian parents pointed out in Baumrind's (1971) research and comments on the authoritarian style. For example, Subject #19, in response to the first prompt, replied, in reference to her mother:

When I was real little, it was pretty close, you know. She would always be affectionate. But as I got older, like probably around five or six, the affection was - she cut it off. She yelled a lot, and so I learned to keep quiet. Because, if you talked back to her, she would come after you and hit you. So I didn't want the hits, so I kept quiet. And it was like, you know, you really didn't have anything...that much to say, you know. You were just a kid, and when adults talked you didn't talk. You listened, but you didn't talk. You didn't contribute to the conversation. We didn't communicate. She never told me anything about menstruation or sex or anything like that. There wasn't any type of communication like that. She didn't ever seem to be interested in what

we were doing at school, and a lot of times she would be gone until probably ten o'clock at night.

One can note in these comments that this parent learned to "keep quiet" around this parent, to avoid confrontations, and indeed she later confirmed a strong docile style in conflict with this parent. This interviewed mother also described passive neglect from her father, who was classified as permissive, a man who worked long hours, six days per week as a service station owner, and usually didn't come home until late at night after a trip to the bar.

Another example of rejection is illustrated by the answer of Subject #7 to the same prompt:

Cold is the word that comes to mind. Mom - like, one of my first memories of her is her pushing me off her lap...I don't remember her ever hugging or kissing or touching me, or particularly doing anything that I felt was affection. Mostly, she just ignored us a lot. She had a lot of anger, and I'm sure she didn't know how to deal with it at times. In a lot of ways, she was a non-parent.

Later on, in response to the second prompt, this subject stated, "I think she really felt like kids raise themselves. She grew up in a family of eight, and her mother didn't really have that much to do with them."

The mention of the number of children in the family is noteworthy in that a number of other subjects also mentioned that they or their parents came from large families where the parents did not have much time for the children. Literature previously cited indicates a correlation between the number of children in the family and authoritarianism.

And yet another response of perceived rejection was given by Subject #15 commenting on her own authoritarian mother in response to the first prompt: "She was basically a very controlling person...She

was rejecting, but felt sorry for me...She couldn't deal with anything but just exact, instant obedience from us."

In answering the second prompt, Subject #15 described her mother's philosophy as:

She expected good behavior and good grades, but mainly doing what we were told when we were told. I should never, never, never talk back for any reason. Never say a peep to her. That I remember, because no matter what she said to me, how ugly it was, I had to sit there and say "yes mam; yes mam; yes mam" when I was seething inside. It was, I felt, very, very unfair. If I was going to have to be so sweet to her, she could show a little consideration for me.

Subject #13, in reacting to prompt 1, depicted rejection due at least in part to the fact that his mother had many children combined with a huge work load:

I was one of four children, one year apart. My mother, from the time I was 6 years old, worked; so she not only worked a full time job, but also worked in full time housekeeping and cooking and all the other things a person does with little support from anybody else. So it was not an affectionate, not a real close relationship. Very little assistance in studying, homework, pretty much let you do your own thing. A lot of discipline if I did something wrong. There were switches and belts--a lot of punishment. Often I thought, and I still do, it was unjustified.

Subject #4, in talking about his father's philosophy in response to the second prompt, stated:

The strap. He had very little patience, you know. If you did something that was bad enough, you got your butt whipped, and if you did it again, you were going to get your butt whipped again. But it was the kind of butt whipping that when you get it, you know you got it, and you don't ever want to get it again. So it tends to keep you from doing what you did the last time you did it. So that was pretty much his philosophy, you know.

Another set of parents expressed feelings of love, closeness, devotion, and respect for their own authoritarian parents. For instance, Subject #11, who had two authoritarian parents, replied after the first prompt, "We were very close--both my parents and I and my

brother...I respected my mother and my father." She continued and in doing so noted an intergenerational parenting style characteristic by saying:

I can remember my mother. She never in any way hurt me. I can remember only good things about my childhood. But one thing that I can see alike in myself and my mother, now that I am a mother myself, is that I can remember mother yelled, and she got excited like I do, cause I can remember an incident in which she chased me all over the house with a flyswatter trying to get me...she ...like I do, lost her cool.

In responding to the second prompt she went on to state:

I think she tried to instill in us respect for adults--to fear her and my father--not to be afraid of them, but to the extent that we did respect them and that we knew where they drew the line. If you stepped over that line, that's when you were going to catch it. We knew it. We knew where the boundaries were with my parents, with both of them.

It is important to note, in reference to this subject, that she rated both of her parents as high in empathy and high in fear induction. However, this is not fear of them per se, but of consequences, as can be interpreted from the above commentary.

Subject #10 also indicated a strong allegiance to an authoritarian parent, his mother, whom he also rated as high in empathy. This was in sharp contrast to his attitude about his father, who was also rated as authoritarian, but low in empathy. In talking about his mother, after prompt number 1, he said:

My mother's some kind of special person, and I'm a special son to her, and I happen to know it....Mother's a wonderful person...I've always looked out for mom. I've taken her gifts and presents that dad wouldn't even think about buying her, and I still will. And when she dies, a part of me will die with her. As for my father, as far as I'm concerned....never, ever, in my recollection have I ever heard my father tell me the three words, "I love you."

The intensity of the contrast is picked up during his comments after the second prompt when he stated:

...I never, ever told my mother a lie, and I never would...I'd lie to daddy. I'd tell him any damn thing--make no difference. I didn't love him anyway. I thought very seriously about killing him a time or two and I could have, but I didn't because mama loved him. That's the only reason I didn't.

This subject's father was psychologically rejecting, as well as physically abusive--the antithesis of empathetic.

Set of Standards

As in Stage I, the interview in Stage II continued, after the unstructured prompts, with structured probes almost identical to those of Stage I. Once again, to illustrate the range of responses, excerpts of transcripts are reviewed, with the focus, as before, on comments made by an interviewed authoritarian parent indicating contact with an authoritarian style during their own childhood.

To probe a: "Did your mother/father have a set of standards that she/he made sure you understood and followed?" Subject #17, in reference to her mother, replied:

I think she did. My mother was very consistent. I mean, all her standards were based on their religion. They were very Catholic people, and we were raised in a home that had prayer every day, church almost every day--values based on their religion..."

Subject #11, answering the probe about her mother, stated:

Well, you know, I knew exactly what I could and could not do, how late I could stay out...at five o'clock we did this, and at eight o'clock we did this...we had a schedule. We both had jobs. If they were not done, then privileges were taken away...something was done if we didn't do what we were supposed to do.

In answering the same probe about her father, she stated:

Dad was more strict morally and he had moral standards. Well, my mother did too, but he wanted to make sure that...my brother and I grew up in his house understanding this and this. He taught us the Bible, you know, to read the Bible. He taught us that this was wrong, and this was wrong, and this sort of thing.

It is interesting to note in the answers of these two subjects the religious influence underlying their parents' standards. Here again, Baumrind (1968) noted this as a common component of the authoritarian style in her research.

Subject #8, answering this probe relative to her mother, responded:

We knew what she expected from us, and she expected us to follow through on it, because she would always tell us, "girls, if you lose your name, you lose everything, and don't let your name be on every corner." And she told us to carry ourselves as respectable ladies, because if you don't respect yourself, nobody else will. She used to preach that day and night.

In many cases, the interviewees indicated that their parents had a set of standards that were unspoken, yet evident if broken. For example, Subject #13, in talking about his mother, noted: "I'm sure she did, but I don't know what they were...never buy anything unless you had the cash to pay for it." And in reference to this probe about his father, he answered for both parents by stating:

They [standards] certainly weren't spoken, but they obviously had aspirations that their offspring do well in life and accomplish at least as high or higher level than they did.

(And this parent certainly did!)

Subject #6 put it succinctly in talking about his mother and her standards:

If you mean by that [question], you know, did she communicate these things, they weren't necessarily communicated in direct words. Things were set out, directions were set out, and if you deviated, you certainly were brought into line pretty quickly.

This same subject answered this direct probe unknowingly when he responded to the first unstructured prompt aimed at the relationship he had with his father. To this prompt he responded:

Well, the relationship with dad was always one to meet his expectations. He had very high expectations concerning behavior, concerning academic achievement, you know, tough, tough, disciplinarian. Felt all the efforts ought to be an achieving mode or doing mode of sorts. Very controlling, very autocratic, demanding, little patience, very critical, constantly fault-finding. I can always remember just never looking forward to him arriving home from work because, you know, hey, what was going to be wrong today. What did we do wrong, or what didn't we do.

Awareness of Following Standards

Probe b asked: "Did your mother/father regularly judge your behavior according to her/his set of standards?" Referring to the comments of Subject #6, in the section above, there is no doubt that in this authoritarian subject's recollection, his father did indeed regularly judge.

Subject #3 gave a pointed answer to this probe when asked about her father:

He really prejudged. In other words, you know, he was very suspicious. He would say, "you're going to do this, or you're going to do that." Even though you had no intention of...he was always looking for somebody's ulterior motive...

Similar to the above response was the response of Subject #14 to this probe. She replied, in remembering her mother:

Yes, I felt like sometimes she took it beyond that. And she'd have a fight with dad - no matter what I did in particular...he's gonna get me. There was a lot of personal spite and vindictiveness sometimes, as well as being expected to toe the line.

In her answer to the same probe concerning her father, this interviewed subject recounted:

In a lot of ways, yeah, he did. And at the same time he wouldn't give us credit for it. If we did something real good, it was because we were his daughters, and we got our genes from him, and he taught us everything he knew.

Subject #16 reacted to this probe with a brief comment, "I guess continually. Almost - you're on probation all the time." And Subject #2 answered, "Nothing was ever right. And no matter how much I ever did, it wasn't enough in her eyes. But I was doing much more than most kids ten or twelve years old or whatever."

And finally, Subject #5 recollected that:

Yes, he would tell us: "You look there! If that happens again I will keep that in mind! I'm going to remember it. I'm going to remember every time you get out of line," he said, "I'm going to remember this, and one of these days..." And when that day came up, he went back over every one of our mistakes and he whipped us for every one of them, one at a time.

Expectations of Obedience

Direct probe c, "Did your mother/father demand that you be obedient?" was designed to tap the degree of compliance expected by the parents of interviewed parents, and often was answered with brief answers. For example, Subject #5 stated in reference to his father: "Oh yes. 'Yes Sir,' 'No, Sir,' That's why I didn't have any trouble in the military." And Subject #12 stated, "He expected me to mind him, if that's what you're talking about when you say obedient."

Subject #9, about his father's demands for obedience, stated, "Yes, I never could get smart with him." In addition, Subject #8 answered, "Very much so, and out of respect for her, I was."

In the most interesting commentary about the issues of interviewed subjects' parents' demands for obedience, a black male subject, who grew up in the Deep South, noted that his mother:

Didn't let us run wild. You know, big stickler on how to behave in public places...I guess it was a product of the times too, because if you didn't behave in public places, you were liable

to get slapped over the head with a blackjack. So...parents, especially black parents in the pre-sixties and sixties, taught their kids to behave in the environment.

Methods of Behavior Control

Probe d, "What kinds of methods did your mother/father use to get you to behave?" yielded many examples of the frequent use of physical punishment, and other means of heavy control, by the parents of interviewed authoritarian parents. A number of examples have already been revealed through the presentation of answers to unstructured prompts found above in section Stage II, Step 1. Other examples, generated by the direct probe, include statements like the one made by Subject #2 in reference to her mother:

Physical beatings. Definitely a lot of emotional abuse, I guess you'd call it. Humiliation--that was a big one. A lot of threats, probably more severe than the threats I've usually used with my kids. I don't know, it was so damn hard trying to take care of her and take care of myself too. Things that she'd do--just a lot of scare tactics, I guess; some of them she'd carry through on, some of them she wouldn't. But you never knew which ones she would.

Later on, this subject went on to say,

I used to beg her to beat me...instead of punishing me. Because the one thing I did not want was to be grounded. So I told her to beat me until she...for as long as she could stand it, as long as she would let me go outside and play with my friends. And so then, once I opened my mouth, you know what happened? The beatings subsided and the being grounded increased.

About her father's methods, she commented during the unstructured stage, that:

He was a bit nicer to me, but not nice-nice. He never beat any of us. He would never even spank or just a little slap. What he would do is yell and scream at the top of his lungs and just swear and cuss. You know, a ten word sentence would have seven cuss words in it. He's an alcoholic also.

This subject's father classified as authoritarian, as did her mother, and both parents were rated as low in empathy and high in fear induction.

Another subject, #17, with the same configuration of two authoritarian parents, both of the low empathy/high fear induction type, said of her mother: "When I was a child we were spanked. We just knew we were supposed to do whatever she told us to. That's the only one I remember--spankings." About her father, she recollected:

He'd spank us, but he wasn't really involved in it. We just knew that we were supposed to behave. That there was a certain way of acting and behaving and speaking to our parents, and we just knew that's the way it was.

Another interviewed authoritarian parent, Subject #13, whose parents classified as those of the previous two examples, said that his mother, "Switched, and I mean they weren't easy ones, either! With a switch that left big welts on you." About his father's methods, he said:

Very much like my mother's. You try to keep the children within control, and other than that, not very close, personal attention. If a problem arose in school, which was very infrequent, you dealt with it behind the barn.

Subject #15, the only subject who did not have a father around the home while growing up, had a mother who was classified as high in fear induction and high in empathy, a perception of the subject that can be detected in the transcript material. This subject described his mother's methods this way.

That woman--whipping was the worst, man. She'd talk to me sometimes, but my mom had a barber's strap. My mom was the kind of woman when she got mad, she would pick up anything. When we were growing up, she used to have all these long hickory switches in our back yard. She would get four or five of them and braid them up, and wear your ass out for awhile. As we got older, she

learned those little old switches wasn't doing nothing but breaking on me, so she started using anything. She would get so mad that she would use anything she could get her hands on...the drop cord, switch, belt, barber strap was her favorites....She talked to me sometimes: If it wasn't too serious, she would talk to me. But other than that, she would go to whipping ass first. She'd find out, most of the time--she'd find out I knew I was wrong before I did it. She knew I had enough sense to know what was wrong, and what was right. Some of this shit I took her through...she would defend me if I was right.

Subject #11, who had two authoritarian parents, both high in fear induction but high in empathy, described both of her parents (whom she depicted as eye-to-eye in views about parenting, throughout the transcript) when responding to the probe about her mother. She stated:

She spanked--my mother spanked. My dad spanked. And they spanked up until...I got my last spanking...I remember that very well. I was 17 years old, and I was sassing my father, and he let me have it! They took privileges away from us a lot: They would ground us like a week or two weeks at a time--refuse to let us go out with friends...they would just tell us, "Think about what you've done." And then we would talk about it.

As a final example in this section, the comments of Subject #10 are illustrative. This subject had two authoritarian parents, both high in fear induction, but while his father was low in empathy, his mother was rated as high in empathy. This interviewee, in previous transcript quotes, described his special relationship with his mother and his intense hostility toward his father, whom he thought about killing, were it not for the love his mother had for the man. His comments were:

She might have spanked me a little. I don't know, not a lot. Momma didn't have to do too much - just talk to me mainly. Usually worked pretty well with me - but, sometimes I got a spanking, I guess from her. But never was I slapped in the face by her, or beat with a damn tobacco stick.

Response to Communication Attempts

The final authoritarian style probe was used in Stage II, Step 2: "Did your mother/father allow you to debate with her/his decisions or point of view on which you and she/he disagreed?" This probe was designed to reveal whether the interviewed parent's parents had in any way encouraged communication during times of parent-child conflict. Subject #10, whose comments were just mentioned above, said this about his father in reaction to this probe: "Hell, no! 'Why you want me to do this? 'Cause I said so.' And that's all that was said about it. And I knew some of his methods were wrong, but I went ahead and did it his way anyhow."

Subject #4, whose mother was an authoritarian with a high empathy/high fear induction combination, described his mother as follows: "Only up to a certain point. You know, we could try and argue, but it wouldn't do any good...we'd disagree on stuff all the time, but she'd always have the final word." About his father, an authoritarian with a low empathy/high fear induction combination, he said:

Only to a certain point. He'd let me tell my side, or get my point across, then after that, that's all he wanted to hear. A lot of times his mind would be made up, you know, and he'd just let you say something as appeasement...

Subject #5, whose own father was an authoritarian rated low in empathy and high in fear induction, said the following about his father in reaction to the probe about communication: "No. What he said was gospel!"

And, as a final example of answers to this probe, Subject #14, who rated her mother as a high empathy/high fear combination, replied to this probe with, "That was the capital crime in the house!"

Stage III: Assessing Levels of
Empathy and Fear

Stage III consisted of forced choice questions designed to probe the levels of empathy and fear induction perceived by interviewed authoritarian subjects in their relationship to each of their own parents. This probe concerned level of empathy: "In your memory of childhood did your mother/father almost never or almost always care about and try to understand your feelings?"

Another probe tapped the level of fear induction: "In your memory of childhood, were you almost never or almost always aware of the imminent possibility of dreaded consequences --verbal, physical, or otherwise --if you did not do as your mother/father directed you?"

Surprisingly, only a few subjects seemed to have any difficulty making the forced choices, and a number elaborated on their answers. For example, in answering the first question about her authoritarian mother, Subject #2 replied, "Never. I didn't know what feelings were. Did you know that? Until I started my own therapy, I thought feeling was physical pain, like when you fall down and scrape your knee-- that was feeling." To the next probe about her mother, this subject said, "Always. That even when you're outside the home, you're never free, because you never know what's waiting back at home."

Subject #4, when asked the first question about his mom, ranked her in the almost always category. His comments were as follows:

Yeah. Mom pretty much cared how we felt....I think she understood because she was so close...back in those days the child rearing was done by the mother. The father most of the time was out bringing home the bacon. Got involved with kids very little, except in a special time...that's pretty much what it's about. And so Mom, she'd try to understand how we feel and stuff.

In reference to his dad and the same question, he responded, "If he did, it was very seldom. But it wouldn't have shown, you know. Maybe he did, but it wouldn't have shown as much as Mom." He put his father in the "almost never" category; but one wonders if, by his answer, he was saying that role expectations and demands had a lot to do with the way his dad appeared to him.

As a last example, Subject #12 elaborated on his "almost never" answer to the first probe, which was directed at his father, this way:

He cared about peoples' feelings, but he didn't let it show.... If he did something or other, or you did something or other, and he chewed you out for it, and he overdid it, he wouldn't come back and apologize to you for it. He'd try to--he might make it up in a different type of way, you know.

At the very end of this stage, the respondents were asked to designate the parent with whom they had had more conflict. Interviewees had virtually no problem doing this. Eleven said they had more conflict with their mother, and nine said the greater conflict had been with their father.

Stage IV: Assessing the Interviewed Subject's

Childhood Conflict Style

Stage IV, like Stage I and Stage II, was divided into two steps and used an unstructured prompt as Step 1: "In what ways did you most often express your angry feelings when you were upset with your

mother/father?" The question was presented in reference to the parent designated by the interviewees, at the end of Stage III, as the parent with whom they had experienced the most conflict. The prompt was designed to give the researcher a good idea of the probable conflict style used by the interviewees in their most conflict-prone parental relationship. Step 1 was followed by a series of forced-choice probes with "yes" or "no" answers (See Appendix A for these questions and classification criteria) designed to classify the interviewees' conflict style, as related to their most conflicted parental relationship.

Subject #14 answered this unstructured prompt, which was aimed at her conflicted father relationship, by saying, "I'd usually run to mother and cry, because I was always insulted and scared and hurt because of all his name calling and throwing things." This subject's answers to the directed probes of Stage IV, Step 2, revealed that she was extremely high in docility traits in relationship to her father. Her father was classified as high in fear induction and low in empathy. She reported that her mother was high in empathy, despite many indications to the contrary.

Subject #15, who, the reader may by now recall, came from a fatherless home and felt his authoritarian mother was high in empathy, but also high in fear induction, replied:

I never had too many angry feelings with my mom, because if I was wrong, I knew I was wrong. There were some times when... I'd go and do things like pick a fight. I wouldn't take it out on her--I'd take it out on somebody else.

One cannot help noticing the path of displaced anger in this example. This respondent was classified by the Step 2 questionnaire as conforming in his conflict style, with his mother.

Subject #10 responded to the prompt this way, relative to his authoritarian father who was low in empathy and high in fear induction. "I used to take an axe and go out and chop wood and pretend it was him. It didn't hurt him, but it made a lot of wood get chopped up in a hurry." This interviewee was classified as conforming in conflict situations with his dad.

Another interviewed subject, #13, who also conformed to his low-empathy, high-fear-induction father during times of conflict answered the prompt this way: "Damned if I know. Probably just hurt inside and no outward expression, or very little."

As a final example, Subject #3, who was classified as a mixed docility and active resistance conflict style (with more of the latter) said that she would scream at her father and that she "was the only one in the family who would stand up to him." Her father was rated low in empathy and high in fear induction, while her mother was classified as low in fear induction, and high in empathy. Of interest to later discussion, she used terms such as "very close," "best friends," "buffer to father," and "adult-to-adult relationship" to describe the relationship with her mother.

Stage V: Gathering the Interviewed

Parent's Insights

Stage V, the final stage of the interview, closed the research procedure as it had begun, with an unstructured prompt. This time the prompt was one designed to solicit the now interviewed subjects' insights into the phenomenon of their own parenting style: "Why do you think you have the kind of parenting style you have discussed?" This proved to be a valuable, hypothesis-conforming stage of the interview approach, as the following respondents' comments reveal.

A number of subjects answered the prompt somewhat tersely with comments like those of Subject #5, "I guess it was probably because of the way I was raised--very strict!" or Subject #6, "Well, the primary reason I would suspect is because that's what I was raised under. It's what I saw --the only style I knew." or Subject #2, "I think, to some degree, because I was an obedient child and everything...I thought child rearing would be something kind of easy, almost - that kids just do what you say...." These comments indicated almost a total social learning model explanation of parenting style.

Other interviewees, however, like Subject #12, touched on the same theme but elaborated a bit more, indicating a retrospective, cognitive endorsement of the parenting styles they encountered in childhood. He said:

Maybe I'm trying to raise my children the way I was raised, which I'm not saying the way I was raised was 100% right; but I think that I was raised in a good fashion, and I turned out pretty good, I think. So I can't really complain about the way I was raised.

Subject #11, the frustrated young mother, went a step further in her commentary, reflecting the fact that she had experienced trouble with her young son adapting to her approach. She stated:

Well, I can't help but be some of the way I am because of the way my parents brought me up; and I know that my brother nor I gave my parents much trouble; and I see them as doing a successful job of parenting, I think. I want to carry that over with my own children, but I have to realize that my child is not like we were.

Another authoritarian mother, Subject #8, who had experienced much frustration trying to make her pre-adolescent son and young daughter conform to her ideal image, stated:

I guess because I want my children to be model children. But I have found, it seemed the harder I pushed, the more they rebelled. So I'm learning to back off. But I'd love to have model, obedient children.

Her comment is also interesting in that it notes another characteristic often found in the remarks of interviewed authoritarian parents: the persistence of ideals, values, and even parenting behavior, despite evidence that their parenting pathway was proving ineffective.

Subject #13 expressed another, somewhat frequently noted comment when he said, "I think a lot of it is that I tried to pick out things that I didn't like about the way I was parented and tried to do them differently." He continued, noting the drawbacks of his particular brand of authoritarian style:

I think a great deal of it is wanting them to be successful, and be what I want them to be; and trying to take the approach which I thought was the right approach. It's putting a lot of pressure on them which they resist...trying to live their lives for them when they've got to make their own decisions.

Subject #7 provided a good summation in her comment:

Because I decided way back, when I was real little, that this is no way to raise a kid. And I was real determined to do mine differently. And I don't know that different has been any better necessarily, but I think anybody who decides to raise their kids differently from the way they were raised has a real hard row to hoe...at the time I had no idea how difficult that was. I had no concept of how innate some of this behavior becomes. You end up, in spite of the best intentions, you end up doing to your kids what was done to you, even when you don't want to. I won't say it's an impossible job. It's just an extremely difficult job.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The research procedure produced an abundance of data from the responses presented. These data were coded by two independent raters, the researcher and a clinician trained in qualitative research. Inter-rater reliability, measured by the extent to which the two raters agreed on the assignment of subjects by criteria to categories, was 100%.

Subject #20 was an exceptional case not considered to represent the standard authoritarian style progression (see the discussion which follows in Chapter V, under the heading Exceptional Case #20). Therefore Case #20 is represented in the tables of data results but was excluded from the primary sample and discussed separately. Thus, the sample comprised 19 subjects. Tables 4, 5, 6, and 7 depict the major cumulative data.

Parenting Style Combinations of the Interviewed

Subjects' Parents

Table 4 reveals that 19 of the 19 subjects had at least one authoritarian parent. Of these 19, 12 were rated as having had two authoritarian parents. An additional subject, #15, surprisingly the only member of the sample who did not grow up under the direct influence of two parents, reported having had an authoritarian mother and older, parental-type sister of the same persuasion. In fact, he stated,

Table 4

Parenting Style Combinations of the Interviewed Subjects' Parents

		Subject's Mother				
		Authoritarian	Authoritative	Permissive	Mixed	Totals
Subject's Father	Authoritarian	#1, #2, #3, #4, #6, #7, #10, #11, #13 #14, #17, #19 #15 (Mom plus parental sister N = 13 (68.4%))	#12 N = 1 (5.26%)	#9 N = 1 (5.26%)	#5 N = 1 (5.26%)	N = 16
	Authoritative		(#20 - Exceptional subject) ¹			
	Permissive	#8, #16, #18 N = 3 (15.79%)				N = 3
	Mixed					
		N = 16	N = 1	N = 1	N = 1	N = 19

¹Exceptional case is not included in the totals.

"It was like my mom was the father and my sister the mother." Thus 13 of the 19 nonexceptional subjects reported that double influences of authoritarian parental style were operative in their own childhood experience.

Three other subjects had had an authoritarian mother-permissive father combination. Therefore, 16 of the 19 subjects reported that they had an authoritarian mother during their childhood years.

In looking at the other three subjects, one had an authoritative mother and an authoritarian father; one had a permissive mother and an authoritarian father; and another had a mixed category mother and an authoritarian father. Combining all categories, 16 of the 19 subjects reported having an authoritarian father. On the other hand, exceptional case #20 reported having had an authoritative mother-father combination, with no authoritarian parental influence.

Empathy-Fear Reaction of Authoritarian
Parents to Their Parent(s)

When reviewing the collective tabulations for low/high empathy and low/high fear (see Table 5), one can observe that the majority of cases fell in one of two categories: (a) six of the subjects reported they had a low empathy/high fear mother and low empathy/high fear father combination, and (b) six others reported having had a high empathy/high fear mother and low empathy/high fear father combination. The other seven cases of the 19 were scattered, as one can see by consulting the table. It is interesting to note that only

Table 5

Collective Tabulations for Low/High Empathy and Low/High Fear

		<u>Mother</u>				
		Low emp./ low fear	High emp./ low fear	Low emp./ high fear	High emp./ high fear	
<u>Father</u>	Low emp./ low fear			#18 N = 1	#8 #15 (Mom only) N = 2	N = 3
	High emp./ low fear		(#20 excep- tional subject) ¹	#16 N = 1		N = 1
	Low emp./ high fear	#9 N = 1	#3 N = 1	#2, #5, #6, #7, #13, #17 N = 6	#1, #4, #10, #12, #14, #19 N = 6	N = 14
	High emp./ high fear				#11 N = 1	N = 1
		N = 1	N = 1	N = 8	N = 9	N = 19

¹Totals do not include exceptional case #20

one of these subjects, #11, reported that both parents were unified in being high in empathy and at the same time high in fear induction. Exceptional Subject #20 was the only subject to report having had both a mother and a father high in empathy and low in fear induction.

In combining cases where the father was considered to be low in empathy from the interviewed parent's perspective, 14 of 19, or 73.7% of the cases fit this description. On the other hand, only 9 of 19, or 47.4% of the females were rated low in empathy.

Fifteen of the 19 subjects, or 78.9%, reported high fear of their father. Seventeen of the 19, or 89.5%, reported high fear of their mothers.

Consulting Table 6, one can see that 14 of the subjects, or 73.68%, had a perception of low empathy in relation to the parent with whom there was the greater conflict, while only 5 subjects of the 19, or 26.31%, reported a perception of high empathy in relation to their parent of greater conflict. All 19 of the subjects reported high fear in relation to the parent of greater conflict. Only exceptional subject #20 reported low fear.

In addition, Table 6 shows that of the 19 subjects, 18 experienced the greater conflict with an authoritarian parent and one with an unclassified style parent. Once again, Subject #20 was the exception and reported having had more conflict with an authoritative parent.

Conflict Styles of Authoritarian Parents

Data represented in Table 7 show the conflict style of subjects in relationship to the parent with whom they experienced more

Table 6

Empathy - Fear Perception of Subject in Relation to
the Parent of Greatest Conflict

Subject Number	Sex of Subject	Parent of Greater Conflict/Parenting Style	Empathy - Fear Perception
1	F	mother - authoritarian	high empathy - high fear
2	F	mother - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
3	F	father - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
4	M	father - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
5	M	mother - unclassified	low empathy - high fear
6	M	father - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
7	F	mother - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
8	F	mother - authoritarian	high empathy - high fear
9	M	father - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
10	M	father - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
11	F	father - authoritarian	high empathy - high fear
12	M	father - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
13	M	father - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
14	F	father - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
15	M	mother - authoritarian	high empathy - high fear
16	M	mother - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
17	F	mother - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
18	F	mother - authoritarian	low empathy - high fear
19	F	mother - authoritarian	high empathy - high fear
20 ¹	M	mother - authoritarian	high empathy - low fear
<hr/>			
Totals	M = 9 F = 10 <u>19</u>	Mothers = 10 Fathers = <u>9</u> N = 19 Authoritarian = 18 Unclassified = <u>1</u> N = 19	Low empathy = 14 High empathy = <u>5</u> N = 19 High fear = 19 Low empathy-high fear = 14 High empathy-high fear = <u>5</u> N = 19

¹Exceptional case excluded in all totals

Table 7

Conflict Styles with Authoritarian Parents

Conflict Style		Subject Number
Docility	Female N = 8 (80% of females conformed)	#1, #2, #7, #8 #11, #14, #18, #19 (#20 exceptional case) ¹
	Male N = 7 (77.8% of males conformed)	#4, #5, #9, #10, #12, #13, #15
N = 15 (78.9%)		
Active Resistance	Female N = 1	#17
	Male N = 1	#16
N = 2 (10.5%)		
Passive Resistance		
N = 0		
Mixed Style	Female N = 1	#3 active resistance
	Male N = 1	#6 conformity: active resistance, passive resistance
N = 2 (10.5%)		

¹Exceptional case not counted in totals

conflict. Fifteen of the 19 (78.9%) subjects had developed a docile conflict style in relation to their parent of greater conflict. In a male-female analysis, 8 (80%) of the 10 interviewed female authoritarian parents and 7 (77.8%) of the interviewed male subjects had conformed as children.

Two subjects (10.5%) of the 19 subjects were classified as having had an active resistance style of conflict within the most conflicted parent-child relationship. One of these subjects, #16, was a male, and the other, #17, was a female.

Subject #3, a female, did not truly classify in any conflict category, but indicated a conforming, active resistance blend. Subject #6, a male, was rated as having adopted all three conflict styles during childhood, docility, active resistance, and passive resistance. This subject represents an exceptional case, in terms of conflict style, in that he was the only subject to be identified as having had any of the passive resistance conflict style. This will be explained during later discussion.

With the exception of the two purely active resisters, the other 17 of the 19 subjects, when the conforming traits of the two mixed subjects are included, had, at least in part, a conforming conflict style component. This represents 89.5% of the interviewed subjects. Exceptional Subject #20 reported a docility conflict style.

Authoritarian Parents' Insights Into Style

Previously reported results were derived from the first four stages of the interview. Stage V, however, was of great importance

too. In fact, Stage V had a direct relationship to the general goal of the study -- that goal being to derive a causal theory about the determinants leading to manifestation of the authoritarian parenting style.

The data collected in this stage reflected three determinants: (a) the subject experienced no meaningful exposure to another style of parenting, (b) the subject came to believe that the authoritarian style had worked well on them, and (c) the subject developed a conviction that children could be shaped toward an ideal image held by the parent if the parent exerted enough control (see the summary of Stage V transcript data in Chapter III).

CHAPTER V
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The analytic induction method is not a static approach to data analysis. Use of the method required that each case, in sequence, be examined and analyzed on its own, and in relation to previously analyzed cases and previously derived hypotheses meant to explain the authoritarian parenting style phenomenon.

Hypothesis Evolution

As suggested in Step 2 of the analytic induction method (see Chapter II), the pilot study hypothesis was viewed as a tentative, hypothetical explanation of the authoritarian parenting style phenomenon. The pilot study hypothesis was that if an individual has been reared by at least one authoritarian parent, and, as a child, developed either a docile (conforming) or actively resistant conflict style in relation to an authoritarian parent, instead of a passively resistant conflict style, then that individual is likely to become an authoritarian parent.

In reference to correlates of the docile conflict style, the tentative hypothesis further stated: authoritarian parents will report, if they were docile in conflict style as a child, that they perceived the more conflicted parent as having high empathy and/or high fear induction.

Each case of the actual study, including only tabulated data, is now reviewed in a case-to-case format so the reader may understand more clearly how the final hypothesis and model of determinants of the authoritarian parenting style were derived using the analytic induction method.

Subject #1: Two authoritarian parents: mother (high empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #2: Two authoritarian parents: mother (low empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #3: Two authoritarian parents: mother (high empathy, low fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, mixed, docility and active resistance. Hypothesis was revised: If an individual has been reared by at least one authoritarian parent; and, as a child, developed a docile and/or actively resistant conflict style, instead of a passively resistant style, then that individual is likely to become an authoritarian parent. In reference to correlates of conflict style, authoritarian parents will report, if they were docile in conflict style as a child, that they perceived the more conflicted parent as having high empathy and/or high fear induction. The authoritarian parent will report, if they developed a mixed conflict style with a docility

component, that they perceived the more conflicted parent as having high empathy and/or high fear induction.

Subject #14: Two authoritarian parents: mother (high empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #5: One authoritarian father and one unclassified (a few authoritarian plus permissive traits combined) mother; mother (low empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was revised a second time: If an individual has been reared by at least one authoritarian parent, and, as a child, developed either a docile or actively resistant conflict style, instead of a passively resistant conflict style, in relation to an authoritarian parent or an unclassified-style parent, then that individual is likely to become an authoritarian parent. In reference to correlates of conflict style, the authoritarian parents will report, if they were docile in conflict style as a child, that they perceived the more conflicted parent as having high empathy and/or high fear induction. The authoritarian parents will report, if they developed a mixed conflict style with a docility component, that they perceived the more conflicted parent as having high empathy and/or high fear induction.

Note that this is the only subject (#5), other than exceptional Subject #20, who did not report that his most conflicted relationship

was with an authoritarian parent. His choice of his unclassified-parenting-style mother as the more conflicted relationship was somewhat questionable given the balance of his comments about his father relative to his mother. Second, he stated that his memory of his own childhood was not very clear, and third, his wife, who was present, questioned his recollections at various points in the interview. It is conceivable, therefore, that in actuality this subject had a more conflicted relationship with his authoritarian father during his childhood. However, the researcher can concede, based on clinical experience, that having an unclassifiable-style parent might lead to conflict in that the child would perhaps have a difficult time knowing where the parent was coming from and what the parent expected.

Subject #6: Two authoritarian parents: mother (low empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, mixed - docility, active resistance, passive resistance. Hypothesis was revised a third time: If an individual has been reared by at least one authoritarian parent, and, as a child, developed either a docile or actively resistant conflict style; or a mixed docile, actively resistant, passively resistant conflict style instead of a purely passively resistant conflict style, in relation to an authoritarian or unclassified-style parent, then that individual is likely to become an authoritarian parent. In reference to correlates of conflict style, these authoritarian parents will report, no matter what conflict style they adopted--whether docile, a docile and actively resistant style, or a mixed docility,

actively resistant and passively resistant style, that they experienced fear of the parent with whom there was more conflict.

Subject #7: Two authoritarian parents: mother (low empathy, high fear); father, (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #8: One authoritarian mother and one permissive father; mother (high empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, low fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #9: One permissive mother, one authoritarian father; mother (low empathy, low fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #10: Two authoritarian parents: mother (high empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #11: Two authoritarian parents: mother (high empathy, high fear); father (high empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #12: One authoritative mother, and one authoritarian father: mother (high empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #13: Two authoritarian parents: mother (low empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #14: Two authoritarian parents: mother (high empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, low fear); more conflicted parent relationship, father; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #15: One authoritarian mother, father never involved at home; mother (high empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #16: One authoritarian mother and one permissive father: mother (low empathy, high fear); father (high empathy, low fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, active resistance. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #17: Two authoritarian parents: mother (low empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, active resistance. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #18: One authoritarian mother and one permissive father: mother (low empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, low fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

Subject #19: Two authoritarian parents: mother (high empathy, high fear); father (low empathy, high fear); more conflicted parent relationship, mother; conflict style, docility. Hypothesis was supported.

The final hypothesis above, based only on data preselected for tabulation, was considered to represent necessary, but not necessarily sufficient, determinants of the authoritarian parenting style. Therefore, other determinants, which were indicated by the subjects' own insights gathered in Stage V, were used in conjunction with the above data and analysis to derive a final hypothesis, and, in essence, explanation of the determinants of the authoritarian parenting style.

To review, the subject-expressed determinants, singularly or in combination, were these: (a) no meaningful exposure to another style of parenting, (b) belief that the authoritarian approach had worked well on the parent himself or herself, (c) conviction that children can be shaped toward the ideal image held by the parent, if the parent exerts enough control. These three subject-expressed determinants were blended into the evolved hypothesis above to form the final hypothesis: If an individual (a) has been reared by at least one authoritarian parent; (b) as a child has developed either a docile and/or actively resistant conflict style, or a mixed docile, actively resistant, passively resistant conflict style in relation to an authoritarian or an unclassified-style parent; (c) has experienced fear of the parent with whom there was more conflict; (d) has never been meaningfully exposed to another parenting style, and/or has concluded the authoritarian style worked well on self, and has concluded that it is possible to

shape children toward an ideal image, then that individual will become an authoritarian parent. The revised and final model of determinants of the authoritarian parenting style, reflecting the final hypothesis, is illustrated in Figure 2.

The exceptional subject #20 had two authoritative parents (not authoritarian) and, in addition, experienced low fear in relation to the parent with whom he experienced the greater conflict. It was believed that this case represented an anomaly which could be readily explained, but it did not fit within the intended focus of this research when it came to primary hypothesis and theory generation. Therefore, the revised hypothesis was considered to hold true for the standard authoritarian parenting style case.

An addendum hypothesis was added, however, in response to exceptional case #20, as follows: If a child comes to reside with a nonpermissive parent at a later age, and that child has previously been reared in a permissive situation, the nonpermissive parent, even if authoritative in background experience and philosophy, may become an authoritarian-style parent in response to the behavioral problems often found in children from this type of parenting background.

Subject #20 was the only interviewed authoritarian parent who did not have an authoritarian parent in childhood. For that matter, this subject was the only subject to report a low-fear perception of both parents, and the only subject to indicate that both parents were high in empathy.

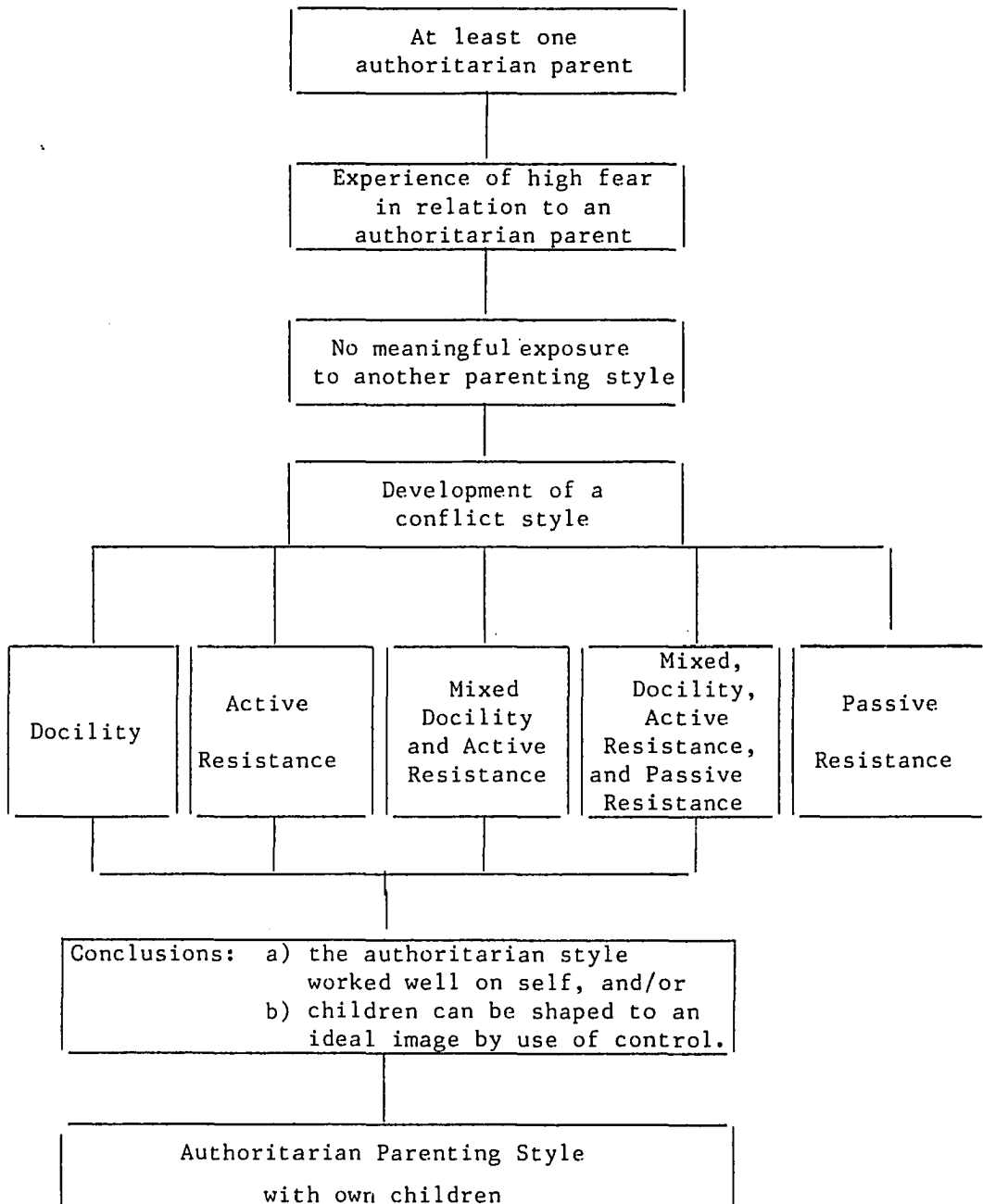


Figure 2. Final Model of Authoritarian Parenting Style

This parent was divorced soon after the birth of his child.

When his son was 12 years old he assumed custody. In talking about his ex-wife's parenting style he described an unstable and highly permissive situation. Furthermore, in talking about his son's background, he said:

He's a con man...he was raised in an environment of all adults, and grandparents, and he has learned how to manipulate...it is a constant trial and battle between us to try to recognize true desires or just a manipulation event going on.

Finally, in Stage V, talking about his insights into his own parenting style, he stated:

I've learned to come down a little harder, and I'd say because of my son, I've recognized that certain ways don't work with him and I had to look at other alternative sources. Corporal punishment was not a thing in my upbringing, to any extent. I mean, I understand it was only once I ever had a spanking in my life...so I would use that as a last resort; but I just developed this style, if there is a style, by a day in, day out evolving process.

Thus, one can see that this is not a standard case of the authoritarian parenting-style phenomenon. This father was essentially not in a parenting position for the first 12 years of his son's life. In fact, during much of that time, the two were separated by distance.

Nonetheless, this case is of great interest because it plainly testifies to the interactive potential of the parent-child relationship. In fact, Subject #20 was not the only parent to mention interactive issues related to parenting style.

Discussion

Several subjects stated during the interviews that the temperament and styles of their different children influenced their reactions as

parents. Subject #7, in talking about two of her three children, presented this idea most completely. She stated:

With the oldest, being a mother has always been being supportive and listening to him...I always knew that he was capable and so it was a lot easier to be a good parent with him - to let him take his own lead and to reinforce him and talk to him, because he always did things that were gratifying back for me...He never leaped before he measured the distance, so we wouldn't have to be concerned about him doing something totally impulsive and off-the-wall, and that was real easy to deal with...As a toddler he entertained himself real well, and he was entertaining for us, so I was never worn out with his care. He was fun...and it's still that way.

About the second child she said:

Being hyperactive when he was little...and impulsive, extremely impulsive...we really were kind of on edge about what he was going to be into next. We couldn't take him places. In unfamiliar surroundings, he just kind of went berserk, so we...we reacted to that negatively.

One gets the impression, from such a commentary, that if a child is by nature conforming and on the straight and narrow, from the parent's point of view, then the parent's inherent authoritarian capacity might never become fully obvious. However, the data did not suggest that the style is not present in such a situation. What was suggested is that children of less compliant temperament and less docile conflict style have the capacity to amplify the intensity of how the authoritarian style is expressed.

Learning and the Authoritarian Style

One of the beginning research questions was: Have authoritarian parents experienced authoritarian parenting themselves? The fact that 13 of the 19 subjects had experienced two authoritarian parenting figures, and the fact that the remainder of these authoritarian parents had experienced at least one authoritarian parent figure, answered this question affirmatively.

Given the above outcome, one is led to conclude that the style represents a learned set of behaviors, philosophies, and values which are likely to be manifest generation to generation if necessary and sufficient determinants coexist. This evidence that the style is learned also leads one to conclude that the style might be modified or altered if a competing set of behaviors, philosophies, and values can be acquired. Thus, if in childhood an individual is meaningfully exposed to the set of behaviors, philosophies, and values that cluster within the bounds of a different parenting style, it is conceivable that the individual's style might not emerge as authoritarian. It would also be conceivable that an adult of an authoritarian style might by intention and exposure learn a different style of parenting. Implications of this sort are highly relevant to the goals of family therapy and parent education, given the fact that the authoritarian style has been linked to undesirable outcomes for children such as the demonstration of only moderate social responsibility, minimal level of independence, depressed interest in achievement and social contract, reliance on external control factors for both self-control and motivation, and lack of empathy (Baumrind, 1967, 1971, 1973; Emmerich, 1977; Feshback, 1974; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967).

Several of the authoritarian subjects mentioned, however, how difficult it is, as an adult, to change one's style, even if the desire to do so is present. The researcher's clinical experience with the authoritarian parent confirms that the style often persists despite intellectual awareness of other styles.

The Interrelationship of Empathy, Fear, and Conflict Style

A striking feature of the data is the role that fear played in the experience of all 19 of the sample subjects in relation to their more conflict-centered parent. But even the rate of reported fear in relation to the parent of less conflict was very high when one considers that of the subjects, 78.9% reported high fear of their father, and 89.5% reported high fear of their mother. As one can also see, both fathers and mothers of subjects were feared about equally. Also interesting is the fact that the parent relationship of greatest conflict was split about equally between the mothers and fathers of subjects (See Table 6). In contrast, exceptional Subject #20 reported having two parents who were low in fear induction.

The perception of high empathy was not nearly as prevalent as the perception of high fear. Of the 19 subjects, only five (26.31%) reported a perception of high empathy in relation to the parent with whom there was the greater conflict. Overall, 77.78% of fathers were reported to be low in empathy, while 47.4% of mothers were reported to be low in empathy.

Thus, the data suggested that authoritarian parents had, in general, experienced high fear in relation to their parents, in particular with their parent of greater conflict. In addition, the data suggested that authoritarian parents have often not experienced much empathy from parents.

In conceptualizing the study, both of these factors, fear and empathy, were considered to represent important variables influencing the conflict responses of a child to a parent. As suggested by

earlier studies (Becker, 1964; Maccoby, 1980), fear was viewed as a factor pushing a child to adopt a docile conflict style, a negative reinforcement; and empathy could be considered a positive reinforcer which would work to pull a child toward the docile conflict style.

It was expected that the combination of high empathy and high fear, in relation to parent of greater conflict, would be the optimal blend for developing a docile conflict style in the field. It was also anticipated that a low empathy and low fear combination might be most likely to lead to an active-resistance conflict style. The passive-resistance style was not expected to turn up, because theoretically, people who are primarily passive resisters are afraid to deal with power and conflict openly and therefore would not become authoritarian parents in the first place.

As it turned out, six subjects had more conflict with a parent reported to be both high in empathy and high in fear. Five of the six were conforming in conflict style, so there was a high rate of docility in response to this combination. No subject in the sample, however, had experienced a low empathy and low fear combination in relation to a parent of greater conflict.

The interrelationship of empathy and fear to conflict style, as experienced relative to the parent with whom there was the greater conflict, can be looked at in several ways. Remember that (a) all 19 subjects reported high fear in relation to their parent of greater conflict; (b) 15 of the 19 (78.9%) subjects developed a docile

style and two other subjects had mixed conflict styles with conforming elements; and (c) the rate of perceived high empathy in relation to the parent of greater conflict was low (31.6%). It would appear, therefore, that fear of parents was more responsible for the high rate of docility than the positive reinforcing value of empathy.

The power of perceived fear to lead a child in the direction of docility as a conflict style is also mirrored in the fact that all but 4 of the 15 subjects who developed a docility style in childhood reported fear of both parents. One of the four subjects, #15, had an absent father. He was fearful of his mother.

Other evidence which indicated that fear of both parents was especially powerful, when it came to subjects' developing a docile style, was found in looking at the mixed-conflict-style subjects and the actively resistant conflict-style subjects. Of the four subjects who had a conflict style in childhood other than conformity, only Subject #17, an active resister, appeared to have a clear-cut case of two high-fear parents. The explanation for this subject's active resistance seemed to lie in the fact that she was the oldest child in a large family and felt unfairly saddled with parenting responsibilities. Her role most likely gave her some sense of power, however, while her anger gave her the motivation to actively resist.

The other three subjects were different. The other actively resistant subject, #16, had a father, classified as permissive, whom he dearly loved and liked. His mother, on the other hand, he classified as an impossible, perfectionistic tyrant and his parent of

greater conflict. It appeared, from the data in this case, that this subject was in an alliance with his high-empathy, low-fear father against his low-empathy, high-fear mother. His father's permissive style and high-empathy, low-fear traits doubtlessly encouraged this subject's active resistance style.

In the case of Subject #3, who had a mixed conforming and actively resistant style, a similar profile of alliance dynamics emerges. This subject reported a high-fear father, low in empathy with whom she had great conflict, but a low-fear mother, high in empathy. The dynamics were illustrated when she said:

I loved and still love my mother dearly. She is my best friend. I think more than anything else, my love for her kept me straight. I never wanted to disgrace her or hurt her in any way. She was the buffer zone between my father and I. We constantly locked horns...I was kept in a glass bubble. "Don't touch this child, she's special."

In this case the subject's mother, and allied parent, was an authoritarian.

Subject #6 was somewhat of an exceptional case in that he was the only subject who used any of the passive resistance style in conflict with his parent of greater conflict. He reported a mixed style of docility, active resistance, and passive resistance, and had two parents of the same type--low empathy and high fear. But this subject lived in a three-generation household when he was younger and stated:

I think the key relationship with me, perhaps, was not so much with my mother in my early childhood, as it was with my grandmother. I can clearly think back as a child, and this goes from the beginning that I can remember, which is probably around four years of age, up to the point where we would have moved from them, and I, at that time, would have been about nine years old. I have

very few recollections of the relationship with my mother. My grandmother was the one that I related to and in her case the... I guess we manipulated each other. I was the first born son into the family, not the first born child, the first born son. And she showered onto me all kinds of sweetness and love and whatever. And I played up to that in the sense of gosh, I knew how to get what I wanted, you know, through grandmother.

Once again, the development of a nondocile conflict style can be viewed as linked to the gaining of power through an alliance relationship, this time one outside the actual realm of parents.

Theoretical Interpretation of the Interrelatedness

of Empathy, Fear, and Conflict Style

Missildine (1963) pointed out that if children are overcontrolled from the time they are born, then they will most likely be docile and conforming. He also asserted that if a child gets the feeling of some power in the family in the early years of development but then is shut down, then that child will be likely to become passively resistant. And finally, he asserted that if a child gets used to having power for a longer time, but then meets with parental attempts to overcontrol, the child will become actively resistant.

The wisdom and insights of Missildine were supported by the findings of this study. It was very evident, from the high rates of the docile conflict style among subjects and the comments that they shared, that most had experienced great parental control over themselves from the very early years onward, and had often felt a general sense of powerlessness within their family of origin. It appears that this sense of powerlessness as a child may have contributed

to the often overbearing use of power when the individual with a docile conflict-style background became a parent.

With perhaps the exception of Subject #17, those subjects who did not adopt a docile conflict style, could be understood by way of Missildine's observations. For example, Subject #6, who had the mixed style which included all of the conflict styles, gained power through his relationship with his grandmother from the early years until he was nine years old and the family moved. From Missildine's theoretical perspective, this subject gained the experience of power in the family through his alliance, but experienced challenges to his power by his mother and father all through his first nine years. One can therefore understand why this subject's conflict style became mixed across the spectrum of styles.

Also, the conflict style that was adopted by subjects can be viewed from the social-power exchange theory of Rollins and Thomas (1975). In the profit versus costs language of exchange theory, adopting a docile conflict style was probably more profitable than the costs of noncompliance for the majority of subjects when they were children--the costs being punishment, often severe. In addition, from the exchange theory point of view, when comparison level alternatives became great enough, as obviously happened in the cases of alliances discussed earlier, the costs of docility could be judged not to outweigh the profits of noncompliance.

Richer (1965) viewed the basic exchange in the parent-child relationship to be that of child compliance for parental support.

The research results pointed out that this, in the case of authoritarian parent-child relationships, was perhaps a part of the exchange equation, but that an equally if not more important exchange set-up involved compliance so as to escape punishment, often within the context of a nonsupportive and even outright rejecting authoritarian parent situation.

CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The goal of this research project was to discover determinants of the authoritarian parenting style, using analytic induction as a research methodology. To do so, 20 individuals, who were identified as authoritarian in parenting style, were interviewed in depth using a structured five-stage interview approach. The general research question of interest was: How do authoritarian parents come to utilize the authoritarian style? Additionally, three focused research questions were examined: (a) Have authoritarian parents experienced authoritarian parenting themselves? (b) How have authoritarian parents reacted to conflict with their own parents? (c) Is the dominant conflict style that children adopt in interaction with their parents linked to the later demonstration of the authoritarian style?

Summary and Conclusions

The answer to the first focused research question was an undeniable "yes." The study indicated that all of the interviewed subjects had experienced at least one authoritarian parent themselves during childhood, and that the majority had the experience of two authoritarian parents or parenting figures.

Data relevant to the second focused research question about how authoritarian parents reacted in conflict with their own parents

indicated clearly that the interviewed authoritarian parents had, most frequently, adopted a docile or conforming conflict style. In fact, only 2 of the 19 subjects had adopted an actively resistant conflict style, and only 2 of the 19 reported they had developed mixed conflict styles, in each case with a docility component. In only one case was there any evidence of passive resistance as a style, and in that case the style was mixed with both docility and active resistance styles. None of the interviewed authoritarian parents proved to have been predominantly passively resistant in conflict style as a child, as was expected. Furthermore, when a nondocile conflict style was revealed, a plausible theoretical explanation was usually apparent.

The third focused question, asking about the link of childhood conflict style to the later manifestation of the authoritarian style, was answered on several levels. First, as just mentioned, the passively resistant style was, by itself, never found to be a precursor of the authoritarian parenting style. This was an expected outcome, since passively resistant people generally have a difficult time facing conflict directly, as is required of the authoritarian parent in relation to children. Second, the study results indicated that the docile conflict style was the style most frequently linked as a precursor of the authoritarian style. The general theoretical explanation derived to explain this fact was that the majority of authoritarian subjects, as children of one or two authoritarian parenting figures, had no comparison-level alternatives of great enough magnitude, such as an

allied adult, to make the successful experience of power and the use of a nondocile style possible in the first place. In other words, the exchange value of docility in relation to the parent of greater conflict was more valuable than the exchange value of nondocile conflict styles.

Thus, the conclusion of the project, as reflected in the final hypothesis and explanation of determinants of the authoritarian parenting style was the following: An individual will be likely to use an authoritarian parenting style if he or she (a) has been reared by at least one authoritarian parent; (b) as a child has developed either a docile or an actively resistant conflict style, or a mixed docile, actively resistant, passively resistant conflict style--not a purely passively resistant conflict style--in relation to an authoritarian or an unclassified-style parent; (c) has experienced fear of the parent with whom there was the greater conflict; (d) has never been meaningfully exposed to another parenting style, and/or has concluded the authoritarian style worked well on self, and/or has concluded that it is possible to shape children toward an ideal image.

Implications for Future Research

The outcomes of this study have indicated that it is possible to derive, through research, a theory and model of determinants leading to the manifestation of a particular defined parenting style. Obviously, more research, of an in-depth interview type--following the analytic induction methodology--would help to guarantee that all

determinants of the authoritarian style have been isolated and their interaction explained. This current study establishes the foundation for such research. Furthermore, there is the prospect of being able to use both the methodology and experience gained during this project to broaden the scope of the research to a search for determinants of the other parenting styles defined in the study.

Beyond the qualitative research pursuit of answers to the question of determinants of the authoritarian parenting style, and determinants of other parenting styles, lies the other side of the dialectic of research, the quantitative side. Conclusions gained by the qualitative approach should, if such conclusions are indeed valid and reliable, stand the test of more quantitatively focused research. It is anticipated, however, that such research will be more productive and conclusive than much other quantitative research, because an optimal progression will have been pursued. This progression goes from a beginning of planned immersion in the topic of interest by way of qualitative methodology, to the application of more highly structured and preconceived quantitative approaches based on the findings of the qualitative starting point. By this approach, the whole dialectic of research possibility will have been embraced, leading to a synthesis of findings which, because of the complete manner in which they have been pursued, would be difficult to refute. Such is the proposed plan and implication for future research on this topic and the general topic of determinants of the various parenting pathways and styles.

Implications for Clinical Practice

It is important for research to be both interesting and have practical application value. Such is the case with this study. The results have great relevance to the mental health professional who works with children and their families.

The clinician is frequently confronted with cases of child resistance to parental authority, often authoritarian parenting-style authority. In fact, it is resistance to parental control that most often motivates parents to seek therapeutic help in the first place. The value of the study, as it relates to the authoritarian parent-child situation, is that it gives the clinician a way to conceptualize and identify the authoritarian style, and a good idea of where to look for the causes of child resistance within the context of what has been revealed about authoritarian parenting and conflict styles related to it. For example, if a child is actively resisting the parents, it would be helpful for the clinician to know that this conflict pattern is usually found in conjunction with comparison level variables that push the value of noncompliance beyond the value of compliance. The roles of perceived empathy, fear, and special alliances have been discussed previously, as examples of these variables. Identifying these variables is an important step in understanding many cases of child resistance to parents and crucial to the formulation of an effective treatment plan that can help to change the balance of the parent-child exchange equation, so that a more functional outcome may be achieved for both parents and child.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix AInterview Questions and Tabulations

Stage I: Identifying the Interviewed Parent's Parenting Style.

Step 1. What are your views on the general nature of children?

How do you feel children should be reared?

Step 2. If an authoritarian style is indicated in Step 1--

- a. Do you have a set of standards that you make sure your child understands and follows? Give examples.
- b. Do you often consider whether your child is meeting your standards?
- c. Do you feel your child should be obedient? Explain.
- d. How do you make sure your child behaves?
- e. Do you feel that your child should be allowed to talk back to you? Explain.

Step 2. If a permissive style is indicated in Step 1--

- a. How tolerant are you of your child's actions? Give examples.
- b. How often do you punish your child?
- c. How often do you consult with your child concerning decisions about him or the family?
- d. What kinds of responsibilities does your child have around the house?
- e. Do you require your child to be neat? Explain.
- f. How much do you control your child's activities? Explain.

- g. How do you get your child to do as you want?

Step 2. If an authoritative style is indicated in Step 1--

- a. Do you give your child reasons for your parenting decisions? Explain.
- b. Do you encourage your child to talk to you about his/her conflicts with you? Explain.
- c. Do you firmly require that your child follow certain guidelines? Explain.
- d. Do you encourage your child's independence? Explain.
- e. Do you feel that both children and adults have rights in the family? Explain.
- f. Do you admit mistakes that you have made to your child? Discuss.
- g. Do you use your power as a parent to simply overrule the wishes of your child? Explain.

Stage I: Criteria for classifying an interviewed parent's
parenting style:

<u>Authoritarian:</u>	<u>UR*</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. Rigid standards of conduct		
2. Parent regularly judges child's behavior		
3. Parent demands obedience		
4. Uses forceful, punitive measures		
5. Does not encourage verbal give and take.		
Totals	—	—
<u>4 of 5=authoritarian</u>		

Comments:

<u>Permissive:</u>	<u>UR*</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. generally accepts child's actions		
2. seldom punishes		
3. often consults child		
4. requires few household duties		
5. doesn't require orderliness		
6. allows the child to be largely self-directed		
7. uses reasoning, not overt power with child		
Totals	—	—
<u>5 of 7 = permissive</u>		

Comments:

<u>Authoritative:</u>	<u>UR*</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. gives reasons for decisions		
2. encourages verbal give and take		
3. requires compliance to certain guidelines		
4. promotes independence		
5. recognizes rights of the child		
6. admits mistakes		
7. uses power at times to override child		
Totals	—	—
<u>5 of 7 = authoritative</u>		

Comments:

Mixed style:

*UR = unstructured response
SR = structured response

Stage II: Classifying the Interviewed Parent's Mother's Style

Step 1: Describe the relationship you had with your mother when you were a child growing up in your family.

What was your mother's approach to and philosophy of childrearing?

Step 2: If an authoritarian style is indicated in Step 1--

- a. Did your mother have a set of standards that she made sure you understood and followed? Explain.
- b. Did your mother regularly judge your behavior according to her set of standards? Explain.
- c. Did your mother demand that you be obedient?
- d. What kinds of methods did your mother use to get you to behave?
- e. Did your mother allow you to debate with her decisions or points of view on which you and she disagreed?

Step 2: If a permissive style is indicated in Step 1--

- a. Did your mother tolerate your actions and opinions?
- b. How much did your mother punish or discipline you? Explain.
- c. Did your mother consult with you about decisions concerning you or other members of the family? If so, give examples.
- d. What kinds of responsibilities did your mother require you to assume around the house?
- e. Was your mother concerned that you be neat or keep your things neat?
- f. How much control did your mother have over your activities?
- g. How did your mother get you to do what she wanted?

Step 2: If an authoritative style is suggested by Step 1--

- a. Did your mother give you reasons for demands and discipline?
- b. Did your mother encourage you to discuss topics that you and she were in disagreement about?
- c. Did your mother require you to follow certain guidelines?
- d. Did your mother encourage your independence?
- e. Did your mother recognize both the rights of you as a child and her rights as an adult?
- f. Did your mother admit her mistakes to you as a child?
- g. Did your mother use her power, at times, to simply overrule your wishes as a child?

Stage II: Criteria for classifying the interviewed parent's

mother's style:

<u>Authoritarian:</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. Rigid standards of conduct		
2. Parent regularly judges child's behavior		
3. Parent demands obedience		
4. Uses forceful, punitive measures		
5. Does not encourage verbal give and take.		
Totals	—	—
<u>4 of 5 = authoritarian</u>		

Comments:

<u>Permissive:</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. generally accepts child's actions		
2. seldom punishes		
3. often consults child		
4. requires few household duties		
5. doesn't require orderliness		
6. allows the child to be largely self-directed		
7. uses reasoning, not overt power with child		
Totals	—	—
<u>5 of 7 = permissive</u>		

Comments:

<u>Authoritative:</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. gives reasons for decisions		
2. encourages verbal give and take		
3. requires compliance to certain guidelines		
4. promotes independence		
5. recognizes rights of the child		
6. admits mistakes		
7. uses power at times to override child		
Totals	—	—
<u>5 of 7 = authoritative</u>		

Comments:

Mixed:

Stage II: Classifying the Interviewed Parent's Father's Style.

Step 1: Describe the relationship you had with your father when you were a child growing up in your family.

What was your father's approach to and philosophy of childrearing?

Step 2: If an authoritarian style is indicated in Step 1--

- a. Did your father have a set of standards that he made sure you understood and followed? Explain.
- b. Did your father regularly judge your behavior according to his set of standards? Explain.
- c. Did your father demand that you be obedient?
- d. What kinds of methods did your father use to get you to behave?
- e. Did your father allow you to debate with his decisions or points of view on which you and he disagreed?

Step 2: If a permissive style is indicated in Step 1--

- a. Did your father tolerate your actions and opinions?
- b. How much did your father punish or discipline you? Explain.
- c. Did your father consult with you about decisions concerning you or other members of the family? If so, give examples.
- d. What kinds of responsibilities did your father require you to assume around the house?
- e. Was your father concerned that you be neat or keep your things neat?
- f. How much control did your father have over your activities?
- g. How did your father get you to do what he wanted?

Step 2: If an authoritative style is suggested by Step 1--

- a. Did your father give you reasons for demands and discipline?
- b. Did your father encourage you to discuss topics that you and he were in disagreement about?
- c. Did your father require you to follow certain guidelines?
- d. Did your father encourage your independence?
- e. Did your father recognize both the rights of you as a child and his rights as an adult?
- f. Did your father admit his mistakes to you as a child?
- g. Did your father use his power to, at times, simply overrule your wishes as a child?

Stage I: Criteria for classifying the interviewed parent's father's

parenting style:

<u>Authoritarian:</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. Rigid standards of conduct		
2. Parent regularly judges child's behavior		
3. Parent demands obedience		
4. Uses forceful, punitive measures		
5. Does not encourage verbal give and take		
Totals	—	—
<u>4 of 5 = authoritarian</u>		

Comments:

<u>Permissive:</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. generally accepts child's actions		
2. seldom punishes		
3. often consults child		
4. requires few household duties		
5. doesn't require orderliness		
6. allows the child to be largely self-directed		
7. uses reasoning, not overt power with child.		
Totals	—	—
<u>5 of 7 = permissive</u>		

Comments:

<u>Authoritative:</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. gives reasons for decisions		
2. encourages verbal give and take		
3. requires compliance to certain guidelines		
4. promotes independence		
5. recognizes rights of the child		
6. admits mistakes		
7. uses power at times to override child		
Totals	—	—
<u>5 of 7 = authoritative</u>		

Comments:

Mixed:

Stage III: Assessing Levels of Empathy and Fear

In your memory of childhood, did your mother almost never or almost always care about and try to understand your feelings? Choose one answer.

almost never _____ = low empathy

almost always _____ = high empathy

Notes:

In your memory of childhood, were you almost never or almost always aware of the imminent possibility of dreaded consequences--verbal, physical, or otherwise--if you did not do as your mother directed you? Choose one answer.

almost never _____ = low fear

almost always _____ = high fear

Notes:

Mother's combined classification:

1. low empathy - low fear _____
2. high empathy - low fear _____
3. low empathy - high fear _____
4. high empathy - high fear _____

Stage III: Assessing Levels of Empathy and Fear

In your memory of childhood, did your father almost never or almost always care about and try to understand your feelings? Choose one answer.

almost never _____ = low empathy
 almost always _____ = high empathy

Notes:

In your memory of childhood, were you almost never or almost always aware of the imminent possibility of dreaded consequences--verbal, physical, or otherwise--if you did not do as your father directed you? Choose one answer.

almost never _____ = low fear
 almost always _____ = high fear

Notes:

Father's combined classification:

1. low empathy - low fear _____
2. high empathy - low fear _____
3. low empathy - high fear _____
4. high empathy - high fear _____

With which of your parents did you experience the greatest conflict?

mother _____ father _____

Stage IV: Assessing the Interviewed Parent's Childhood Conflict
Style

Step 1: In what ways did you most often express your angry feelings when you were upset with your mother/father? (The researcher orients the question toward the parent designated as the most conflict centered.)

Comments:

Step 2: When a docility (conforming) style is indicated in Step 1--

1. Did you usually do as you were told even if you were upset by your parent's request?

Yes _____ No _____

2. Did you rarely show your anger to your parent?

Yes _____ No _____

3. Did you usually avoid conflict situations with your parent?

Yes _____ No _____

Yes responses to 2 of the 3 criteria/questions above = classification as docility (conforming) style.

Comments:

Step 2: When an active resistance style is indicated in Step 1--

1. Did you often yell at your parent?

Yes _____ No _____

2. Did you often argue with your parent?

Yes _____ No _____

3. Did you ever physically fight with your parent?

Yes _____ No _____

4. Did you often openly refuse to cooperate with your parent?

Yes _____ No _____

Yes responses to 3 of the 4 criteria/questions above = classification in the active resistance category of conflict style.

Comments:

Step 2: When a passive resistance style is indicated in Step 1--

1. Did you often ignore your parent's requests?

Yes _____ No _____

2. Did you often promise to do as you were told but then fail to follow through?

Yes _____ No _____

3. Did you often deliberately slow down or loaf when doing something your parent requested?

Yes _____ No _____

4. Did you often do the opposite of what your parent requested?

Yes _____ No _____

Yes responses to 3 of the 4 criteria/questions above = classification in the passive resistance category of conflict style.

Comments:

Stage IV: Criteria for classifying the interviewed parent's
childhood conflict style:

<u>Docility (Conforming):</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. did as told even when upset by request		
2. rarely showed anger		
3. avoided conflict situations		
Totals	—	—
<u>2 of 3 = docility</u>		

Comments:

<u>Active Resistance:</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. yelled at parent		
2. argued with parent		
3. physically fought with parent		
4. openly refused to cooperate with parent		
Totals	—	—
<u>3 of 4 = active resistance</u>		

Comments:

<u>Passive Resistance:</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>
1. ignored parent's requests		
2. promised to do as told, but failed to follow through		
3. deliberately slowed down or loafed when doing parent's request		
4. did the opposite of what parent requested		
Totals	—	—
<u>3 of 4 = passive resistance</u>		

Comments:

Mixed:

Stage V: Gathering the interviewed parent's insights

Why do you think you have the kind of parenting style
you have discussed?

Notes:

APPENDIX B

Agreement to Participate in Research on
Parent-Child Relationships

I, _____, willingly agree to participate in a study on parent-child relationships. I realize that this will require a taped in-depth interview which will be transcribed. I know that my identify will be protected, and that I may withdraw from the study during or after the interview if I feel in any way that the material covered is harmful or threatening to me. I would like to be interviewed with my therapist present. Yes ___ No ___
I would like to be informed as to the results of the study.

Yes ___ No ___

Signed: _____

Date: _____