

PERFORMANCE AND PERCEPTION
OF LOVE ORIENTED DISCIPLINE
BY FOURTH GRADE NEGRO GIRLS

by

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There has been much concern expressed in the literature on child training practices with the effect of different types of maternal discipline on the personality of the child and in particular on moral or conscience development. There have also been attempts to relate the type of discipline to the personality or social class of the mother.

One of the dimensions of discipline which has received a great deal of attention is "love oriented" techniques versus "material" or "physical" or "non-love oriented" techniques. Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957, p.387) categorize praise, isolation, and withdrawal of love as love oriented techniques of control, and include physical punishment, deprivation of privileges, and tangible rewards as material or physical techniques of control. Whiting and Child (1953, p.242-45) who first proposed this dichotomy feel that while all types of discipline serve to keep the child "oriented toward the goal of parental affection and at the same time arousing uncertainty about the attainment of this goal", love oriented techniques of control were most likely to have the greater effect.

The use of primarily love oriented discipline is presumed to result in a higher and faster development of internalized moral standards. Whiting and Child (1953) hypothesized (p. 244) that a culture in which love oriented discipline was the preferred method would have a higher potential for arousal of guilt as measured by the frequency with which sickness was held to be the fault of the individual. They found a non-significant correlation when they attempted a direct correlation, but they found a significant difference in frequency of assigning the

responsibility for illness to the individual when they compared cultures above and below the mean on the importance of the use of love oriented techniques. Sears et al found in their sample of mothers of kindergarten-aged children that love oriented discipline was associated with a higher degree of moral development (as evidenced by the child's tendency to confess transgressions), but only when the mother rated high in warmth toward the child (1957 p. 387-392). Hence we have some support for the theory that love oriented techniques of discipline promote the development of conscience to a greater degree than non-love oriented techniques.

The link between love oriented discipline and the development of conscience is presumed to be identification, especially anaclitic identification. In his review of the literature on child rearing practices and moral development, Hoffman (1963, pp. 297-299) discussed two types of identification, defensive identification or identification with the aggressor and anaclitic identification. The former occurs as a result of punitive treatment and is thought to lead to "an aggressive, hostile outlook toward the world." Anaclitic identification, on the other hand, is "assumed by most present day writers to underlie the development of an inner conscience." Love oriented discipline is more likely to promote anaclitic identification because it (anaclitic identification) is "based on the child's anxiety over the loss of the parents' love."

He further stated:

"We may tentatively conclude that an internalized moral orientation is fostered by an affectionate relationship between the parent and the child, in combination with the use of discipline techniques which utilize this relationship by appealing to the child's personal and social motives . . .

The use of coercive measures that openly confront the child with the parent's power on the other hand, apparently contributes to a moral orientation based on the fear of authority."(p. 305)

There is also an age factor to be considered. Intuitively we would suspect that moral development increases with age, and in fact this does seem to be the case. However, the question then is: are these changes in kind or only in degree? The forerunner of those who argue that there is a change in kind was Piaget (1960). Piaget saw moral development as occurring in two distinct stages with an intermediate stage between. The first stage which he called "The Morality of Constraint" is based on rigid obedience to adult rules (unilateral respect), emphasis on the consequences of a transgression rather than the motives which prompted it (moral realism) and a belief in the concept of immanent justice or the belief that punishment will be automatic proceeding from the "things themselves". This stage lasts, apparently, until the age of seven or eight as it is somewhat dependent on changes in the cognitive processes (Grinder, 1964 p. 882). It is followed by an intermediate stage in which "the child no longer merely obeys the commands given him by the adult but obeys the rule itself, generalized and applied in an adult way." (Piaget, p. 194). At the age of nine or ten the child enters into the final stage, moral autonomy or "The Morality of Co-operation." This appears

"when the mind regards as necessary an ideal that is independent of all external pressure Autonomy therefore appears only with reciprocity, when mutual respect is strong enough to make the individual feel from within the desire to treat others as he himself would wish to be treated." (Piaget 1960 p. 194)

A child who has reached the stage of moral autonomy no longer blindly accepts adult rules, but validates them for himself and he considers the motives behind a transgression, and sees that rules can be altered to fit the circumstances (Grinder p. 883).

Peck and Havighurst present a similar outline of moral development in their book The Psychology of Character Development (1960). The child

is "Amoral" in infancy, "Expedient" (conforms only to advance his own ends) in early childhood, "Conforming" or "Irrational Conscientious" in later childhood and "Rational-Altruistic" in adolescence and adulthood (p. 3,5).

In 1964 Grinder published the results of a study concerned with the relationship between behavior and cognitive dimensions of conscience. His hypothesis was that resistance to temptation would increase with age, that the morality of constraint would be less an influence on the moral judgments of older children and that "the strength of children's resistance to temptation will be negatively associated across age groups with the immaturity of their moral judgment." (p. 882). His subjects were 106 second, fourth and six grade children whose mean ages were 7.5, 9.6, and 11.7 years, respectively. They were tested for resistance to temptation by individually playing a target shooting game in which it was necessary to cheat in order to win a reward (M & M's). The experimenter was not present in the room and so could not, ostensibly have known if the child had cheated and the children were asked not to reveal their scores to the other children. Grinder tested for "moral realism" and "immanent justice", indications of the influence of the morality of constraint on the child's moral judgment, by giving each subject four story completion items. These stories were described as a "breaking of cups story", a "stealing of food for a friend story", and two variations of the "rotten bridge" story. (p. 884). There were six completion choices ranging from immature to mature moral judgment for each story.

Grinder found several significant relationships. Younger children were more likely to show moral realism and belief in immanent justice in their stories than the older children. However, he found no re-

relationship between the maturity or immaturity of the children's moral judgment and their resistance to temptation, nor was the age of the subjects related to the strength of resistance to temptation. He did find that older girls tended to be more conforming in the target shooting situation in the sense of "following the rules" and that girls who were conforming had lower scores on moral realism. This "statistical independence" of the behavioral measure of resistance to temptation and the cognitive measure of moral judgment comes as a surprise in terms of the theoretical writing in the area and suggests that the child's ideas of what is moral behavior may be less significant as a predictor of his behavior than was formerly thought. The study does, however, support the idea of an age factor in cognitive moral development.

The present research is one of a group of studies which have related an aspect of maternal discipline to her child's performance on a tedious task requested by a strange adult. In 1962, Dunham, in a study primarily concerned with interpersonal flattery, found that girls who scored lower on a questionnaire designed to measure the mother's use of love oriented discipline worked harder on a tedious task (pulling a lever) than did girls who scored higher. This was an unexpected result, since it had been assumed that girls reporting more love oriented discipline would respond more "conscientiously" to an adult's request. Dunham's ex post facto explanation was that low love oriented discipline subjects might be considered authoritarian children of authoritarian mothers. According to the theory dealing with the authoritarian personality's reactions to novel situations and an authority figure (the experimenter), these children would be more anxious and work harder in the task (pp. 58-60). The relationship between social class (working class and middle class, identified according to the

Warner scale) and discipline technique was not significant (p. 46-47). Nor was discipline technique correlated with children's intelligence test scores (p. 46-47). Later, Dunham and one of her students* used fourth grade boys and girls and administered a different task, that of marking X's in rows of typewritten O's, to groups scoring high and low on the discipline questionnaire. The results were in the opposite direction: the "Highs" or those scoring high in love oriented maternal discipline tended to have a higher response rate than "Lows" or those who reported low love oriented scores, but the results were not statistically significant. The subjects in the second study were also given the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale, but no relationship was found between the subjects' scores on it and either their discipline scores or their task performance.

A third study was undertaken by Martin (1968) in which she attempted to replicate both previous studies. She used fourth grade students from nine public schools in Guilford County. Both tasks, the lever pulling in the individual situation and the circle-filling in the group situation were used, and both high and low scoring groups on the questionnaire were given both tasks, although some subjects were given the circles task first and some the lever-pulling task first. The results, in the main, replicated those of the earlier studies. While both Highs and Lows worked at a higher rate on lever pulling, the boys tended to work harder on the lever-pulling and girls on the circles task. The Highs tended to work harder at the circle filling task and Lows on the lever task, although the results were not statistically significant.

* Carol Furey. Unpublished data, 1963.

There was also a significant sequence effect in that those groups which had the circles task first had a higher overall response rate and a higher rate of response on the lever task. All groups showed a significant increase in rate of performance over time, although the slope for the circle task was steeper. There were no significant correlations between scores on the Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale and either task performance or type of discipline (pp. 29-33). Martin could find little explanation for the sequence effect which she stated was "unanticipated" (p. 38). It may be, as she suggests, that these tasks, though seeming monotonous to an adult, appear differently to the different groups of children (p.9). It is possible that the low love oriented children felt less anxious in the group situation and hence were less motivated to work as hard as they did in the lever-pulling situation where they were tested individually in the presence of a strange adult.

Both the Dunham and Martin studies used white children from all social classes and there is in general a lack of research which would provide either normative or comparative data about the child-rearing practices of Negro mothers or about her child's perception of her discipline. Therefore it was decided to collect such data on fourth grade Negro children. Almost inevitably in order to secure a large sample, social class becomes confounded with race. In this study the strategy adopted was to make the confounding as extreme as possible; if the results were similar to the Dunham (1962) and Martin (1968) findings, then the conclusion would be that neither race nor extremes in social class were important in the relationship found between the child's performance and her perception of maternal discipline. If the results were not the same, then race and social class would have to be separated in future

investigation. Results in the area of the effect of social class on the mother's use of different types of discipline are contradictory. Boehm and Noss (1962) used 102 children from six to twelve, of whom approximately half were upper lower class (working class) and half were upper middle class, rating 4 to 7 and 1 through 3 on the Warner scale respectively. They used four "transgression" stories and evaluated the responses according to the level of the child in terms of Piaget's morality of constraint - morality of co-operation. They found that the age of the child was the only variable statistically significant, and that, in particular, nine years was the crucial turning point in the morality of co-operation. They found no greater advancement of the girls as Grinder did and there was no difference between lower and middle class children in moral development, although working class children showed a stronger concern for material values. (All the subjects were of average intelligence and were white children of native-born American parents.) Dunham in her 1962 study also found no difference in girls' reports of maternal discipline which could be attributed to social class differences (p. 47).

However, there have been several studies that have found differences in child-rearing practices among middle and lower class parents and especially in disciplinary techniques. The Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) study of child-rearing practices used 379 mothers in the New England area. These mothers were divided into two groups, the "middle class" and the "working class", evaluated according to the Warner classification on the basis of occupational status and income. They then compared these two subgroups on several facets of child-rearing, including techniques of discipline. They found that working class mothers

were more punitive in their training in general (p. 430) and that they used more physical punishment and deprivation of privileges than the middle class mothers. There were no significant social class differences in the use of withdrawal of love or isolation, although mothers with low levels of education rated higher on the use of love oriented techniques (p. 431). Age of the mother was also compared to child training practices. It was found that younger mothers (who were also less likely to be as well educated and more likely to be members of the working class group) were rated significantly higher on the use of physical punishment, deprivation of privileges, and ridicule, all of which are non-love oriented techniques of control (p. 437). The Sears group also found that working class mothers tended to be slightly less warm toward their children. We note that maternal warmth and the use of love oriented techniques of discipline were associated with a higher degree of conscience development in the overall sample. Hence it might be expected that non-love oriented techniques combined with less warmth might hinder to some degree an early development of conscience.

A more recent study of class differences on socialization practices was done by Kamii and Rodin (1967). They used forty Negro mothers of four year old children. Half of the mothers were lower-lower class who were receiving some kind of public assistance and half were middle class defined according to the "middle class" (mostly professional) occupation of the husband. The mothers were interviewed on their child-rearing goals and it was arranged to have the child present during the interview. The child became bored and restless during the interview and it was the mother's responses to the child that the interviewer was primarily interested in. The authors had hypothesized that while the child-rearing

goals of both groups of mothers would be similar, the patterns of interaction between the mother and child would differ as a function of the mother's social class. They felt that the lower class mothers would be less responsive to the "explicit socio-emotional needs" their children express, that the lower class mothers would use more "unilateral" techniques of control (commanding, bribing, physical force and coercion) and that the middle class mothers would use more "bilateral" techniques (consulting, explaining, psychological manipulations and preventively reminding). They also hypothesized that lower class mothers would be more punishing when their children misbehaved, but less rewarding for desirable behavior. Their findings were to some extent confirmed. There were few differences in actual child-rearing goals. One in which there was a difference was in being "liked by adults". Significantly more lower class mothers rated it as more important. Middle class mothers were more responsive in meeting their children's needs, and they more often initiated interactions that were affectionate in nature. Lower class mothers, they found, did use unilateral techniques more often and middle class mothers used more bilateral techniques. Middle class mothers more often rewarded correct behavior. Lower class mothers also tended to control their children by appeals to "status or authority." The authors, in their discussion, speculate that the lower class influence techniques could in part account for the lack of control observed among lower class children and their attitudes of "defiance and rebellion." Although the sample was small, the study seems well conducted, and the results agree with the Sears data.

Authoritarianism and child-rearing practice have been related to social class in a study done by Garfield and Helper (1962). They

compared three groups of mothers, a lower class group whose income was less than \$15. per person per week, a middle class groups described as "comfortably middle class", and a group of mothers of retarded children. All the mothers were given the Parent Attitude Research Instrument, a questionnaire consisting of 23 five-item scales measuring child-rearing attitudes. The scales can be divided into three groups: an Authoritarian Control scale, a Hostility-Rejection scale, and a Democratic Control factor. The lower class mothers had the highest mean on the Authoritarian Control factor and the lowest mean on the Democratic Control factor. Authoritarian attitudes were also found to be significantly related to educational level, with the least well educated mothers having a higher mean on Authoritarian Control. This tends to support the results reported earlier with middle and lower class mothers, that lower class mothers are more likely to use more physical punishment and other non-love oriented forms of discipline and that they are less warm and less responsive to their children's emotional needs. Combining this data with the results of the Sears (1957) group on the relationship between the use of love oriented discipline and maternal warmth and a higher degree of moral development in young children, we might speculate that the children of lower class parents might report less love oriented discipline and might also be slower in their moral development than middle class age mates.

There have also been attempts to connect child-rearing practices with the personality of the mother. Hart (1957) has done a study investigating the relationship between child-rearing practices and authoritarian ideology. He predicted that the authoritarian would tend to use discipline techniques involving "bodily harm, social isolation,

and/or shaming, rather than the loss of love, since the giving of love and the establishment of strong affectional ties are not likely to be primarily issues in an autocratic setting. The subjects were 126 mothers age 23 to 43 and all were middle class, white, American born Christians. The measure of authoritarianism used was a combined version of the short form of the Traditional Family Ideology (TFI) scale and the F-scale. The mothers were interviewed about their child-rearing practices. He found that mothers who scored high on authoritarianism displayed a "consistent tendency to select more non-love oriented and fewer love oriented responses. . ." In addition, Hart found that authoritarian mothers tended to use more non-love oriented discipline in reaction to aggressive and independent behavior.

McCandless in his book, Children: Behavior and Development (1967), has included a chapter on "Child-Rearing Practices and the Authoritarian Personality." In the section on types of discipline and the authoritarian personality (pp. 500-505), he reviews the research in that area. His summary is that authoritarian parents are more likely to use harsh and rigid (non-love oriented) discipline, and that children of authoritarian parents tend to be authoritarian themselves, that is, more conforming and fearful of authority.

While there is contradictory evidence about the relationship between social class and discipline, the weight of the evidence is mildly in the direction of concluding that lower class parents are more likely to be authoritarian and hence strict and punishing with their children and more likely to rely upon the use of force and authority. Children treated in this way are more likely to be fearful of authority and authority figures and more conforming when dealing with such persons,

although they might not fear to misbehave if they were certain of not being caught (see especially McCandless, 1967, p. 516).

To summarize, it was found that various studies (Whiting and Child, 1953; Sears, Maccoby, Levin, 1957; Hoffman, 1963) have suggested a relationship between the use of primarily love oriented discipline and an earlier and higher development of mature moral judgment and conscience. However, the level of development may have little effect on actual resistance to temptation (Grinder, 1964). The use of non-love oriented techniques may lead to a moral orientation based on the fear of authority. Authoritarian parents are more likely to have severe and rigid standards of training and use harsher and more severe forms of punishment, combined fewer demonstrations of love or affection, and such parents tend to produce children who are themselves authoritarian and hence more conforming in the presence of adult authority figures (Hart, 1957; McCandless, 1967). Furthermore, there is conflicting evidence about the possibility that lower class parents tend to use more non-love oriented techniques of control, and have child training attitudes that conform to an "Authoritarian Control" Pattern. Positive studies are Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957; Garfield and Helper, 1962; Kami and Rodin, 1967. Negative studies are Boehm and Noss, 1962; Dunham, 1962. Finally, we have three studies which suggest that high and low reported amounts of love oriented maternal discipline are related to childrens' performance on two tedious tasks (Dunham, 1962; Martin, 1968).

The present study was an attempt to replicate the relation between children's perception of maternal discipline and performance on the level pulling task that was found in the Dunham (1962) and Martin (1968) studies. The study was also designed to provide normative data on these

variables for lower class Negro children.

It was predicted that these subjects would report that their mothers used less love oriented discipline than the subjects of the Dunham and Martin studies. However, it was felt that there would still be differences on task performances for the High and Low scoring groups, and that the Lows would perform at a higher rate on the lever-pulling task.

METHOD

Selection of Subjects

Subjects for the study consisted of nine year old Negro children comprising the fourth grade classes of four Greensboro city schools having ESEA Title I projects. Schools qualifying for Title I projects must show evidence of economic and educational deprivation. For the schools included in the study the median annual income of the school district according to the 1960 census ranged from \$2,639 to \$5,744* with 6%* to 31% of the families having an annual income of less than \$2,000.

Individual Differences Measures

Each child present in class at the time of testing was given the discipline orientation questionnaire (DOQ) by Experimenter I.** This written questionnaire consists of 25 multiple choice items of which 19 are statements of misbehavior. Each statement is followed by five choices representing a response that the child perceives his mother as likely to make. Two of these are "love oriented discipline" responses,

* These figures represent the economic level of the community immediately surrounding the schools. The Greensboro City School system assigns students to schools on the basis of a Freedom of Choice plan; it is generally recognized that the families with higher incomes are the primary source of studies who go out of their living community to school. Therefore, the actual economic level of families with children in these four schools is probably appreciably lower than this range indicates.

** Mrs. Barbara Gold served as Experimenter I.

two are "non-love oriented" responses, and one indicates that the mother would "do nothing". The other six items concerned "good behavior" and are not scored. The experimenter read each item and the choices aloud as each child read them silently and marked his choice.

A total of 161 girls and 144 boys were given the DOQ. However, 19 girls and 42 boys were eliminated because they were overage or underage for the fourth grade and another 17 were rejected because their papers were unscorable. The distribution of DOQ scores for the remaining 227 subjects is given in Figure 1. The higher the score, the more love oriented discipline the child perceived his mother as using.

Although it was possible for the scores to range from 0 to 19, the actual range was from 0 to 11 with a mean of 3.53 for the girls and 0 to 9 for the boys with a mean of 3.17. The total mean was 3.38.

Those girls who made scores of two or below and five and above on the DOQ were classified as Lows (reporting less love oriented discipline) and Highs (reporting more love oriented discipline), respectively. It was, however, necessary to add to the Highs a number of randomly selected girls scoring four to even up the groups. There were a total of 52 Lows and 51 Highs selected to serve as subjects for the individual lever-pulling task.

The lever-pulling task was administered individually to each subject by Experimenter II, the author. The number of times each subject pulled the lever constituted the dependent variable. The "lever" was a metal rod $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter which projected from a slot ($\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{3}{4}$ ") in the top of a wooden box measuring 20" X 15" X 11"

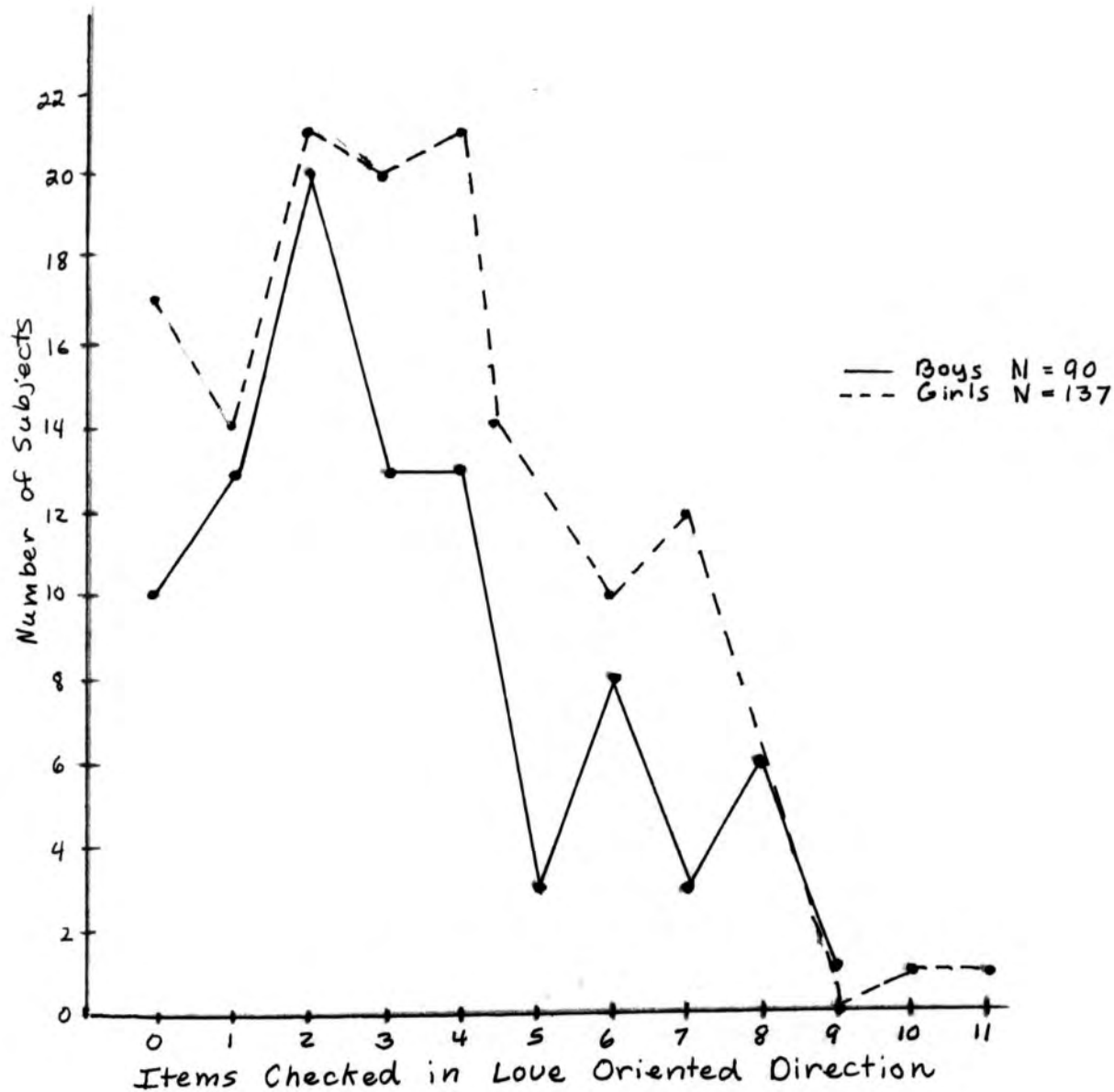


Figure 1: Frequency Distribution of Boys' and Girls' Scores on Discipline Orientation Questionnaire

in height. The box was painted black and lined with Celotex to minimize noise from the machinery inside. A response counter printed out on adding machine paper a cumulative record of lever pulls every 15 seconds.

Administration of the Task

The DOQ questionnaires had been given to the first school in mid-December and to the other schools in January and the first part of February. The lever pulling tasks were given in March and in the order in which the DOQ had been given at each school previously. A list of subjects for the lever-pulling task was given to each teacher involved. She was asked to send the first subject to the experimental room after an interval which would allow the experimenter to reach the room first and then to send the next subject when the first had returned and so on.

When the subject entered the experimental room, the experimenter confirmed the child's name from her copy of the lists and said "All right. I'm Miss Guilkey and I need the handle of this box pulled a whole lot of times and I want you to do it for me. Start now and I will tell you when to stop." Usually it was necessary to demonstrate the working of the lever with one or two pulls and this was incorporated into the routine. The experimenter then sat approximately 6 to 10 feet away with her back turned and read a book. The subjects continued to pull for 15 and 1/2 minutes which the experimenter timed with a stopwatch. Any questions or comments during this time were answered with a "sh . .h" or "keep pulling". After the session, the experimenter thanked the subject and requested that she ask her teacher to send in

the next subject when she returned to her class. At the time of testing, the experimenter did not know which subjects were Lows and which were Highs and the subjects were not tested in any particular order.

RESULTS

DOQ Scores

The mean score for the 90 boys on the DOQ was 3.17; for the 137 girls, the mean was 3.53; the total mean was 3.38.

Lever-Pulling Task

Out of 103 potential subjects for the lever-pulling task, three were absent at the time of testing and of the 100 tested, the data for 16 could not be used because of machine malfunctions. This left 43 Highs and 41 Lows so two Highs who scored four on the DOQ were eliminated and an analysis of variance was performed on the 41 remaining in each group. The results are shown in Table I. No significant difference was found between the two groups. The difference in rate of response over time was significant at the .001 level, indicating an increase in rate of response for the total group. However, there was no difference in slope between the Highs and Lows (see Figure 2). The mean rate of response per minute was 98.97 lever pulls for the Lows and for the Highs it was 96.61 lever pulls.

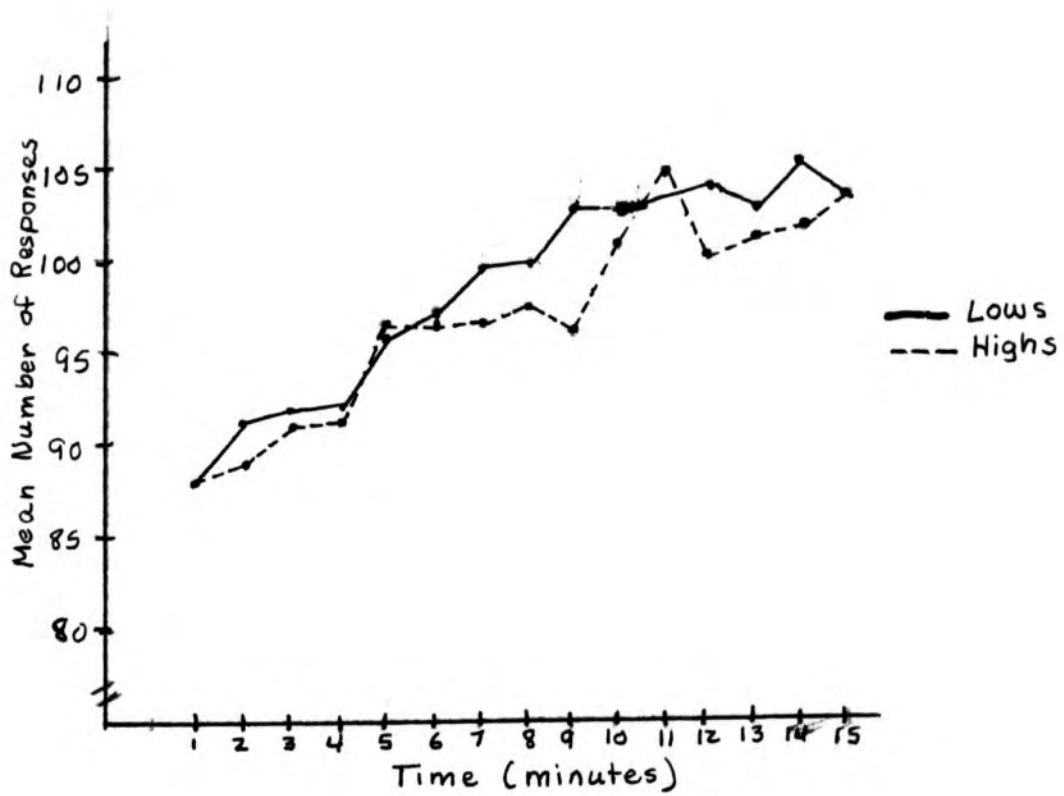


Figure 2: Mean Responses Per Minute of Lever-Pulls for Highs and Lows

Table 1

Analysis of Variance

<u>Source of Variance</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>ms</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
<hr/>				
<u>Between Subjects</u>	81			
High-Low	1	1702.29	.092	n.s.
error (b)	80	18,369.89		
<hr/>				
<u>Within Subjects</u>	1,148			
Minutes	14	2363.51	10.09	.001
Minutes x Hi-Lo	14	90.61	.386	n.s.
Error (w)	1,120	234.04		
<hr/>				
<u>Total</u>	1,229			
<hr/>				

DISCUSSION

It was expected that these subjects, in view of the results of the majority of studies on discipline and social class, would have a lower mean on the DOQ than the subjects of the Dunham, Dunham and Furey, and Martin studies. Dunham (1962) had found a non-significant difference in DOQ scores (with working class subjects having lower scores) in her sample of white fourth graders. The results were as predicted: (see Table 2).

The difference in means between the present sample and the combined means of the three previous samples is significant beyond the .0005 level, using a one-tailed test, for both boys and girls. (For boys, $t = 5.97$; for girls $t = 6.69$.)

Table 2

DOQ Means for Fourth Graders
in Four Studies

		White (Mixed Social Class)		Negro (Principally Lower class)	
		Dunham 1962	Dunham & Furey 1962-63	Martin 1967-68	Present Study 1969
Boys	\bar{M}	5.23	5.51	4.91	3.17
	N	111	136	236	90
Girls	\bar{M}	6.01	5.68	4.97	3.53
	N	116	126	230	137

The lack of a significant difference in lever-pulling performance for the two groups (Highs and Lows) was surprising in terms of the results of the other two studies. As can be seen from Table 3 below, the difference between the present study and the other two (Dunham, 1962 and Martin, 1968) is in the accelerated performance of the Highs. Both Dunham's and Martin's Highs are quite similar in terms of mean rate of response per minute and the Lows of all three studies are similar.

Table 3

Mean Response Rate for Lever Pulling
in Three Studies

	Dunham 1962	Martin 1968	Present Study 1969
Lows	89.62	93.44	98.97
Highs	61.98	67.27	96.61

Both Dunham (1962) and Martin (1968) also obtained significant differences between groups in slope or increase in rate of response, (see Figure 3). In the present study, however, no such results were obtained: both groups performed similarly.

So it would seem that the High - Low love oriented discipline dichotomy is not a significant factor in determining the lever-pulling performance of these subjects or that some other factor is present which "washes out" any differences.

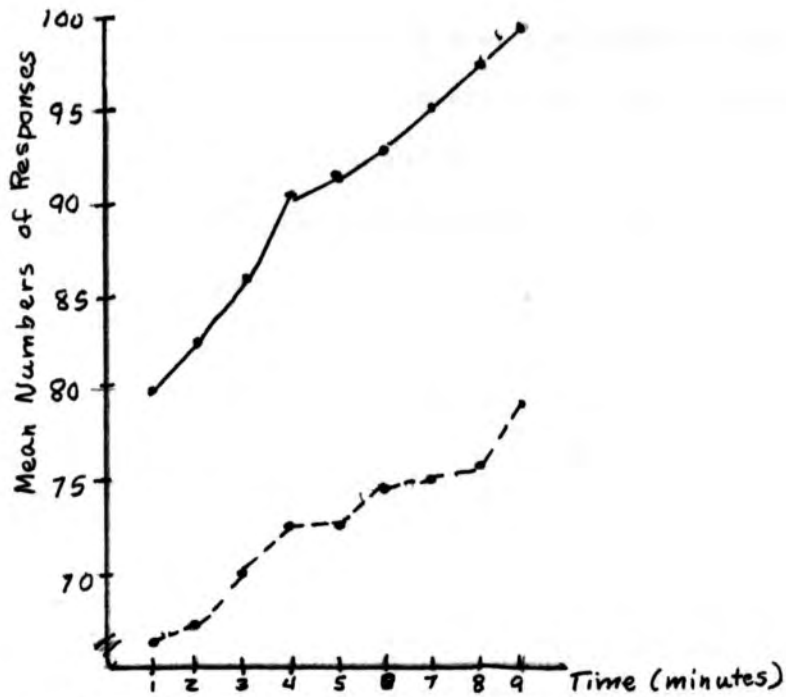


Figure 3a: Mean Rates of Response of Lever-Pulling, Dunham (1962)

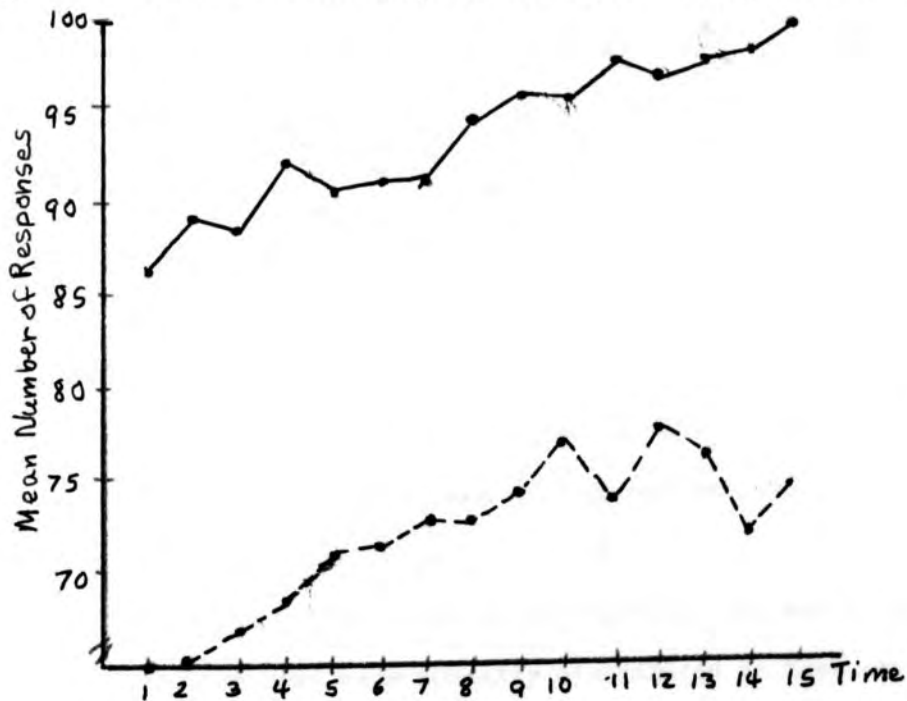


Figure 3b: Mean rates of Responses of Lever-Pulling, Martin (1968)

Figure 3: Mean Rates of Response Per Minute of Lever Pulls for the Highs and Lows of the Dunham (1962) and Martin (1968) Studies

One possible explanation is that the Highs and Lows of the present study were not equivalent to the Highs and Lows of the other two studies (see Table 4), because these subjects as a group reported less love oriented discipline, making it necessary to change the criterion for selecting the groups.

Table 4

Means of DOQ Scores for the Highs
and Lows of Three Studies

	Dunham, 1962	Martin, 1968	Present Study 1969
Low	2.91	1.88	1.10
High	9.64	8.65	6.19
N	68	34	82

Thus the differences between our Highs and Lows was not as great and the Highs were closer in DOQ score to the Lows of the other two studies. When a comparison was made of the Lows who scored zero on the DOQ and the Highs who scored eight and above, no greater differences in performance were found than in the entire sample. In fact it seemed as if both Highs and Lows were normally distributed in task performance. In other words DOQ score had no relationship to lever task performance in this study.

Since the effects of class and race were confounded by using a

lower class and Negro sample and there is no data on upper and middle class Negro children, it was impossible to assess the effect of either race or social class. There is some reason to suspect that race may be the more important variable as Dunham found no significant differences in task performance between her middle and working class groups. However, it will be necessary to do a further study with an all-class Negro sample before definite conclusions can be reached on the separate effects of social class and race. It may be discovered that Negro girls of this age may all react in the same way to a strange white adult's request in a novel situation.

It may also be as Dunham (1962) suggests, that there is a maturational factor involved with girls of this age. She suggests that nine years is the critical stage in the switch from the "morality of constraint" to "the morality of co-operation". She speculated that the difference between the Higs and Lows was due to the fact that the Higs (according to the theory that love oriented discipline promotes early development of the morality of co-operation) are more autonomous and less under the influence of the "morality of constraint" and less likely to work as hard upon the request of a strange adult (1962, p.63). In the present study the difference in responding between the Lows and Higs may not have shown up because these children (who reported harsher and more punitive types of discipline) had not yet reached this critical stage when the "morality of constraint" gives way to the "morality of co-operation." In the Dunham and Furey study (1963) third and sixth grade children showed no differential effects on task performance (putting X's in O's) as a function of type of discipline (unpublished data). In view of the fact that Boehm and Nass (1962) found no social class

differences in moral development using upper lower and upper middle class white children (see Introduction), it is difficult to speculate further about the relative role of class and race in the results of this study.

In conclusion, it seems that this study has raised more questions than it has answered; further work does, indeed, need to be done. The study has, however, provided normative data for lower class Negro fourth grade children on these two variables.

SUMMARY

This study was designed to provide normative and comparative data about the relationship between children's perception of maternal discipline and performance on a lever-pulling task. A questionnaire was used to measure discipline.

Two earlier studies (Dunham, 1962; Martin, 1968) had found that fourth grade girls who reported that their mothers used less love oriented techniques of discipline worked harder on a lever-pulling task than those who reported more love oriented discipline.

As was expected, the present sample of lower class Negro fourth grade children reported less love oriented discipline than did the subjects of the Dunham (1962), Furey (1963) and Martin (1968) studies.

However, the lack of a significant difference in lever-pulling performance between the subjects reporting high and low love oriented maternal discipline in this study shows that the previously found relationship does not hold up for all groups of subjects. Although the results of studies on social class and/or race and discipline are insufficient or contradictory, there is some evidence to suggest that race may be an important variable in this case. It is suggested, as an explanation, that all the subjects in this study, regardless of amount of reported love oriented maternal discipline, responded in the same way to a strange white adult experimenter's request.

APPENDIX

Discipline Orientation Questionnaire

The categories of the response alternatives for punishment and reward items are keyed as follows:

1. Withdrawal of Love; Praise
2. Isolation; Praise
3. Physical Punishment; Privilege
4. Denial of Tangible Reward or Privilege, Ridicule;
Tangible Reward
5. Do Nothing

Categories 1 and 2 are love oriented; categories 3 and 4 are non-love oriented.

NAME _____

BOY or GIRL - circle

Birthdate _____

Age _____

Children in your family besides you

Older brothers ____ Older sisters ____

Younger brothers ____ Younger sisters ____

Which hand do you write with _____

I would like to find out what mothers do when their children do certain things.

In this booklet are 25 sentences about something that you might do. After each sentence are 5 answers about what your mother might then do.

- a. Pretend that you have done whatever the sentence says.
- b. Then find the answer that you think is the most like what your mother would do. Put an X by that answer.

Here is an example to try out.

1. It is snowing and is very cold.

Your mother would:

- A. Tell you to wear just a sweater.
- B. Tell you to wear summer clothes.
- C. Tell you to wear your warmest clothes.

You put an X by answer C because your mother would most likely do that.

Now before we turn the page, remember that your answers to these questions will be a secret and your family and teacher will not know what you said.

1. You cut yourself with a knife that you are not supposed to play with.
Your mother would:

1 A: Say, "I don't like children who don't mind."
2 B: Send you to bed.
3 C: Say that she would spank you if you ever do that again.
4 D: Say that sometimes you don't have good sense.
5 E: Do nothing at all.

2. You do something like pick a neighbor's flowers.
Your mother would:

2 A: Send you to your room or make you sit somewhere by yourself.
5 B: Do nothing at all.
4 C: Not let you play outside the rest of the day.
3 D: Spank you.
1 E: Say, "Mother does not like you when you do things like that."

3. You play with matches.
Your mother would:

3 A: Slap you on the hands pretty hard.
4 B: Say that sometimes you are pretty stupid.
5 C: Do nothing at all.
1 D: Say that she does not like bad children.
2 E: Put you to bed for the afternoon.

4. You make a lot of noise when your mother is feeling bad.
Your mother would:

4 A: Say that you always do everything wrong.
1 B: Look like she did not like you.
2 C: Make you eat your supper alone in some other room.
5 D: Do nothing at all.
3 E: Say that she would spank you if you don't stop.

5. You get bad grades on your report card.
Your mother would:

5 A: Do nothing at all.
3 B: Spank you when you come home.
1 C: Look like she wished you did not belong to her.
2 D: Make you stay in your room when you get home from school or make you sit somewhere by yourself.
4 E: Tell you that you are dumb.

6. You talk back to your mother.
Your mother would:
- 2 A. Tell you not to come near her.
 - 5 B. Do nothing at all.
 - 4 C. Not let you do something you had planned like going to a movie.
 - 3 D. Give you a whipping.
 - 1 E. Act like you don't even belong to her.
7. You go to school without cleaning up your room as you are supposed to.
Your mother would:
- 5 A. Do nothing at all.
 - 1 B. Say that she is not proud of you.
 - 3 C. Say that she will spank you if it happens again.
 - 4 D. Call you lazy.
 - 2 E. Make you stay in your room after school or make you sit somewhere by yourself.
8. You leave home without washing the dishes when you know it was your turn to do them.
Your mother would:
- 4 A. Not give you an allowance that week.
 - 2 B. Make you go right to your room when you come back.
 - 1 C. Tell you nobody likes children who don't do their part of the work.
 - 5 D. Do nothing at all.
 - 3 E. Spank you when you come home.
9. You offer to help your mother with her work around the house.
Your mother would:
- 1 A. Say that it was thoughtful of you.
 - 3 B. Let you go to the movie.
 - 5 C. Do nothing at all.
 - 2 D. Tell you how pleased she is to have help.
 - 4 E. Give you money for a new toy.
10. You say "please" or "thank you" at the right time.
Your mother would:
- 3 A. Say that you may go visiting the next time you ask.
 - 4 B. Give you a nickel.
 - 2 C. Say that it was a nice way to act.
 - 1 D. Say that you were very polite.
 - 5 E. Do nothing at all.

11. You let your company have the biggest dessert.
Your mother would:

3 A. Say that you may decide what the family will have for dessert the next day.
4 B. Give you some candy later.
5 C. Do nothing at all.
1 D. Say that you were nice to your company.
2 E. Tell you that was a nice thing to do.

12. You are sassy to a grown-up who is visiting.
Your mother would:

4 A. Say that you can't watch TV for a week.
3 B. Give you a good spanking.
1 C. Say that she does not like you when you do that.
2 D. Send you to bed.
5 E. Do nothing at all.

13. You keep running through the house after your mother tells you not to.
Your mother would:

5 A. Do nothing at all.
1 B. Look like she did not like you.
2 C. Send you to your room or make you sit by yourself.
4 D. Not let you watch TV that evening.
3 E. Give you a whipping.

14. You and some other child have a big fight.
Your mother would:

2 A. Make you be alone for a while.
5 B. Do nothing at all.
3 C. Whip you.
4 D. Say that you are a big bully.
1 E. Say that nobody likes a child who does that.

15. You are late getting home for supper.
Your mother would:

1 A. Say, "I don't like children who don't mind."
2 B. Make you eat your supper alone in some other room.
4 C. Say, "You have a terrible memory."
5 D. Do nothing at all.
3 E. Whip you.

16. You take a cookie from the kitchen just after your mother tells you not to.
Your mother would:

4 A. Not let you have any dessert.
1 B. Say, "I'm not proud of you."
2 C. Tell you just not to come near her.
5 D. Do nothing at all.
3 E. Slap your hands.

17. You do your homework without being told.
Your mother would:

3 A. Let you stay up late.
2 B. Say, "That is the best way to be."
5 C. Do nothing at all.
1 D. Tell you that you are a good worker.
4 E. Give you stars or something.

18. You are so slow getting ready for school that you are going to be late.
Your mother would:

1 A. Act like she did not love you.
3 B. Give you a little spanking.
4 C. Say that you never do anything right.
2 D. Say that you would have to stay in your room this afternoon.
5 E. Do nothing at all.

19. You keep fighting with your brother or sister or with some friend.
Your mother would:

5 A. Do nothing at all.
4 B. Make you turn off the TV.
1 C. Say she won't love you if you keep doing that.
3 D. Say that she would spank you if you don't stop.
2 E. Send you to your room or make you sit somewhere by yourself.

20. You carry out the trash without being asked.
Your mother would:

1 A. Look very pleased with you.
5 B. Do nothing at all.
3 C. Let you have a friend over to your house.
4 D. Give you a cookie or some candy.
2 E. Tell you that it was a big help to her.

21. Your mother finds out you have not been doing your homework.
Your mother would:

5 A. Do nothing at all.
3 B. Give you a spanking.
7 C. Say that she does not want to talk to a child who does that.
2 D. Say that you would have to stay in your room this afternoon.
4 E. Say that you could not watch TV for a week.

22. You tell a story that is not true.
Your mother would:

1 A. Say that she does not want a child who does that.
4 B. Call you a liar.
2 C. Tell you that she does not want you around when you do things like that.
5 D. Do nothing at all.
3 E. Whip you.

23. You get a very good report card.
Your mother would:

2 A. Look happy about it.
5 B. Do nothing at all.
3 C. Say that you may watch TV for an extra hour.
4 D. Give you something like 25¢.
1 E. Tell you what a smart child you are.

24. You take some money that is not yours.
Your mother would:

3 A. Really spank you hard.
2 B. Put you to bed for the afternoon.
4 C. Call you a thief.
1 D. Say that it makes her not love you.
5 E. Do nothing at all.

25. You break a dish.
Your mother would:

4 A. Call you something like "Clumsy."
1 B. Act like she did not love you.
5 C. Do nothing at all.
3 D. Slap your hand.
2 E. Make you be alone for a while.

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