

AUTOCRACY OR DEMOCRACY: THE IMPACT
OF AUTHORITY ON THE FAMILY.

by

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INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this study is to examine the distribution of authority within the family organization and evaluate its effects on family relationships and personality development. Specifically, we will study the democratic family and compare it to families organized along the more traditional lines.

A good deal of research has concerned itself with diverse dimensions of family authority. However, the majority of studies dealing primarily with the democratic family have been either philosophical or moralistic in nature. Not only has the term 'democratic' family been ill defined, but because the very concept embraces a value so highly sanctioned in our society, it has easily lent itself to evaluative pronouncements.

It has become increasingly clear that family authority generally and the democratic family specifically must be clarified within both an operational and theoretical framework. It is the intent of this study to produce objective evidence which will lead to a re-evaluation of what the democratic family means. We will

also test a number of hypotheses regarding the advantages of the democratic organization and explore whether or not family authority structure is reflected in the personality and behavior of its members.

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CHAPTER I.

REVIEW OF THE PERTINENT LITERATURE.

INTRODUCTION.

A number of writers, studying the family from diverse points of view, have maintained that the democratic form of organization is not only the most successful and rewarding kind of family life, but it is also best suited for the development of mental health and democratic attitudes in children. Unfortunately many of these same writers lack precision in defining concepts; they favor instead an idealistic-political interpretation of the term 'democratic family', based upon freedom of expression and equality of power.

Because the functions and needs of a government unit and a family unit are intrinsically different, it is difficult to define family organization by the use of political concepts. It is therefore no surprise that, in the attempt to portray political democracy and familial democracy as analogous phenomena, the literature abounds with descriptive material. Typical is the definition given by Osborne, who states:

" Democracy is a form of government wherein the source of political authority is in the people rather than the ruler; it is a government of the many as opposed to the government by the few. In the non-political area, in family life, democracy can be thought of as having its authority in the total family group rather than in one or both parents."¹

Bossard and Boll maintain that "many of the recent case histories of family situations show a subjectual relationship which is neither parent dominated nor child dictated. There is a relationship of continuous adjustment and readjustment of dominance and submission which results, in some families, in a near equality of authority."²

Hill defines the democratic family as one in which decisions and responsibilities are shared alike by all family members.³

Generally, however, rather than define democracy within an overall framework of authority patterns, most writers have preferred to describe the democratic family in terms of their behavior, frequently using qualities totally unrelated to the dimension of authority. Therefore, for purposes of clarity, the significant literature pertaining to family authority patterns will be divided roughly into four areas:

¹E.Osborne, Democracy Begins In The Home. (New York: Public Affairs Committee Inc., 1953) p.4

²J.Bossard and E.Boll, Family Situations, (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), p.150

³R.Hill, Families Under Stress, (New York: Harper and Bros. 1949) p.54-55

- 1) The classification and measurement of authority patterns;
- 2) Authority patterns and family behavior;
- 3) Authority patterns and personality development;
- 4) A theoretical approach to family authority.

The literature in this final area will be discussed and evaluated in chapter 7.

THE CLASSIFICATION AND MEASUREMENT OF AUTHORITY PATTERNS.

There have been a number of studies, primarily empirical in nature, dealing either directly or indirectly with authority patterns. These writers assume that a variety of structured authority patterns exist and that individual family units may be described and categorized accordingly.

There are several methods of differentiating authority patterns. One frequently used in empirical research is judgmental; the researcher analyses all relevant data gathered in the field and places individual family units into predetermined categories. For example, in his study of World War II families, Hill used four variables to estimate power distribution:

- 1) dominance and submission in the husband-wife relationship;
- 2) social role played by the wife in the marriage relationship;
- 3) methods of handling and controlling family finances;
- 4) methods of settling family disagreements. ⁴

⁴ R.Hill, op cite, p.118-119

A final judgment, based upon evidence in the above areas was made and each family was placed into one of six possible categories:

- 1) Patriarchal;
- 2) Matriarchal;
- 3) Equalitarian-Adult centered;
- 4) Modified Patriarchal;
- 5) Modified Matriarchal;
- 6) Democratic. ⁵

In studies by Angell, Koos and Komarovsky the range of possible authority types was limited, and in some cases not too clearly defined; nonetheless, these studies did attempt to assess individual family authority patterns and relate these patterns to other dimensions of family behavior. ⁶

A less frequent method of authority classification is the utilization of questionnaires designed and scaled specifically to describe and differentiate family authority patterns. For example, in an Australian study it was hypothesized that there were four basic authority types: Husband-dominant; wife-dominant; autonomic; and syncratic. ⁷

⁵ ibid, p.215

⁶ R.C. Angell, The Family Encounters The Depression (New York: Charles Scribner, 1936)
M.Komarovsky, The Unemployed Man and His Family, (New York: Dryden Press, 1940)
E.L.Koos, Families in Trouble, (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1946)

⁷ P.G.Herbst, "Conceptual Framework For Studying The Family" Social Structure and Personality in a City, ed. O.A.Oeser and S.B.Hammond, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954)

Family authority was determined according to the manner in which husband and wife made decisions in four major behavioral areas: household duties; child care and control; social activities; and economic activities.⁸ An extensive questionnaire, a portion of which was devoted to authority, was submitted to a sample of families; each family was classified according to a numerical score derived from the responses.

In a more recent study by Donald Wolfe, an attempt was made to reformulate and refine Herbst' methods of classification.⁹ The purpose of this study was to explore possible sources of power in the husband-wife relationship and to investigate the effects of this relationship on the authority structure.

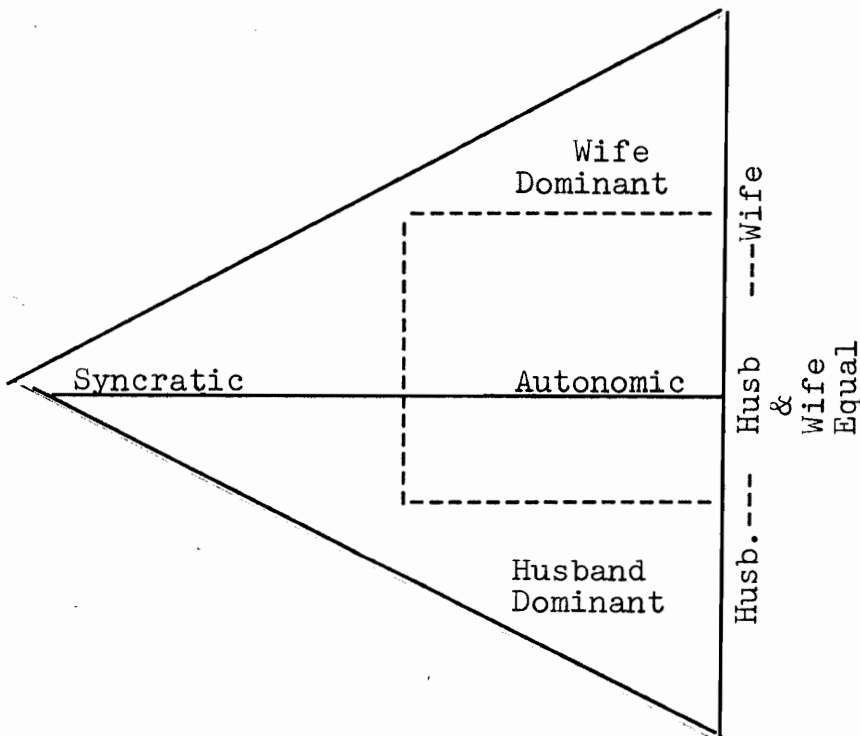
Wolfe developed a scaled questionnaire, calculated to measure both the intensity and the direction of authority in any given family unit. The questionnaire was composed of eight decision-making situations; the basic categories used to classify families were those developed by Herbst,¹⁰ which Wolfe proceeded to adapt and refine. (see Diagram 1.)

⁸ ibid

⁹ D.M.Wolfe, "Power and Authority in the Family", ed. D.Cartwright, Studies in Social Power, (Ann Arbor: Univ.of Michigan Press,1959) R.Blood and D. Wolfe, Husbands and Wives, (Glencoe:The Free Press 1960) chapt.7.

¹⁰ P.G.Herbst, op cite.

DIAGRAM 1.
WOLFE AUTHORITY TYPES. ¹¹



Wife-Dominated = large portion of decisions made by wife.

Husband-Dominated = large portion of decisions made by husband.

Syncratic = near balance of decisions made separately and at least one half of all decisions made together.

Autonomic = near balance of decisions made separately but less than half of all decisions made together.

Wolfe's sample consisted of 909 wives living in the Detroit area. His results suggested that decision-making was much the same: 45% of the families fell into one of the two

¹¹D.Wolfe, op cit , p.104-105

equalitarian categories; 22% of the families were relatively male-dominated; and the remaining 22% were relatively female-dominated. Since the range of scores was very limited, with even the extreme groups tending to cluster around the equalitarian scoring area,¹² the terms 'relatively male-dominated' and 'relatively female-dominated' were used advisedly.

AUTHORITY PATTERNS AND FAMILY BEHAVIOR.

A large number of writers have automatically assumed that the democratic family possesses inherent behavioral attributes other than those directly concerned with authority and power. Generally speaking, the most frequently pronounced qualities ascribed to the democratic family are high family integration and high family adaptability (role flexibility). Democratic parents are also believed to employ mild and tractable measures in child socialization. These above qualities, in most cases, are treated as determinants of democracy, rather than peripheral components of the phenomena; few writers have clearly demonstrated their reasons for accepting these elements of behavior as definitive. Instead much of the material in this area is philosophical, by and large, non-empirical in nature and is based upon a priori reasoning.

¹²

R.Blood and D.Wolfe, op cit , p.22-23

FAMILY INTEGRATION.

Family integration is discussed from various points of view, some scientific, some evaluative. Unfortunately, a good deal of the literature is oriented towards that miasmic concept that the women magazines like to call 'togetherness'; a concept which is rejected on most levels as ludicrous yet receives attention in the area of family literature.

It is Osborne's contention that the democratic family makes its greatest contribution to the democratic spirit through family centered projects; rather than succumb to disruptive outside forces, they engage themselves in planned family activities. ¹³ Bossard maintains that family projects are an inherent part of democratic life, and the development of the family council the essence of democratic organization. ¹⁴

Burgess and Locke use the concepts of 'democratic family' and 'companionship family' somewhat interchangeably. A companionship home is presented as one in which (a) there is a minimum of dissension and quarreling; (b) friendly relations exist between the parents; (c) there is a sharing of recreation and play; and (d) there is a feeling on the part of the children that they are understood. ¹⁵

¹³ E. Osborne, op cit , p.24

¹⁴ J. Bossard, "Child-Parent Relationships", Successful Marriage, eds. M. Fishbein and E. Burgess (Garden City: Doubleday & Co, 1955) p.414-5

¹⁵ E. Burgess and H. Locke, The Family (New York: American Book Co. 1953) p.335

The democratic configuration is exemplified by the following:

My family, consisting of mother, father and myself, has always been close knit ... the feeling of togetherness has been great in our family life. The harmony in our family results from the democratic companionship relationship

It is not very often our family circle is broken. We never make trips of any distance unless in a body. Mother and I made a trip last summer, but it seemed lacking because father was not there to share things with us. 16

While Burgess and Locke recognize the importance of shared decisions, in the democratic configuration, it is only identified as a single component of the composite family organization. Burgess purports that "the stability of the companionship family arises from the strength of the interpersonal relations of its members, as manifested in affection, rapport, common interests and objectives". 17

Several empirical studies, not dealing directly with the democratic dimension, have obtained some evidence that this type of family organization does indeed possess a high level of integration and a low level of tension. Baldwin, Kalhorn and Breese maintain that, while it is possible to find democratic organization in a cold-rejectant home, it is not probable since a democratic home demands time, effort and sacrifice from parents; generally, people who rank low

16 E. Burgess and H. Locke, ibid, p.333-334

17 E. Burgess, "The Family in a Changing Society", Marriage and the Family, eds. R. Winch and R. McGinnis (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1953), p.43

on warmth values find little satisfaction in dealing with children as individuals. There are exceptions, however, and democratic organization can be found in excessively cold homes when the democratic pattern is abstracted and intellectualized, or when democracy is used to defend parents against their hostile feelings towards children.¹⁸

Herbst found that the optimum pattern for tension reduction was located somewhere between syncratic and autonomic family structure; this comes close to the structure known as democratic. In this relationship, social and economic activities are largely cooperative but there is still some separation of work activities.¹⁹ Herbst found that the greatest amount of tension was present in autocratic families.²⁰

ROLE FLEXIBILITY.

A portion of the evidence supporting the theory that the democratic family is a superior unit, and one least likely to be destroyed by outside forces, comes indirectly from crisis studies.²¹ These studies, while not dealing directly with democratic organization, infer that highly integrated and highly adaptable families have democratic characteristics, and that families whose roles are structured

¹⁸ A.Baldwin,J.Kalhorn and F.Breese, "The Appraisal of Parent Behavior", Psychological Monographs, 63 (1949)

¹⁹ P.G.Herbst, op cit , p.172

²⁰ ibid, p.166

²¹ R.C.Angell, op cit , M.Komarovsky, op cite, E.L.Koos,op cite, R.Hill, op cit .

along equalitarian lines are best prepared to surmount obstacles and survive a crisis. The reasoning behind this theory is that democratic families are more adaptable than other types because role allocation is diffuse.

In one of the early studies, it was Angell's intent to explore the effects of the depression upon family interrelationships. More specifically he wanted to discover qualities that would be of significance in determining how a family, as a socio-psychological unit, would react to an economic decrease in income.²² Angell concluded that families possessed two significant qualities which could be used to distinguish family types: integration and adaptability.²³ By integration Angell meant "to what extent is the family making the most of its opportunities for the intra-family enrichment of the lives of its members."²⁴ Adaptability referred to the way the family as a unit organized its behavior when confronted by an obstacle.²⁵ Adaptability proved to be more important than integration and Angell concluded that those families best equipped to surmount obstacles were secularized and 'modern' in nature, with a non-materialistic, energetic, and non-traditional outlook. The inference was that these

²²R.C.Angell, op cit .

²³ibid, p.14

²⁴ibid, p.16

²⁵ibid

families were organized along democratic principles.²⁶

Hill, in his World War II study of family adjustment to separation and reunion, maintained that the democratic structure was best equipped to meet any kind of crisis.²⁷ Democracy was definitely confirmed as a factor in good adjustment to both separation and reunion. Every family of this type (10 in all) fell into either the good-rapid or good-slow adjustment group; no democratic family had a poor reunion. Modified matriarchy and modified patriarchy, however, were also equipped to meet a crisis. Not only did most of these families make a good adjustment to separation (19 out of 22), but every family of this type fell into the good adjustment to reunion group.²⁸ In the majority of partriarchal families adjustment to separation was poor, while adjustment to reunion was good. A minority of patriarchal wives, however, discovered hidden capabilities and enjoyed their new found independence. The reunion in these families was, of course, poor.²⁹

The exact methods used in the Hill study to differentiate family authority structures are never clearly stated. Since democracy automatically raised a family's adaptability score,³⁰

²⁶R.S.Cavan, who prepared an Adaptability scale based upon Angell's work, used the presence of habits of collective discussion and control as one of the major determinants of a highly adaptable family. For actual scale see R.Hill, Families Under Stress, p.424-428

²⁷ibid., p.54

²⁸ibid., p.223-224

²⁹ibid., p.224-225

³⁰Hill adapted the Cavan scale and each family was rated accordingly.

however, authority and adaptability (as used in this particular study), cannot be regarded as exclusive categories. It is therefore not wholly accidental that Hill found high adaptability, equalitarianism and a wife's sufficiency to be components of a single complex, while patriarchal families were associated with low adaptability. ³¹

Burgess theorized that despite World War II increasing family instability, the companionship family was still able to function well. He argued that family research had discovered a relationship between adaptability - integration and crisis adjustment, and that the growing adaptability of the companionship family made for its stability in the long run. ³²

More specific dimensions of role flexibility have been appraised and related to democratic organization. A diffuse division of labor is viewed by some as an accessory to the democratic structure. Hill claims that in democratic families not only are decisions shared, but the resources of each individual are put to their best use and responsibilities are shared alike by all. ³³

Again from an illustration by Burgess and Locke:

Our family has worked out a system of mutual aid.
Mother helps father in planning his schedule for
his school teaching program. Dad helps mother with

³¹ ibid, p.167-168

³² E.Burgess, op cit , p.43.

³³ F.N.Hill, op cit , p.54-55

some household activities. I assist mother for the most part in household tasks, but I also aid Dad in caring for the flower garden or in such tasks as washing the car. ³⁴

Role flexibility in the family finance area has been explored and discussed by various writers. Osborne asserts that the attitude towards the use of money is an area which lends itself particularly to the democratic approach, with the whole family deciding upon how income is to be spent. ³⁵ Burgess and Locke suggest that the sharing of financial decisions is as much a part of companionship family as the sharing of other major decisions. ³⁶ Wolfe's approach to the significance of income and its relation to authority and power is somewhat different. He hypothesizes that the spouse who is the dominant authority figure in the home is generally most apt to handle the family money and bills. ³⁷ In addition, income breeds power, and the higher the husband's income, the greater his voice in marital decisions. ³⁸ Actually the size of the husband's income is only one factor in evaluating his power; another important consideration is if his earnings are the only source of family income. Wolfe hypothesizes that more women in husband-dominant homes will have never worked outside the home than any other group, while working

³⁴ E.Burgess and H.Locke, op cit.

³⁵ E.Osborne, op cit , p.15-16

³⁶ E.Burgess and H.Locke, op cite

³⁷ D.Wolfe, op cit , p.116

³⁸ R.Blood and D.Wolfe, op cite, p.31

wives are more apt to belong to equalitarian or mother-dominated families. ³⁹

METHODS OF SOCIALIZATION.

Clearly the authoritarian element is implicit in the concept of socialization. Davis maintains that in any society, in order for the child to learn, the culture must be transmitted by the adults. If a child does not wish to obey, or if he does not understand, he must be coerced, if necessary, to obey folkways and mores. ⁴⁰ This authoritarian element, however, may vary in intensity in a single culture, depending upon the type of family unit in question. It is more or less implicit in family literature that regulations in the democratic family are non-coercive and aimed at practical ends rather than at 'pure discipline'. It is assumed that controls exercised by democratic parents are highly rational. Bossard suggests that in the modern democratic family there is a great change in the child-parent relationship because leadership now calls for more tactful direction, with wise counselling; authoritarian control is no longer the order of the day. ⁴¹ Baldwin, Kalhorn and Breese contend that parents with a democratic philosophy consider the child's wishes and do not autocratically hand down policies from above. ⁴²

³⁹ D. Wolfe, op cit, p.109

⁴⁰ K.Davis, Human Society, (New York: The MacMillan Co.,1948) p.216-217

⁴¹ J.Brossard, op cit, p.404-416

⁴² A.Baldwin, J.Kalhorn, F.Breese, op cit, p.56

They also find that democratic parents are usually below average in regard to strictness and control, and are more inclined to intellectualize the meaning of a child's behavior rather than punish him. ⁴³

Plasticity of regulations and controls is only one dimension of the democratic philosophy regarding socialization; there is an equally important, more positive (though indirect) method used by democratic parents -- that of instilling self-discipline. Osborne states that few things test whether the relationship of parents to children is democratic more than methods of discipline. Democratic discipline tends to lean towards self-direction rather than autocratic force, and it is not oriented towards punishment and rewards. ⁴⁴ This self-discipline may take the form of conscious internalization of parental values as well as indirect coercion, to wit, the following statement made by a member of a democratic family:

The deep warm love that mother and father have showered on me has made my life seem fuller and richer. No incentive to work hard and do well is necessary besides the anticipation of their pleasure and pride. Any temptation for me to do wrong has been quickly stopped by the thought of my parents' disappointment in me. ⁴⁵

Authoritarian parents are inclined to employ harsher and more tangible methods of control. Baldwin, Kalhorn and

⁴³ ibid, p.9-10

⁴⁴ E.Osborne, op cit., p.6-8

⁴⁵ E.Burgess and H.Locke, op cit.

Breese found that parents with authoritarian philosophies usually run the household to suit their own convenience; their attitude is not benevolent and they dictate policies with little concern for the child's feelings. It usually becomes clear to a child raised in this kind of a family that failure to conform promptly to parental suggestion results in direct punishment.⁴⁶ Jahoda and Christie state that authoritarian relationships are characterized by fearful subservience on the part of the children to the demands of their parents and by early suppression of impulses unacceptable to the adult.⁴⁷

AUTHORITY PATTERNS AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT.

A large number of writers have suggested that the democratic form of family organization encourages the development of healthy and desirable personality traits. More specifically, it has been suggested that those children socialized in the democratic family climate will profit by the experience and will tend to be more independent, self reliant, responsible, flexible, outgoing and mentally healthier than those children socialized in an authoritarian climate.

Some of the material in this area is analogous to

⁴⁶ A.Baldwin, J.Kalhorn and F.Breese, op cit . p.57-58

⁴⁷ R.Christie and M.Jahoda, Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality" (Glencoe: The Free Press,1954) p.238-245

that which was explored in the area of family behavior, in as much as it is evaluative. It is based largely upon the concept that the personality of a child, as it emerges in his early years, is the foundation of the adult he is to become. It therefore becomes important that the family encourage him to develop traits which will enable him to take his place as a responsible and well balanced member of a democratic society.

As stated by Beasley, the democratic family provides conditions and activities which allow the individual to mature and develop meaningful relationships. ⁴⁸

"In a general sense it (democratic ideology) reflects the parental attitude of respect for the child as an individual with his own motivations, abilities and interests, and a right to self-determined existence". ⁴⁹ Often so-called serious writers grow lyrical in describing the progeny of democratic family organization, sounding more like Madison Avenue hucksters than sociologists:

What difference there must be in the methods of the families of democratic and authoritarian societies. It is just that kind of difference which makes us look at the so-called 'typical' American college girl, in her careful-careless garb, with her natural comfort and assurance, her freedom of motion and freedom of mind, and know surely that such a creature could have been produced only in America, and could fit only in the part of the world she has had the good fortune to be born in. ⁵⁰

⁴⁸ C.Beasley, op cit.

⁴⁹ A.Baldwin, J.Kalhorn and F.Breese, op cit., p.56

⁵⁰ J.Bossard and E.Boll, op cit., p.151. See also S.Davis, "The Family" Social Work Yearbook, 6, (1941) p.199-200
E.Osborne, op cit.

An empirical study of nursery school children did find that children from democratic homes were more active and socially outgoing than children from other types of homes. ⁵¹

It has been frequently argued that democratic political values are best learned in the democratic home. According to Osborne "only as they (people) learn through humble yet potent experiences of day by day democratic living shall we have available the kind of fighters who can contribute effectively to the attainment of democratic goals."⁵² Others in agreement with these sentiments have been more sober perhaps, but have included as little documentation in proving their point. ⁵³

Some writers suggest that a greater degree of creativity results from a mutuality of control than from those controls which are unilinear. In a series of studies conducted by Baldwin, Kalhorn and Breese, it was established that children from democratic homes rate high on intellectual curiosity, originality and constructiveness. ⁵⁴ Other studies not directly concerned with the family, but using the democratic - authoritarian variable as a dimension

⁵¹ M.Martin and C.Stendler, Child Development: The Process of Growing Up in Society, (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1950), p.286-290

⁵² E.Osborne, op cit., p.27

⁵³ J.Bossard and E.Boll, Rituals in Family Living, (Philadelphia: Univ.of Pennsylvania Press, 1950) p.25; J.Bossard and E.Boll, op cit. p.151; E.Burgess, op cit.; S.Davis, op cit.; R.Hill, "The American Family; Problem or Solution", American Journal of Sociology, 53, (1947-8) p.125-130; R.Harper, "Democratic Family Living", Marriage and Family Living, (1953)p.195

⁵⁴ W.Martin and C.Stendler, op cit.

of social climate, have concurred that a higher degree of creativity (as well as increased group solidarity) emerges from democratically controlled groups. ⁵⁵

The largest portion of personal development literature deals with the dimensions of independence, self expression and self reliance. Authors of Crestwood Heights purport that the goal of family democracy is to create an adult independent of his family of orientation and capable of making his own decisions. In adulthood, democratic progeny should be psychologically capable of founding a family of their own. ⁵⁶

While the majority of writers claim the above virtue for the democratic family, some refute this point of view. Bronfenbrenner suggests that democratic families tend to produce young children who do not take the initiative, look to others for direction and cannot be counted on to fulfill obligations. He found that boys tend to be more responsible when the father is the major disciplinary figure, while girls are more responsible when the mother is the

⁵⁵ W.Brookover, "The Social Roles of Teacher and Pupil Achievement", American Journal of Sociology, 8, (1945) p.389-393
K.Lewin, "Studies in Group Decisions", Group Dynamics: Research and Theory, eds. D.Cartwright and A.F.Zander (New York: Row Peterson, 1953) p.287-301;
For an abridged version of R.Lippitt "An Experimental Study of the Effect of Democratic and Authoritarian Group Atmosphere" see L.Broom and P.Selznick, Sociology (New York: Row Peterson, 1953), p.15-20

⁵⁶ J.Seeley, A.Sims and E.Loosely, Crestwood Heights, Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1956) p.164-165

authority figure.⁵⁷ Within a theoretical framework, both Mead and Erikson contend that the modern American family (which strictly speaking is not democratic but oriented around evaluative democratic principles) does not train children to be self sufficient and original. Mead suggests that in American families there is no childhood training for self sufficient isolation and solitary preoccupations are suspect.⁵⁸ Erikson maintains that the American family tends to guard the right of individual members not to be dominated; that there is a give and take in decisions when interests clash. This system prevents inequality and autocracy, but it compels compromise and prevents the American adolescent from becoming an uncompromising ideologist.⁵⁹ This sytem of training may involve a low degree of friction, but it also limits the originality of its members. With no parental conflict the adolescent has no need to rebel or submit, and this gives rise to anti-individualism and anti-intellectualism.⁶⁰

Sociological literature rarely refers directly to

⁵⁷ U.Bronfenbrenner, "Some Familial Antecedents of Responsibility and Leadership in Adolescents" Leadership and Interpersonal Behavior, eds. L.Petrullo and B.M.Bass (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1961) p.262

⁵⁸ M.Mead, Male and Female, (New York: New American Library, 1949) p.243

⁵⁹ E.Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W. W.Norton & Co. 1950) p.276-277

⁶⁰ ibid, p.283

the issue of mental health. Nevertheless it intimates that this is an important dimension of the advantages of democratic family organization. Several studies, however, have directly related authority to mental health. Clinical reports, used in a Toronto research project, disclosed that families with either a matriarchal or patriarchal bias frequently produced the problem children of the community.⁶¹ Academic problems occurred with the greatest frequency in children with authoritarian fathers. In families with over-dominant mothers, the need for conduct discipline tended to occur more often than in families with authoritarian fathers. The majority of 'anti-social' problems occurred in children from authoritarian homes, while relatively fewer problems occurred when parents were indulgent or over-permissive.⁶²

Literature dealing with the national character approach has attempted to relate authority to emotional composition. Much of this work is similar to Erikson's,⁶³ in as much as it uses the theoretical approach. Inkeles and Levinson suggest that, viewed as an aspect of personality, the individual's relation to authority includes: (a) his way of adapting behaviorally in interaction with authority; (b) his personal ideology regarding authority and subordinate

⁶¹ J. Seeley, A. Sim and E. Loosely, op cit., p.165-166

⁶² ibid, p.168

⁶³ E. Erikson, op cit.

relations and (c) fantasies, defenses and conceptions of authority and self that underlie and are reflected in his behavior and ideology. The individual's relation to authority has great psychological relevance since children are developing in a social context and are dependent both physically and emotionally upon adult figures. ⁶⁴

Literature on The Authoritarian Personality (which is primarily concerned with the fascist syndrome but indirectly related to mental health) suggests that children from democratic families will be less punitive, prejudiced and rigid than those from authoritarian families. ⁶⁵ Other studies have shown that those highly susceptible to fascism reveal an early submission to rigid family authority accompanied by no genuine attachment to the family itself. Early rebellion is repressed and emerges as 'authoritarian aggression', 'anti-feminism', coldness, ruthlessness or homosexuality. ⁶⁶ Jahoda and Christie maintain that when family relationships are characterized by fearful subservience to the demands of the parents, and by early suppression of impulses unacceptable to the

⁶⁴ A.Inkeles and D.J.Levinson, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems", Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol.11, ed. G.Lindzey (Boston:Addison Wesley Co., 1954) p.990-991.

⁶⁵ Adorno et al, The Authoritarian Personality (New York:Harper & Bros., 1950; W.Martin and C.S.Stendler, op cit).

⁶⁶ M.Horkheimer, "Authoritarianism and The Family", The Family: Its Function and Destiny, ed. R.Anschen (New York: Harper & Bros. 1949) p.381-399

adult, the fearfully conforming child will not make the developmental step from mere social anxiety to social consciousness.⁶⁷ "Where the child is not allowed to question anything, to participate in decisions affecting him, nor to feel that his own will counts for something, the stunting of the ego is a pretty direct consequence."⁶⁸

⁶⁷ R.Christie and M.Jahoda op cit., p.238-245

⁶⁸ N.Sanford "The Approach to the Authoritarian Personality" Psychology of Personality, ed. J.L.McCary (New York: Grove Press, Evergreen Paperback ed. 1959) p.308

CHAPTER II.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DEFINITION OF TERMS.

INTRODUCTION:

At its inception the aim of this project was to examine the democratic family, its organization and to measure its consequences on intra-familial relationships and personality development. It soon became clear, however, that in order to determine whether or not a crucial relationship existed between authority and the above variables, it would be necessary to compare the democratic family to a contrasting type of family organization.

There are obvious flaws to such an approach. The family unit is a dynamic organization and one which is not impregnable to outside forces. The feasibility of selecting two sample groups with only one differentiating variable, that of authority, is problematical if not impossible. This is a dilemma, however, common to most sociological research and therefore it was decided that if the groups were selected prudently and according to precise specifications, it would be possible to assemble a sample group and a control group well matched in all crucial areas save that of authority.

The actual research work was effected in four stages:

- 1) the identification and isolation of authority types;
- 2) the selection of the sample group and the control group;
- 3) the investigation of intra-familial behaviour and personality development, and
- 4) a theoretical approach to family authority.

The first stage will be discussed in this chapter, the remaining stages will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF AUTHORITY TYPES.

Ingersoll defines an authority pattern as:

a consistent organization of (a) leadership or control relative to family activity and (b) accommodation of interpersonal relationships involving dominance and subordination. The authority of one member refers to the relative control he exercises over the other members of the family and over spheres of family activity. Authority becomes a pattern when interaction involving control becomes established in a fairly consistent organization of reciprocal behavior.¹

For operational purposes, we will qualify this definition somewhat and conceptualize family decision-making processes as the distinguishing feature of control. In other words, in order to classify families according to authority patterns, we must first schematize the manner in which they go about making decisions related to family life.

It can be argued that although similarities in authority patterns exist, no two family units are identical. A clinician can deal with the idiosyncratic; for our purposes,

¹
H. Ingersoll, "A study of the Transmission of Authority Patterns in the Family", Genetic Psychological Monographs, 38, (1948)

however, it is necessary to assume that, although each family will possess some degree of uniqueness, the similarities involved in authority relationships will be sufficient to justify description and classification.

Our classification of authority contains eight categories, four of which are adult controlled and four of which are not necessarily adult controlled. These categories are ideal in type, hence the requirements are exclusive. Since actual family interrelationships are seldom pure in type, it is possible for a given family to possess characteristics of two or more categories. This is not considered to be a defect in the system since a unit may be classified according to the control characteristic which is dominant.

AUTHORITY CATEGORIES.

Adult-controlled:

1. Father-dominated: father controls the majority of important family decisions.
2. Mother-dominated: mother controls the majority of important family decisions.
3. Non-nuclear control: influential adult(s) control majority of important family decisions.
4. Equalitarian control: mother and father together control the majority of important family decisions.

Non-Adult-controlled:

5. Democratic control: all family members have equal control in the majority of family decisions.
6. Child-dominated: children control the majority of family decisions.

- 7. Laissez-faire: decisions made separately by individual members, but tolerance and consideration present.
- 8. Anarchy: each member demands control but no central system; chaotic.

Since we will be dealing directly with only two of the above categories, we will consider the remaining six to be self explanatory.

The Father-Dominated Family.

The father-dominated family is somewhat traditional in orientation in as much as the patterns of control are circumscribed and autocratic. Within other frames of reference, however, it need not be exclusively traditional. In this type of family organization the father is conceived of, both by himself and other family members, as the center of authority. It is he who makes the important decisions, whose disapproval automatically countermands the orders of others and who normally settles family disagreements. In the majority of family activities, his word is final.

The Democratic Family.

The sharing of authority is basic to the democratic orientation. Clearly, in all well organized family structures some adult control and discipline is indispensable. Nevertheless, in the democratic family there is a relative diffusion of control, the children participating in family decision-making processes with increasing intensity as they mature. Ideally a discussion involving all family members

precedes all important family decisions, and each individual opinion is conceived of as equally important.

In a pure democratic organization, the family council (formal or informal) will play a significant role in decision-making policies. In these conclaves, members will discuss potential conflicts of interest and the resulting decision will be determined by a general consensus of opinion. Realistically, adult members will contribute more to many areas of family life, and we will, therefore, expect parents to be more powerful than their children. It is essential, however, that the children conceive of themselves as being effective agents in family decision-making management.

CHAPTER III.

METHODOLOGY: SAMPLING PROCEDURE AND STUDY METHODS.

Introduction:

The sample was drawn from female university students attending a course in introductory sociology. Each student was requested to write a lengthy term paper about her family of orientation and to complete a detailed questionnaire on the same subject. A system of scoring questionnaires and evaluating term papers, in order to classify family authority patterns, was then devised, the combined results facilitating control and consistency. Scoring and evaluation was based upon the decision-making policies of each given family unit.

As an additional precaution, following the sample selection, all subjects were interviewed and further questioned in the area of decision-making as well as in other dimensions of family behavior. This interview revealed that several of the families were deficient in control requirements, and these families were eliminated from the sample. Replacements were selected the following year from a similar university population. As a final precaution all mothers in the sample were interviewed and questioned in the area of authority. Although some discrepancies existed in the mother-daughter appraisal of family control, these differences were either

insignificant, or the evidence was in favor of accepting the subjects' interpretation.

SAMPLING PROCEDURE.

Limiting of Variables.

In view of the multiplicity of causal conditions affecting family behavior and personality development, the isolation of a single and independent cause and effect factor is almost impossible. To insure that authority, however, was the major differential of the two sample groups, the following variable controls were used:

1. Sex: Only female subjects were selected.
2. Age: All subjects were in the 18 - 20 year old range.
3. Urban vs. Rural: All families lived in an urban environment.
4. Socio-economic status: All families placed in the Middle-Middle or Middle-Upper Class.
5. Religion: 50% of each group were Protestant; 50% Jewish.¹
6. Nationality: West Indian, South American and Oriental families were not eligible. Only those European families residing in Canada long enough to internalize North American values were considered as sample material.
7. Structure of Family Unit: Only families with both parents alive and living under the same roof were eligible. No family with an outsider(s) (other than a paid employee) residing in the home was considered. Also excluded were those families controlled by relatives.

¹ This was a weakness in the sampling procedure, but was necessary because it was not possible to find enough families from either religious denominations who possessed the extreme authority qualifications demanded.

8. Family Unity: All subjects had to come from relatively well organized homes and derive some positive satisfaction from family life, other than those related to purely materialistic aspects. In addition, it was demanded that the subject's relation to the father reflect some degree of love and/or respect; in other words, the relationship could not be characterized by fear and/or hate alone. ²

Questionnaire Scoring

The questionnaire used was an extensive one, and calculated to elicit information in multifold areas of family life. The majority of questions were framed by members of the Human Development Study. However, a portion of the questionnaire was designed by this project; the questions being directed at family decision-making policies, the settling of family disputes, and other dimensions of control.

Unfortunately, due to the time element, the schedule was not pre-tested and some of the questions proved to be useless. Because no pre-tested authority schedule was available, a major problem was to devise a technique of scoring questionnaires in order to distinguish, with some degree of precision, father-dominated and democratic families. The resolving of this problem involved: (a) the identification of questions in the Human Development Schedule capable of discriminating authority patterns in the family, and (b) weighing these questions according to their ability to discriminate. In brief we proceeded along the following lines.

² The need for these qualifications became apparent when term papers revealed that the purely coercive family tended to be characterized by negative affect relationships, with children breaking away literally or figuratively, as soon as they were able. Clearly this problem proved to be more acute in the father-dominated families. There was little advantage to be gained by comparing an organized family with a disorganized one in order to claim that the differences found were, in fact, due to the authority variable.

1. All qualified questionnaires were examined; special attention was given to responses describing family decision-making behavior and patterns of dominance and submission.
2. Each questionnaire was placed into one of five categories: father-dominated; mother-dominated; equalitarian; democratic; and undecided.³
3. Questionnaires exhibiting the clearest and most extreme characteristics of father-dominated and democratic authority were selected for further study. (There were 13 in each group).
4. The initial schedule consisted of all questions in the Human Development Schedule related to authority. Those questions eliciting responses which differed decisively were retained, others were eliminated. The final schedule was composed of those questions which best distinguished the democratic from the father-dominated group.
5. Authority scale was devised by assigning to each question a weight commensurate to its discriminatory powers.
6. To test the scales precision, all questionnaires in the equalitarian category were scored; it was ascertained that the democratic and equalitarian group emerged with two distinct sets of scores.
7. To insure for accuracy, the questionnaires were re-scored by

³ Mother-dominated questionnaires were eliminated so that all autocratic scores would automatically refer to father-dominance.

an outsider; the results indicated that no discrepancy existed in scoring technique.

8. Finally, all of the questionnaires (about 120 in all) were scored.⁴

Term Paper Evaluation:

Because the scale used to score selected items in the Human Development questionnaire was somewhat based upon those family questionnaires which impressed us as being the most democratic and the most father-dominated, an additional technique was used to distinguish authority types. Roughly 200 Term Papers, written by the subjects about their own family, were carefully examined in order to identify and classify family control. Most of these Term Papers were between 50 and 80 pages in length and were written under supervision, so that the majority involved a sociological and objective approach to family behavior.

These documents proved to be especially fruitful because they offered a broad and varied perspective on family life. In addition, they provided selective material on idio-syncratic decision-making policies; in many cases patterns of control emerged quite clearly as the subject described and illustrated her own family situation.

⁴ This scale was never considered to be a decisive authority schedule; it was not designed for general usage, but only to help select a sample for this particular study. A revised scale was formulated after the completion of all fieldwork. While this revised scale was superior, it still was not considered to be a precise tool in differentiating authority patterns.

All Term Papers were judged and placed into one of five categories: (a) Democratic; (b) Democratic-equalitarian; (c) Equalitarian; (d) Father-dominated-equalitarian; (e) Father-dominated. All Term Papers not fitting into one of these categories were eliminated.

Selection of Sample:

The initial democratic sample was composed of subjects with questionnaire scores of 17 through 30, and with corresponding Term Paper evaluations of democratic or democratic-equalitarian. The initial father-dominated sample was composed of subjects with questionnaire scores of 44 through 70, and corresponding Term Paper evaluations of father-dominated or father-dominated-equalitarian. Score limits were later extended to include two families who did not qualify as sample material according to scoring rules, but obviously qualified according to Term Paper material and unscored questionnaire responses.⁵ Although families in the final sample varied in intensity, all were good examples of either democratic or father-dominated control. (See Table 1 for score and classification of sample families).

Discussion of Sampling Methods:

Admittedly, the method used to classify authority

⁵ Scoring deficiencies were due mainly to the limitations, in scope, of the questions, and the fact that questions were not uniformly interpreted.

systems was not without its flaws; a major problem being that family control was evaluated by only one family member. Because of differences in age, sex, personality, economic circumstances, etc., not only will authority patterns vary at intervals in a family's history, but siblings from the same family may possibly conceptualize these patterns differently. We can only claim acceptability for our total design because attention is focused on the subject and his relationships. For our purposes, therefore, the subject's conception of authority is of primary importance.⁶

TABLE 1.

RESEARCH SAMPLE: QUESTIONNAIRE SCORES AND
TERM PAPER JUDGMENTS.

<u>Family Number</u>	<u>Quest.Score</u>	<u>Term Paper Judgment.</u>
2	18	democratic
7	18	democratic
19	19	democratic
11	20	democratic
5	20	democratic
8	23	democratic-equalitarian
13	23	democratic-equalitarian
17	25	democratic
20	30	democratic-equalitarian
10	38	democratic
9	42	father-dominated
4	44	father-dominated
18	44	father-dominated
12	48	father-dominated
15	49	father-dominated
3	49	father-dominated
1	51	father-dominated
16	52	father-dominated
6	56	father-dominated
14	58	father-dominated

⁶ We will not concern ourselves with problems related to accurate responses or distortions of reality; the data is ample and readily affords cross checks in the pertinent areas of family life.

Study Methods:

In addition to student Term Paper and questionnaire material, mothers were also requested to fill out a variety of questionnaires. All subjects and mothers were also interviewed, the purpose being to elicit additional information on family life and ascertain the accuracy of documented data.

The interviews were semi-structured; it was the intent to obtain standardized information, but since the project was also exploratory in nature, a portion of all interviews was non-directive in approach. The interviews were uniformly administered, since they were all conducted by the same interviewer. The approximate time of each interview was $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours. In a second interview psychological tests were administered to the subject only.

The interview content included items covering pertinent family interaction situations in as many areas as possible.

The major areas covered were as follows:

1. Concepts of family authority.
2. Quantity and quality of freedom; methods of control and discipline.
3. Content of family discussions and arguments; methods of resolving arguments.
4. Family situations producing anger and irritation; members' handling of hostile emotions.
5. Parental definitions of 'good behavior' and 'bad behavior'.
6. General value orientation, especially in regard to socialization.
7. Inter-dependency (physical and emotional) of parents and children.
8. Subjects' dependency problems; problems of expression.
9. Subjects' concepts of family and family life.

All available data was analysed; questionnaire material was packaged into meaningful areas and interview material was coded. All of the material was not used because of project limitations; other data was regarded as useless and was discarded. The remaining material was used to test: a) hypotheses derived from the literature and other studies, and b) hypotheses formulated by the researcher. Specific methods used to analyse family behavior and personality development will be discussed at greater length in the following chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

CLASSIFICATION AND MEASUREMENT OF AUTHORITY TYPES.

THE WOLFE SCALE.

Subject and Method.

The Wolfe schedule in its original form (see Questionnaire 1) was submitted to all mothers in the sample.¹ The results were scored and classified according to the author's directions. Because the authority behavior of all sample families had been thoroughly investigated and was highly distinguishable in regard to authority types, it was postulated that if the scale was a valid indicator of authority types, we would emerge with two distinct sets of Wolfe scores. Ideally ten families would fall into the husband-dominant category, ten into the syncratic-autonomic category.

The Questionnaire is constructed on a multiple choice system which includes decisions made separately and decisions made together. This permits the researcher to classify the family on two levels: shared authority and relative authority. The degree of shared authority, or the DS index, is based upon the decisions shared by the husband and wife; the DS score is determined by the number of questions in the decision set which are answered "husband and wife exactly the same". The degree of relative authority, or the RA index, is

¹ The roles of the respondent were identical to those in the Detroit Study.

QUESTIONNAIRE 1.

THE WOLFE SCALE. ²

In every family someone has to decide such things as where the family will live and so on. Many couples talk such things over first, but the final decision has to be made by the husband or wife. Who usually makes the final decision in the following?

Husband always	Husband more than wife	Husband wife same	Wife more than husband	Wife always
1	2	3	4	5

1. About what car to get
2. About whether or not to buy life insurance
3. About what house or apartment to take
4. About what job your husband should take
5. About whether or not you should go to work or quit
6. About how much money your family can afford to spend on food
7. About what doctor to have if someone is sick
8. About where to go on a vacation

=====

based on the sum of weighted numerical codes across the eight questions on decision-making. It refers to the number of decisions made by the wife in relation to the number of decisions made by the husband.

² D.Wolfe, op cit , p.117

The final classification of the family unit is
calculated by combining RA and DS scores:

Wife-dominant family ----- RA score of 29 or more
Husband-dominant family ----- RA score of 19 or less
Syncratic family ----- RA score of 20 through 28
DS score of 4 through 8
Autonomic family ----- RA score of 20 through 28
DS score of 3 or less

RESULTS.

Category Analysis.

Using Wolfe's classification instructions, the scoring
results indicate that, while the scale might conceivably
reflect a dimension of authority, it is not an adequate
measurement of the phenomena.

TABLE 2.

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FAMILIES ACCORDING TO
WOLFE CATEGORIES.

Sample Families	W o l f e C a t e g o r i e s				
	Syncratic	Autonomic	Husb.-Dom.	Wife-Dom.	Tot.
Democratic	6	4	-	-	10
Fath.-Dom.	3	5	2	-	10
Total	9	9	2	-	20

$X^2 = 3.1$ which is significant at the .40 level.

=====

90% of the total sample is located in the equalitarian range of authority. Disregarding for the moment the syncratic-autonomic variable, a chi-square analysis of father-dominated and equalitarian (syncratic plus autonomic) distribution indicates no significant difference in the scores of the sample groups. (chi-square = 1.17, significant at .60 level)³

An eightfold contingency table, which includes all of Wolfe's categories, shows that the combined RA and DS scores of the sample groups do not differ significantly. (see Table 2) It is apparent that this particular system is not an effective one for categorizing the sample families.

Raw Score Analysis.

The results are more positive if the DS element is ignored and only raw scores are analyzed. All sample scores, save two, fall into the Wolfe equalitarian category; the raw scores of the father-dominated sample, however, are lower and skewed more towards the Wolfe "husband dominated" category than the scores of the democratic sample. (See Table 3) A non-parametric rank test for two independent samples indicates a significant difference, below the .05 level, in the numerical score of the sample groups. ($z=2.40$) Thus, on a statistical basis, it can be argued that within the Wolfe RS

³ Yates correction for continuity has been applied to all chi-square analysis in this project with only 2 degrees of freedom.

TABLE 3.

RANK ORDER OF SAMPLE FAMILIES ACCORDING TO WOLFE
RAW SCORES

Family number	Sample Type	Wolfe Score	Wolfe Category
14	father-dominated	14	father-dominated
12	father-dominated	16	father-dominated
15	father-dominated	20	autonomic
16	father-dominated	20	syncratic
4	father-dominated	21	autonomic
9	father-dominated	21	autonomic
2	democratic	21	syncratic
17	democratic	21	autonomic
20	democratic	21	autonomic
1	father-dominated	22	autonomic
3	father-dominated	22	autonomic
18	father-dominated	22	syncratic
19	democratic	22	autonomic
6	father-dominated	23	syncratic
5	democratic	23	syncratic
8	democratic	24	autonomic
10	democratic	24	autonomic
11	democratic	24	syncratic
7	democratic	25	syncratic
13	democratic	26	autonomic

=====

framework the sample groups are from different populations.⁴

Analysis of Questions.

Wolfe, analysing the results of his study of Detroit families, computed the mean score of each question; a mean score of 1 denoting wife-dominance; a mean score of 3 denoting equalitarian control and a mean score of 5 denoting husband-dominance. In order to compare data, we also computed the

⁴ The statistics obtained from a non-parametric rank test for two independent samples is significant at the .05 level if z is equal to or greater than 1.96; it is significant at the .01 level if z is equal to or greater than 2.58. For method used to obtain these statistics see G.Ferguson, Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education. (Toronto:McGraw Hill Inc.,1959) p.268-269.

mean score of every question with one difference; the mean scores of democratic and father-dominated families were calculated separately. (see Table 4)

TABLE 4.

COMPARISON OF WOLFE MEAN SCORES

Decision Question	M E A N		S C O R E	
	Wolfe Sample	Dem. Sample	Fath. Dom. Sample	
Husband job	4.86	4.30	4.80	
Car	4.18	4.30	4.50	
Insurance	3.50	3.50	4.50	
Vacation	3.12	2.90	3.20	
House	2.94	3.10	3.20	
Wife work	2.69	2.60	2.70	
Doctor	2.53	2.70	2.90	
Food	2.26	1.90	2.10	
<u>EX</u> <u>N</u>	3.26	3.16	3.49	

=====

Our intent was not only to compare data, but also to evaluate those questions which might serve as good indicators of authority. This same process would pinpoint questions of dubious value.

As was anticipated, the mean score of the father-dominated group was slightly higher than the Wolfe sample;

the democratic mean score was slightly lower, indicating that within this scoring framework women in democratic families have more power. When each question was analysed separately, however, the difference between the mean score of democratic and father-dominated families was, in most cases, negligible. Except in the area of insurance, a non-parametric rank test showed no significant difference in the mean scores of the two groups; the insurance question differentiated on an .05 level. ⁵

SUMMARY.

The results of testing the Wolfe scale are somewhat paradoxical. It has been demonstrated that the schedule is not a decisive tool for dichotomizing families according to authority types; only one of eight questions differentiates with any degree of success scores of the sample groups. On the other hand tests of significance, when applied to raw scores only, reveal that the Wolfe schedule does measure some dimension of authority.

DISCUSSION.

In this section the major defects of the Wolfe Schedule will be considered; they may be roughly divided into six areas:

1. Decisions related to child-care are not included in the

⁵ Insurance, $z = 2.43$; Vacation, $z = 1.70$; Husband job, $z = 1.52$; car, $z = .75$; doctor, $z = .62$; house or apartment, $z = .31$; wife working, $z = .07$; food, $z = .0$.

scale. This omission was intentional and enabled the researchers to include in their total sample both families with and without children. The disadvantages of this design, however, outweigh the advantages; child care is a crucial area, and it is central in determining the degree and direction of family power. Within the framework of decision-making the comparing of families with and without children is highly questionable. The reasons for this are numerous, not only are the goals and needs of childless families different from those of other families, but it is a generally accepted axiom that the composition of a group is of great importance in determining types of interaction.

2. The accuracy of the wife as chief respondent in the family authority area is problematic.⁶ We observed that mothers in our sample were reluctant to admit to any kind of authority policy running counter to their personal ideology, and defended themselves by inappropriate responses to questionnaire material. Only after being questioned in depth, during the interview, did they become more objective.

This problem in accuracy is best illustrated by the following example. In Family 16, there is no question that

⁶ Research in this area reveals that wives themselves are not always clear on the role they play in the making of decisions. Using Bales framework, marital partners thought that they made a decision individually, or thought they came to a democratic decision when in reality they did not. See W.F.Kenkel & D.K.Hoffman "Real and Conceived Roles in Family Decision Making", Marriage and Family Living 18, (1956) p.311-316

the father almost completely controls most areas of family life. In Term Paper, interview and questionnaire material Subject 16 is both consistent and rational in stating that her father most definitely makes the majority of family decisions. Mother 16 has ambivalent feelings; she decries the fact that she herself is not more effective, yet resents her husband's domination. On the Wolfe schedule she indicates that 6 out of 8 decisions are shared, thus categorizing the husband-wife relationship as highly syncretic. She has a score of 20 in the Project Authority Questionnaire (see Appendix), which indicates excessive democracy. Despite this, when questioned during the interview, she stated:

Sometimes I am terrified of being a widow. I would not be like other women I see who seem to be able to take over and manage everything. I am not like that. I always have to ask him (husband) about everything in every decision I make. I would not make a financial decision or anything to do with the children without consulting him first. I am very dependent upon him.

This is an extreme example, however, it is not an isolated one. Subjects proved to be more objective and consistent in evaluating family authority patterns. Perhaps it is because they are not always committed to an ideal version of authority, in their family of orientation, at any rate, and they are able to evaluate it dispassionately. Perhaps it is also because Term Paper and questionnaire material was completed as a requirement for a sociology course; it was anonymously written and one of the lessons

involved was the ability to evaluate personal and subjective material in an objective way. Most subjects were absorbed by this orientation and carried it into the interview situation.

3. It would be inaccurate to deny all but a spurious relationship between the Wolfe numerical scores and family authority. It has been shown, however, that the scale is incapable of dichotomizing; in addition, despite the significant differences in the raw scores of the sample groups, the scale lacks meaningful descriptive powers.

Statistical significance, in a practical sense, is not meaningful unless we comprehend what it is that the original data (raw scores in this case) represent. In the Wolfe schema a possible 32 point spread exists. We may therefore presume that with only three categories accounted for (father-dominant, equalitarian and mother-dominant) a 2 to 3 point difference in scores will not necessarily be decisive. The 20 to 30 scoring range is classified as equalitarian; all, save two, of our sample group (consisting of two distinct authority types) emerge with scores between 20 and 26. To articulate the differences between the authority in two families, one with a score of 21 and one with a score of 23 is suspect; in the final analysis the scoring system is an indifferent indicator of power relationships.

4. Wolfe's approach is limited and arbitrary. The eight questions used were selected because they were considered to be representative of pertinent areas in family decision-making policies.⁷ Strangely, the schedule was never at any time tested for either reliability or validity. An intellectual assumption was used to justify the questionnaire content. It was then administered to a random sample, with no additional investigation a final judgment took place. Under these circumstances, it might prove difficult to defend that which the scale purports to measure.

5. Generally, the democratic families scored appropriately; the father-dominated inappropriately. Because of the very nature of the questions asked, the results were inevitable. Two of the questions asked are presupposed to fall into the husband's province; two in the wife's province.⁸ This alone channelled many of the families into the middle scoring range. In our particular culture it is normally accepted that job and car decisions are made primarily by the man, while the woman is primarily responsible for the food and is certainly involved in decisions regarding her own employment. It is therefore difficult to evaluate the purpose served by submitting these particular questions to a sample group.⁹

⁷ R. Blood and D. Wolfe, op cit p.19

⁸ ibid

⁹ Table 4 indicates how little the questions do differentiate: democratic and father-dominated families make Wolfe decisions in much the same way.

If the primary purpose of the study is to conceptualize the American authority system the scheme has its merits; if our interest is in distinguishing possible differences in modes of authority, the scheme has serious flaws.¹⁰

There is an obvious response to the above criticism; it would be highly significant if, in a given family, the husband crossed over into the wife's area and vice versa. Theoretically, this premise is quite acceptable; practically, however, it appears to be a rather all or nothing proposition, especially since the entire questionnaire embraces only eight questions.

6. While family authority patterns are conceptualized as a formal structure founded in the normative system of the society, they are also legitimized by individual family norms. On the surface, decision-making policies are sometimes deceptive and contingent upon the family's definition of the situation. This position was most aptly expressed in a student's Term Paper:

My father did have authority in one place, financial control in those things that had nothing to do with the children. That is, he bought a new car whenever he wanted to without any interference from my mother. The reason he did have this type of authority was, I think, because my mother was not really concerned with whether he bought a car or not. But with everything she was really concerned with, she always managed to have the final word.¹¹

¹⁰ Wolfe himself was uncertain in purpose. While he was concerned with authority and its relationship to the normative structure, he also wanted to measure and differentiate authority and correlate the results to number of other social phenomena, e.g. social class, education, etc.

¹¹ Term Paper 159, 1959.

Recognition of authority patterns is also incumbent on circumstance. A decision is meaningful in relation to control only when it has consequences for more than one person. For example, a husband's change of employment is a crucial decision only if it involves some type of family dislocation; a decision involving a promotion or positive change, therefore, would have little bearing on family authority. Within this same frame of reference, decisions regarding the family doctor are generally of little consequence. Our research suggests that normally there is no choice involved. In case of sickness an acceptable doctor is automatically consulted. We would hypothesize that in the case of emergency, the decision would involve not authority but fortuity.

SUMMARY.

The Wolfe scale was administered to mothers in both sample groups in an attempt to ascertain the validity and reliability of the schedule. Implicit in the procedure was that these families represented two distinct authority types; if the scale had merit, scores of the two groups would be self contained, not contiguous.

The scale proved to be an indifferent indicator of sample authority patterns; it neither described nor dichotomized. A test of significance indicated a substantial difference in score in one area only; that of insurance.

Several possible explanations for this inadequacy were presented. We proposed that 1) decisions, in regard to child care were ignored; 2) the accuracy of the wife's response was problematic; 3) questions selected were arbitrary and untested; 4) the scale was more likely to reflect sameness than diversity and 5) authority was not only dependent upon the family's definition of the situation, but was also contingent upon circumstances.

Results indicate that little could be gained by administering this scale to a sample population in the hope of differentiating family authority patterns.

CHAPTER V.

AUTHORITY PATTERNS AND FAMILY BEHAVIOR.

INTRODUCTION:

It may well be that specific forms of family behavioral patterns are inherent to the democratic family. Before this premise is acceptable, however, it must be empirically investigated. We will, therefore, test some of the suppositions mentioned in the literature in regard to family behavior.

We propose to examine three dimensions: 1) the manner in which families allocate roles; 2) the intensity of intra-familial affect; and 3) methods of socialization. All data will be used in a comparative fashion, the aim being to determine whether or not any significant differences exist between the sample groups.

PART I. DESIGNATION OF ROLES WITHIN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY UNIT.

ROLE ADAPTABILITY.

Subject and Method.

Role adaptability refers to the willingness of family members to shift social roles, when necessity demands, and adapt themselves to new family situations. It is implicit that all members accept some responsibility for family maintenance.

The Cavan Adaptability Scale, which was originally prepared for a re-study of Angell's cases ¹, was submitted to all subjects and mothers in the sample. (see Appendix) The subjects' score was then calculated in accordance with Cavan's direction. ² The scoring proved to be somewhat of a problem. Cavan in response to a letter of enquiry stated that both the Adaptability and Integration Scales were never designed for field research. ³ Hill, however, had used these scales as measuring tools and had based some of his conclusions on the resulting scores; all schedules therefore were scored as prescribed in his study, ⁴ with two qualifications: the question regarding crisis situations was dropped because too many families had no crisis experience and the

¹ R.C.Angell, op cit.

² The subjects' schedule was selected because 1) blank spaces were less frequent, 2) several mothers' schedules were unavailable, 3) the subjects' opinion appeared to be more objective.

³ Personal letter from R.S.Cavan (1959)

⁴ R.Hill, Families Under Stress, p.424-428

question related to decision-making patterns was eliminated because this automatically increased democratic family scores.

Findings.

The majority of families in both groups exhibit moderate to high acceptance of role responsibility. In regard to role reversal, most mothers appear to be fairly flexible. A small group of father-dominated fathers, however, are against their wives working and are a little less likely to assist when the occasion demands.

A comparison of scores indicates democratic families to be slightly more adaptable, the difference in scores, however, is infinitesimal and statistically the results are insignificant ($z=.51$; 1.96 is needed for significance at the .05 level).

DIVISION OF LABOR.

Subject and Method.

Division of labor within the family frame of reference differs somewhat from the division of labor within an economic framework. While the phenomena are similar (e.g. distribution and differentiation of tasks and services) within the family unit, the chief concerns are: 1) responsibility distribution for the physical (not economic) maintenance of the home; 2) responsibility distribution for the care of the children and 3) low responsibility-performance areas.

Because all sample families adhere to Middle Class normative values (which sanction pride in the physical care of home and child) it is assumed that the majority of tasks under investigation will be reasonably executed; lack of performance, therefore, will not concern us.

Information in this area was obtained from a section of the Human Development Questionnaire, especially designed to measure and classify the division of labor.⁵ It was submitted to all subjects and mothers in the sample.⁶ The questionnaire, composed of 32 questions related to specific household and childcare tasks, was constructed on a three point multiple choice system. The respondent was required to denote the intensity of the mother, father and child participation in each task by circling either 'often', 'sometimes' or 'never'; arbitrary weights were assigned to each response with the higher scores representing greater performance.⁷

In order to formulate a meaningful and succinct system of tabulation, the groups of items were packaged into the

⁵ The questionnaire was somewhat revised to fit the needs of the present project.

⁶ In this case the mother was selected as the official informant because 1) her judgment in this area appeared to be more accurate, and 2) few subjects completed this particular section of the questionnaire. In two cases (families 17 and 18) the mother's questionnaire was unavailable and the subject's was substituted.

⁷ 'often'=3, 'sometimes'=1, 'never'=0.

following categories: 1) husband's work area; 2) wife's work area; 3) shared area; 4) child-care area (female) and child-care area (common). Separate scores for mother, father and child participation were calculated in each area. (See appendix for detailed questions). A non-parametric test for two independent samples was used to determine whether or not sample scores differed significantly.⁸

Findings.

Table 5 shows the difference of participation scores in the division of labor between democratic and father-dominated family members; a z value equal to or greater than 1.96 is needed for significance at the .05 level; a z value equal to or greater than 2.58 is needed for significance at the .01 level.

Husband's participation in the division of labor.

Only in the 'shared area' is there a significant difference (well above the .05 level) in performance between democratic and father-dominated husbands. Democratic men are either highly or moderately active in this area; father-dominated scores demonstrate either moderate or low activity.

There is no significant difference in the way men from both samples participate in the 'wife's work area'; in addition the low scores obtained indicate such low participation by the majority of fathers that it makes any comparison spurious.

⁸ See G.Ferguson, op cit.

TABLE 5.

DEMOCRATIC AND FATHER-DOMINATED SCORE DIFFERENCES
IN REGARD TO PARTICIPATION IN THE DIVISION OF LABOR
(ACCORDING TO z VALUES)

Task Area	Father Partic.	Mother Partic.	Child Partic.	Combined Mo.& Fa.	Partic. Entire Family
Husb.Work N=20	1.61 -d.	.23 -d.	.84 -d.	n.s.	1.90 -d.
Husb.Work Homes only ^{a)} N=12	1.76 -d.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	1.92 -d.
Wife's Work N=20	1.10 -d.	.48 -d.	1.40 -d.	n.s.	n.s.
Wife's Work No Maid ^{b)} N=17	.72 -d.	.14 -f.dom.	.76 -d.	n.s.	n.s.
Shared N=20	2.47 -d.	.45 -f.dom.	2.16 -d.	n.s.	n.s.
Shared; No Maid N=17	2.05 -d.	1.65 -f.dom.	2.01 -d.	n.s.	n.s.
Child Care (female)	1.19 f-dom.	.69 -f.dom.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Child care (common)	1.44 - d.	2.90 -f.dom.	n.s.	.53 f-dom.	n.s.

-d. = scores higher in democratic sample.

-f.dom. = scores higher in father-dominated sample.

n.s. = no z value was calculated.

if z value equal to or greater than 1.96, significant at .05 level

if z value equal to or greater than 2.58, significant at .01 level

a) Scores of men living in self-contained or semi-detached homes only were compared since degree of husband's participation contingent upon maintenance demands of residence.

b) Only scores of families without a full time maid were compared since this affected job allocation in this area.

Wife's Participation in the division of labor.

In only the 'Common Child-Care area' is there a significant difference in performance between democratic and father dominated mothers. This difference is well above the .01 level. Participation scores in the mother-dominated group is almost all high; democratic mothers fall slightly below the scores ranging from moderate to moderately high. By calculating the aggregate score of husband and wife for each family in both groups, it was ascertained that these tasks are not performed more frequently in father-dominated families. The statistic resulting from score comparison is so insignificant that it may safely be said that democratic families share this area of child-care, while in father-dominated families the mother shoulders the responsibility.

Child Participation in the division of labor.

In only the 'Shared area' is there a difference of performance between democratic and father-dominated children. In both groups scores indicated moderate to low activity, but a difference in behavior is found well above the .05 level, with democratic children taking on more responsibility.

Total Family Participation in the division of labor.

In order to test the supposition that activities such as mowing the lawn and shovelling the walk are family projects useful for the development and maintenance of the democratic

structure, an aggregate score in the 'husband work area' was computed for each family (i.e. aggregate score = mother + father + child). The scores were then compared to determine whether or not democratic families were more likely to assign these tasks to family members. The resulting statistical value, while not conclusive, (see Table 5), indicates with some accuracy that democratic families are more likely to share responsibility for these tasks; father-dominated families are apt to delegate this work to an outsider.

MANAGEMENT OF FAMILY INCOME.

Subject and Method.

In this section the direction of financial control and income allocation will be explored. The relationship between working wives and authority will also be examined.

In addition to utilizing interview material, a questionnaire covering a variety of factors related to financial responsibilities and decisions (other than those related to earning power and direct income) was submitted to all mothers. Unfortunately many of the questions did not elicit suitable responses; ultimately eight items related to paying bills, borrowing money and investing money, were selected. (see Appendix). Each questionnaire was scored by assigning 1 point to whichever partner was responsible for the item; if the responsibility was shared, 1 point was assigned to both the husband and wife. A high score indicates a higher level of responsibility.

Findings.

Table 6 shows the distribution of husband-wife responsibility for the 8 financial items under examination.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBAND-WIFE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINANCIAL TASKS.

	Husb.handles 100% of items	Husb.handles over 60% of items	Wife handles over 60% of items	Items Shared
Democratic	3	3	2	2
Father-dom.	6	2	2	-

$x^2 = 3.02$. Significant between .30 and .50 level.

As expected, the men in father-dominated families play a more active role in income allocation. Most women in both groups, however, play a minor role in this area; the sharing of responsibility is limited even in democratic families. The difference in distribution between the groups is highly insignificant.

When questionnaire scores and interview data are compared, the findings are surprising; evidence suggests that social power and financial responsibility are not necessarily concomitant factors in the marital relationship. This is especially true in the democratic sample; it was discovered that wives with the most social power had the least responsibility

in the financial area.. Table 7 shows individual democratic family distribution for the 8 financial items.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINANCIAL ITEMS:
DEMOCRATIC SAMPLE.

<u>Family number</u>	<u>Husband Responsibility</u>	<u>Wife Responsibility</u>
7	100%	-
8	100%	-
20	100%	-
19	89%	11%
5	86%	14%
10	71%	29%
2	50%	50%
17	50%	50%
13	37.5%	62.5%
11	20%	80%

Mrs. 7,8,20,19 and 5 are the most socially powerful women in the sample, yet they have an inverse amount of responsibility in the financial area. This supposition is somewhat supported by interview material. For example, Mrs. 5 receives no allowance and her husband doles out the money according to her needs; she is responsible only for charge accounts, which by her own admission, she rarely uses. Mrs. 19 complained bitterly that her husband bought the house that they live in (which she heartily dislikes) without consulting her; he did this despite the fact that a portion of the down payment included money that she personally has earned. In contrast, the financial task distribution and

the social relationship between husband and wife in families 10,2 and 17 is relatively equable. Only one wife with more responsibility in this task area is dominant in the marital relationship; in the remaining family (number 10), the husband is inclined to be dominant, but because he is totally uninterested in financial matters, the wife is responsible for these tasks by default.

In a sense this situation is paradoxical because some of the democratic women contribute to the family income. The data support fairly conclusively Wolfe's contention that wives who are working will be more likely to belong to families with a balance of power.⁹ Not one wife in the father-dominated family works or has worked within the past five years; 5 democratic wives are now working or have been employed within the last five years. (A chi-square analysis shows the relationship between working wives and authority patterns in our sample to be significant well above the .05 level; $\chi^2=4.26$) This power, however, does not appear to extend into financial responsibilities. Among the working wives, 2 have no role responsibilities in the area under examination; in the remaining 3 families, there is no indication that the wife's earning power has accorded her additional responsibility in the financial area. One would suspect that because most of the democratic mothers are competent and efficient, whether they worked or not, would keep their responsibilities for these tasks constant.

⁹ D.Wolfe, op cit., p.109

DISCUSSION.

Writers with a predeliction for democratic family organization are presupposed to accept, without evidence, that this type of family conceptualizes and executes role responsibility differently from other types of families. Our results indicate that this is not always true.

In examining family adaptability no real difference was found between the sample groups. This might be due, however, to the construct used. We are in total agreement with Cavan, who purports that her scales, as used by Hill¹⁰, are unsuitable for field research. We found the scales to have several major defects. Aside from the fact that as indicators of role flexibility the conceptualized areas appear to be arbitrary and excessively value-laden, this is a most difficult scale to administer. This difficulty is due to two conjoining factors: the ambiguity of the questions and a weakness in scoring. Responses in each category are open to interpretation; this flaw is present in the majority of questionnaires; in this particular one, however, a variation of interpretation can result in as much as a 4 point scoring difference. The meanings and different shadings of some of the responses are so obscure that even the researcher encountered difficulty in evaluating legitimate replies. If Hill's appraisal of family adaptability was based only on Cavan's scheme, his results are extremely questionable.

¹⁰ R.Hill, op cit.

Theoretically oriented scales in empirical research have disadvantages, and very often more conclusive data may be obtained by limiting the behavior under examination. All families, at one time or another, experience minor household emergencies; an investigation of specific household tasks and the frequency of performance by family members is infinitely more meaningful than hypothetical questions such as 'will father help with the dishes'.

An analysis of division of labor, activities in the home indicates that while there is a tendency for democratic family members to share more household tasks than members of father-dominated families, this need not always be the case. In fact some information obtained was quite contrary to assumptions found in the evaluative literature.¹¹ Sharing responsibility for such tasks as mowing the lawn, fixing things around the house, washing the car, etc. is absent in both groups. While democratic fathers perform these so-called 'husband's' work tasks' with more frequency than father-dominated men, the difference in participation is not large enough to be of any real significance. In addition variance in participation in both groups is high which indicates idiosyncratic rather than group behavior.¹²

¹¹ In all families the level of maintenance and responsibility was high; we found no areas of neglect whatsoever.

¹² \bar{x} score of democratic fathers = 10.4; $s = 4.41$; \bar{x} score of father-dominated fathers = 6.9; $s = 4.24$

It is therefore doubtful that democratic men are inclined to be more task oriented in this particular area of household maintenance.

Tasks in the wife's work area are carried out in both groups very much in accordance with the ideal demands of traditional cultural norms; wives are very responsible, children are of moderate help and husbands help very little. This is significant in as much as the modern father, in contrast to the traditional one, is conceptualized as being 'apron oriented'; the stereotype indicating that he is involved in many tasks that were formerly outside of his real scope of action. Our data indicate that in this particular area the democratic father does not cross over to perform female role requirements. This rejection, however, is not complete since in the area of shared work a highly significant difference in group behavior is found. Such tasks as emptying the garbage, carrying groceries and looking after the garden are shared by democratic family members, while in father-dominated families it is the wives who are chiefly responsible for these duties.

Data in the child-care area are also somewhat contrary to literature expectations. Common child-care tasks such as putting children to bed, reading them stories and helping them with their homework are shared by democratic parents

and assigned to mothers in father-dominated families. The men in father-dominated families, however, are inclined to participate more than democratic fathers in female child-care tasks such as bathing and feeding the children. This would appear to be quite the reverse of what one would anticipate; parents in father-dominated families might well be expected to share duties in the common child-care area, but it seems strange that they are more inclined to share the physical tasks involved in the female child-care area. The difference in father participation between the two groups, however, is statistically insignificant in both areas, and is also tempered by the fact that in the female area, variance of participation is high.¹³ This indicates that excessive participation on the part of a few fathers could account for group differences. Nevertheless the data do not support the claims of the philosophically oriented writers.

To summarize, role allocation in regard to household tasks and child-care is slightly more diffuse in democratic organization, especially when those tasks are thought of as family projects. The democratic father, however, is by no means more helpful in the kitchen, nor is he burdened with physical child-care tasks to a greater extent than the man in the father-dominated family; quite the reverse. In

¹³ Democratic \bar{x} score = 5.4; $s=2.7$;
Father-dominated \bar{x} score 7.1; $s=4.2$

addition there is no evidence to indicate that father-dominated families could not adapt themselves equally well as democratic families in times of a crisis, because while democratic families are inclined to share more tasks that are somewhat oriented towards non-essential family household maintenance, in essential household and child-care tasks, there is little behavioral difference in the sample groups.

Again, in the area of role allocation, responsibilities in regard to family income are not always according to expectation. Because democratic organization presupposes a sharing in decision-making situations, it is to be anticipated that in the financial area father-dominated men enjoy a greater degree of autocratic control while this tendency does exist, statistically the evidence is far from conclusive; in fact, differences in responsibility distribution between the groups are surprisingly small. Generally both the democratic and father-dominated sample follow the traditional norms in as much as it is the male member that handles family income, with little help from his wife.

In regard to the role played by a working wife a paradoxical situation exists. One would presuppose that because they earn a portion of the family income, working

wives would automatically acquire perogatives in the financial area. Earning power, however, is not necessarily commensurate with financial task responsibilities. In a broader context it appears a woman's social power and financial control and responsibility are not necessarily correlated (though they may well be). Many wives with a good deal of social power possess an inverse amount of financial responsibility. Data indicate that the socially powerful men who do not regard their wives as a threat permit them more control in the financial area.¹⁴

To summarize, ideally, we might expect financial tasks to be shared in the democratic family. However, this is a highly complicated area and although occasionally financial role can be a decisive factor in distinguishing authority types, we would caution the use of financial decisions as a determinant of family authority.

¹⁴ It is possible that some democratic wives intentionally permit this domination in order to control the limits of their role. This will be discussed in chapter 8.

PART II. MEASUREMENT OF AFFECT IN INTRA-FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

INTRODUCTION.

With varying degrees of success various scales have been devised to measure family tension and to classify family affection patterns.¹⁵ The majority of these scales, however, were unsuitable for this particular study and with the exception of Cavan's Family Integration Scale, we developed our own measuring tools.

In order to explore intra-familial affect, relationships will be examined in the following areas: 1) family integration; 2) family participation in joint activities (other than those concerned with the division of labor); 3) communication lines between subject-mother and subject-father; and 4) configuration of subject's affect towards parents, siblings and home.

FAMILY INTEGRATION.

Subject and Method.

The Cavan Integration schedule, in its entirety (see Appendix) was submitted to all subjects in the sample and scored according to directions. The questions are so constructed as to elicit the respondent's conceptualization of family relationships in the areas of economic and emotional

¹⁵ E.Burgess and L.Cottrell, Predicting Success and Failure in Marriage (New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1939) chapt.8; P.G.Herbst, op cit; J.Bossard and E.Boll, op cit, chapt.6.

interdependence, family affectional ties and family participation in joint activities.

Findings.

When questionnaire scores are dichotomized above and below the median score (a higher score indicating greater family integration), there is no statistical evidence that democratic families are more highly integrated than father-dominated ones. (see Table 8).

TABLE 8.

FAMILY INTEGRATION SCORES (CAVAN)

	Above median	Below median	
democratic	7	3	$\chi^2 = 1.8$ significant at .30 level.
father.-dom.	3	7	

If a non-parametric test is used to compare scores, however, there is a significant difference between the groups, with democratic families proving to be more highly integrated ($z=2.40$, which is significant almost at the .01 level).

This apparent ambivalence is important since it suggests a weakness in the scale. As we shall later point out, there is little doubt that democratic families in our sample are more highly integrated than father-dominated families; the Cavan scale does not suggest this differentiation with enough force. Family scores tend to cluster;

while the possible scoring range is 12 through 60, the range in our data is only 34 through 49. Granted the families in both groups are well organized units, the scale is still not sensitive to the existing differences.

FAMILY ACTIVITIES.

Subject and method.

The term 'togetherness' so often referred to in the literature, is an obscure one. It is difficult to define and difficult to measure in empirical research. To arrive at a more meaningful expression of this particular kind of family behavior, we have elected instead to analyze the non-essential leisure activities that families participate in together as a single unit.

An activities questionnaire, designed for the Human Development Study, was submitted to all subjects and mothers in the sample. The items were packaged into three broad categories, each of which contained sub-categories. (See Appendix). The interactional category included socio-political activities, social sports and social activities; the solitary category included individual sports and cultural activities; the entertainment category included passive entertainments and pastimes .

The respondent was instructed to indicate the frequency of family performance for each item; arbitrary weights were

assigned to responses, with the higher weight representing more frequent performance. Separate scores were obtained for the packaged areas and the sub-categories. The mother was used as the official informant.¹⁶

Findings.

Table 9 shows the difference in activity scores between father-dominated and democratic families.

TABLE 9.

DEMOCRATIC AND FATHER-DOMINATED SCORE DIFFERENCES
IN REGARD TO FAMILY PARTICIPATION IN LEISURE
ACTIVITIES (ACCORDING TO z VALUES)

Category	Value of z	Sub-Category	Value of z
Interactional	2.45 --d.	Socio-Political	2.06 --d.
		Social Sports	.36 --d.
		Social Activities	1.40 --d.
Solitary	2.40 --d.	Individual Sports	1.65 --d.
		Cultural-Spect.	1.95 --d.
		Cultural Partic.	.043 -d.
Entertainment	.076 -f.-dom.		

--d. = democratic scores higher

-f.-dom. = father-dominated scores higher

if z equal to or greater than 1.96, significant at .05 level

if z equal to or greater than 2.58, significant at .01 level.

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In these particular questionnaires there was a high degree of agreement between the mother-subject responses.

A non-parametric statistical comparison of scores reveals a significant difference, well above the .05 level, in the way democratic and father-dominated families participate in interactional and solitary activities; democratic families perform these activities together more frequently. It should be recognized, however, that democratic families do not really perform these activities often; most scores are moderate, indicating only limited participation in this area.

Inspection of scores in the interactional sub-categories reveals that only in the socio-political area is there a significant difference in activity behavior. Individual scores indicate that political activities are minimal in both groups; the major difference is found in their religious habits; democratic families attend religious services together far more frequently than father-dominated families.

Inspection of scores in the solitary sub-categories reveals that only in the cultural spectator area is there a significant difference in activity behavior; democratic families attend concerts, art exhibits and theater as a group, more frequently than father-dominated families. Family participation in solitary cultural activities (e.g. reading, painting, etc.) is either extremely moderate or non-existent in both sample groups.

COMMUNICATION.

Subject and Method.

In examining communication lines between subject and parents, both the quality and quantity of verbal exchange will be appraised. If communication is restricted to reporting everyday happenings it will be considered moderate; if content of the verbal exchange includes emotional or personal subject matter it will be recognized as more intense.

In order to measure communication appropriate items were selected from the student questionnaire; arbitrary weights were assigned to responses, with higher scores indicating a more intense and unrestricted communication pattern. (see Appendix). All subjects received a mother-subject score and a father-subject score. Scores ranging from 24 through 32 were classified as high; 16 through 23 as medium and 0 through 15 as low. ¹⁷

Findings.

A comparison of scores in the subject-mother area reveals that democratic subjects communicate more with their mothers than father-dominated subjects do, democratic subjects display a high rate of communication with mothers while father-dominant subjects communication rates are moderate to low. Statistically this difference in scores is significant between the .05 and .02 level. (See Table 10). In addition the variation

¹⁷ All scoring results were found to be appropriate, interview material substantiated rank order scores.

TABLE 10.

SUBJECT - PARENTAL COMMUNICATION SCORES.

Relationship	High	Medium	Low	Total	
Subject-mother democratic	6	4	-	10	$\chi^2 = 6.94$ significant above .05 level
father-dom.	1	6	3	10	
Subject-father democratic	1	6	3	10	$\chi^2 = 2.4$ significant at about .30 level
father-dom.	0	4	6	10	

in democratic scores is circumscribed, (\bar{X} score = 23.8, $s=3.63$) indicating that this mode of interaction is common group behavior. The variation in father-dominated scores is larger, ($\bar{X}=16$; $s=5.42$) which suggests a greater degree of idiosyncratic behavior. ¹⁸

A comparison of scores in the subject-father area shows that although democratic subjects have a higher communication rate with their fathers, the difference between the groups is not significant. (See Table 10) A good deal of variance is common to both samples (democratic \bar{X} score = 17.1; $s=5.03$; father dominated \bar{X} score = 11.2; $s=6.66$) and it becomes difficult to determine an overall group pattern for subject-father communication rates. A non-parametric analysis

¹⁸ A non-parametric test for two independent samples indicates even a larger difference in behavior between the two groups: z is equal to 3.08 which is significant well above the .01 level.

of scores, however, also indicates there is no significant difference between the groups, ($z=1.80$) Therefore, although democratic subjects communicate with both their parents more intensively than father-dominated subjects, communication in the latter is moderate and the significant difference lies in the mother-subject relationship rather than in the father-subject relationship.

CONFIGURATION OF SUBJECT'S AFFECT TOWARDS FAMILY.

Subject and Method.

Communication cannot be used as a single index of the subject-parent relationship because: a) it does not always measure covert but nonetheless conscious feelings, and b) it does not measure composite feelings towards the home and family. A configuration of the subject's feelings towards individual family members specifically and his home generally was schematized. This classification was based upon all available information. Appropriate questionnaire material was utilized, but only in conjunction with other factors such as: the subject's interest in and regard for other family members and their well being; feelings of trust and loyalty towards her family; tension in family relationships; and importance of the family and home to the subject. The subject's affective relationship in four areas: mother, father, siblings and entire family unit, was rated as follows:

- A. Strong: Subject has large investment in the relationship. Interaction high.
- B. Moderate: Relationship lacks intensity of the above.
- C. Moderately Weak: Importance of relationship minimal; interaction limited.
- D. Weak: Relationship either inadequate for subject's needs, or unimportant; interaction at a minimum.

Findings:

Diagram 2 represents a configuration of subject-family affect. The following quotes, selected from interview protocols serve to illustrate differences in the subject's approach to family relationships:

Subject 19: (Strong positive affect in all 4 areas)

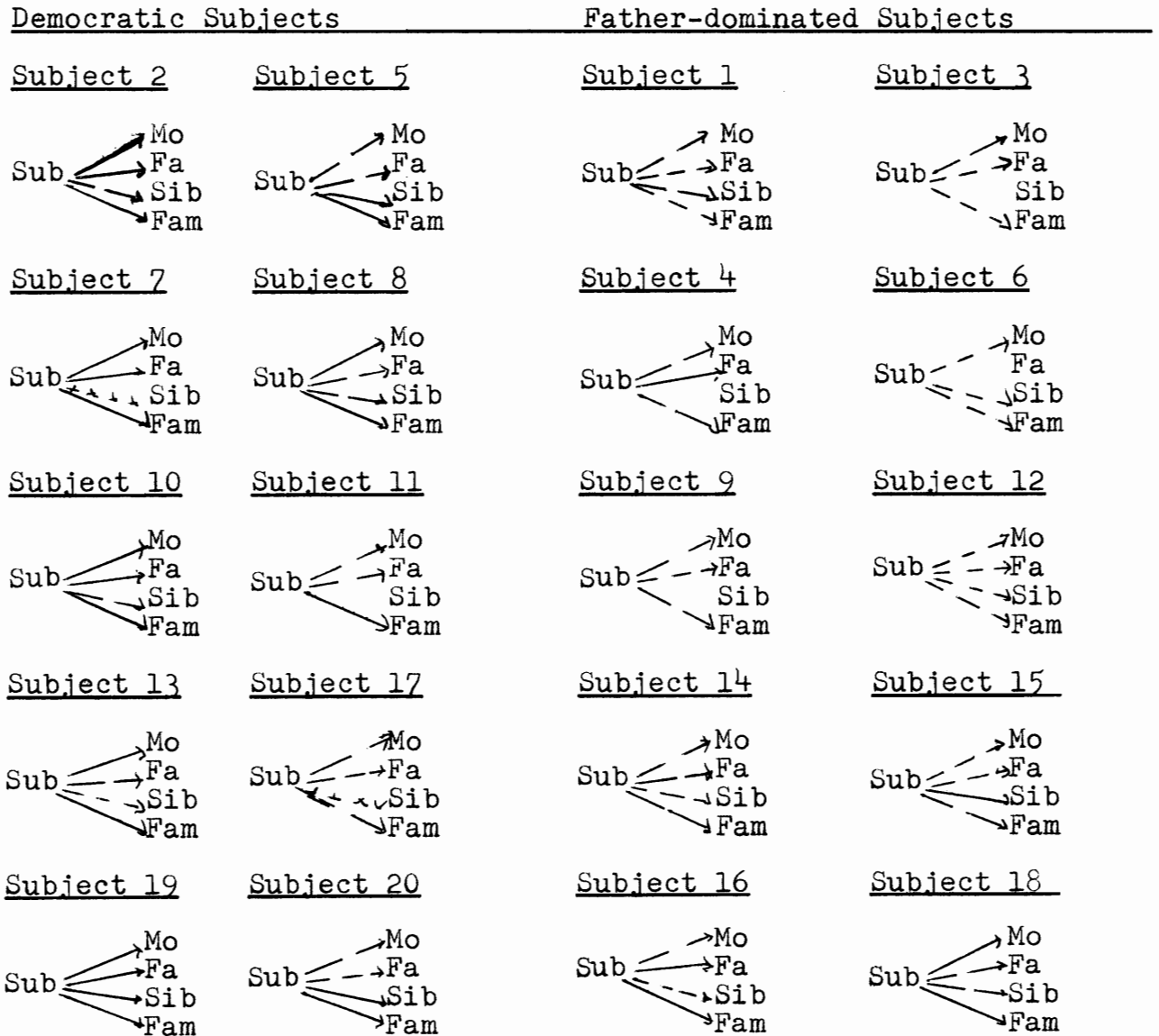
Other families I know don't seem to have as much feeling of togetherness as we have. We all get along very well. Aside from money my parents are exceptionally happily married. My brother and I are very good friends; we always have been. He takes great concern in my affairs, we do a lot of things together. ... We (family) sit down and enjoy each others company. I like being with them.

Subject 5: (Strong positive affect towards family and sibs; closeness towards parents somewhat qualified).

We (the family) discuss things more than other people, we always have supper together, we always try to gossip about different people, talk about current events and any problem that might come up. If some problems come up I would rather discuss them with my sister or brother than any friends. I always go to them for anything serious.

DIAGRAM 2.

CONFIGURATION OF SUBJECT - FAMILY AFFECT.



Mo = mother; Fa = father; Sib = siblings; Fam = family and home;
 Sub = subject. — = strong positive affect; - - - = moderate-
 weak positive affect; — — = moderate positive affect;
 Blank space = very weak positive affect; xxx = no siblings.

Subject 4: (Strong positive affect towards father,
moderate towards mother and weak towards sibs).

I am closer to my father, mostly because we are alike. If I was really upset about something I would go to him. If I don't feel well or something like that I would go to my mother. Father and I get along better, we laugh at the same things, have the same taste and like the same people I am thoroughly satisfied with it (the home). I am not thrilled with it, it's not the most important thing in my life.

Subject 12: (all relationships weak)

I am not close to my mother and she doesn't like it. She feels that I should confide in her and I can't. I just don't feel close to her. If there's any closeness between myself and my father, it's superficial... I feel if something comes up that concerns the whole family, we should sit down and discuss it. When I say this they laugh at me. There is no intellectual or cultural stimulation, in that way I feel as if I have been deprived of something.

Despite the variety of possible combinations, a strong feeling of positive affect towards one family member is not contingent upon the feelings towards another, a composite picture clearly indicates that democratic subjects have stronger affectional ties than father-dominated subjects. Almost 58% of all democratic relationships are strong; only 10% of father-dominated relationships are strong. 78% of all relationships classified as strong are those which involve the democratic sample; 82% of all relationships classified as weak are those which involve the father-dominated sample. A sixfold contingency table (see Table 11) provides conclusive evidence that affectional ties are stronger by far in the democratic group.

TABLE 11

COMPOSITE FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECT-FAMILY
AFFECTIONAL TIES.

	Strong	Medium	Weak	Total	
Democratic	22	12	4	38*	$x^2 = 19.17$ significant way above .001 level
Fath.-dom.	6	15	19	40	
Total	28	27	23		

* 2 democratic subjects have no siblings

Subject-Mother Relationship: The distribution of intensity of the subject-mother relationship is presented in Table 12.

TABLE 12

SUBJECT-MOTHER AFFECTIONAL RELATIONSHIP

	Strong	Medium	Mod.Weak	
Democratic N=10	6	4	0	$x^2 = 5.56$ Significant between .10 and .50 level
Fath.-dom. N=10	1	6	3	

While democratic subjects have more positive affect towards their mother, (democratic subject-mother relationships are strong to medium while father-dominated mother-subject relationships are medium to weak), the value obtained from a chi-square analysis is not large enough to be significant at the .05 level.

Subject-Father Relationship: Table 13 compares the intensity of the father-subject relationship in both groups.

TABLE 13
SUBJECT-FATHER AFFECTIONAL RELATIONSHIP

	Strong	Medium	Mod.Weak	Weak	
Democratic N=10	4	4	2	-	$x^2 = 3.74$ Significant at .30 level
Fath.-dom. N=10	2	3	4	1	

Although democratic attachments are stronger, a chi-square analysis shows this difference to be insignificant.

Subject-Sibling Relationship: Table 14 compares the intensity of the subject-sibling relationship in both groups.

TABLE 14
SUBJECT-SIBLING AFFECTIONAL RELATIONSHIP

	Strong	Medium	Mod.Weak	Weak	
Democratic N=10	3	3	1	1	$x^2 = 3.002$ Significant at .50 level
Fath.-dom. N=10	1	2	4	3	

Democratic attachments are slightly stronger, but a chi-square analysis shows the difference as minimal and insignificant.

Subject-Family Relationship: A clear difference between affectional ties emerge when the subject-family dimension is examined. A chi-square analysis of the data, found in Table 15, provides conclusive evidence that democratic subjects have stronger feelings of attachment to family and home. Father-dominated subjects are apt to have a segmented view of family life; they are more selective in regard to feelings of closeness. The democratic subject is prone to feelings of closeness and loyalty to the family as a single unit, and puts great emphasis upon gratifications derived from family life.

TABLE 15

SUBJECT-FAMILY AFFECTIONAL RELATIONSHIP

	Strong	Medium	Mod.Weak	
Democratic N=10	9	1	-	$\chi^2 = 10.24$ Significant above .01 level
Fath.dom. N=10	2	4	4	

PATTERNS OF SOCIALIZATION.

Subject and Method.

The manner in which parents of both groups control and limit the behavior of their children was examined. It is to be expected that in all families some pressure will be exerted in order that children will behave in a manner acceptable to

their parents. Both the amount of obedience demanded and the methods used to obtain this obedience, however, will vary. Our concern therefore is with parental approach to behavioral and personality development, with emphasis upon their demands and the effectiveness of their methods.

In order to analyse this dimension of family behavior, all material related to discipline, household rules, parental values in regard to 'good' and 'bad' behavior, and freedom of choice and action was examined. To evaluate parental success in terms of indoctrination, the subjects' general behavior and value orientation was compared to that of the parents!

Findings.

As anticipated, democratic subjects possess a slightly higher degree of personal freedom; verbalized rules in regard to homework, dating, etc. are fewer, although not entirely absent. Data involving freedom, however, are difficult to quantify. Most subjects claim that they do not feel restricted and they cannot recall any 'reasonable' activity prohibited by their parents.¹⁹ There is, however, a consistent difference on the part of the subject, in the definition of 'good' behavior; differences also exist in methods of control employed by the parents. The majority of subjects from father-dominated families have little difficulty in describing behavior which will motivate disciplinary action, and they

¹⁹ By 'reasonable' they are ruling out promiscuous behavior.

can easily describe the punishment which normally is quite tangible. Democratic subjects, on the other hand, experience difficulty in answering questions regarding expected behavior and discipline. These subjects are aware that if they behave inappropriately their parents will be displeased; this displeasure, however, is not necessarily followed by a specific disciplinary action. While democratic subjects cannot describe rules and discipline, they know instinctively what is expected of them; because an infraction of non-verbalized rules risks the incurrence of parental displeasure or disappointment; the subjects are motivated to follow their instincts.

While many subjects from father-dominated families exhibit resentment of authority, the democratic subject stresses the paucity of parental demands which automatically limits discipline situations. Eight democratic subjects could recall only a few instances when parents exerted pressure by punishment. In the two remaining families, overt methods were used with more frequency, but only when covert measures proved to be ineffective. ²⁰

This contrast in disciplinary methods is striking mainly because the apparent permissiveness of the democratic parent can be misleading. On close examination this 'velvet glove'

²⁰ Even in these two families overt discipline was not used with as much frequency as in nine father-dominated families.

treatment can be somewhat equated to an 'iron fist'. Democratic subjects conceptualize family life as so very warm and satisfying that they are loath to act in any way that might disturb this tranquility. Sometimes obscure demands can be quite restrictive and in one particular case the combination of moderate-overt and inordinant-covert control is so excessive that what appears to be on the surface a relatively free home climate proves to be one of the most stifling and non-permissive homes in the entire sample.

Since all subjects, at the time of the interview, were still living at home it is difficult to judge the full effects of the above constraints; democratic families, however, utilize a far more effective system of indoctrination. Specifically, seven democratic subjects have internalized parental values almost completely; their interests are similar, they see things in the same light. These subjects are all extremely attached to their families and in turn the parents are highly pleased with the way these subjects behave. Only two father-dominated families have been as successful in this area.²¹ The remaining families have had varying degrees of success in this area, none of the democratic families have been completely unsuccessful while several of

²¹ Significantly, one of these subjects comes from the only father-dominated home whose methods of discipline are similar to those used by democratic families. The other subject comes from one of the few father-dominated families with a very close mother-subject relationship.

the father-dominated families have had very limited success in terms of indoctrination. This does not mean that father-dominated parents are less concerned about the child's inner behavior and more preoccupied with visible behavior. Indirect methods, however, appear to be more effective agents of control than over-coercive methods. Democratic subjects are amenable to the indirect suggestion and conscious rebellion is limited. Father-dominated subjects will obey the direct suggestion but some form of conscious rebellion is present, especially when demands are autocratic and unreasonable. This difference in approach and the resulting effects on personality will be further discussed in the next chapter.

DISCUSSION.

Generally speaking democratic family units are more highly integrated than father-dominated families; the Cavan Integration Scale, however, is an indifferent indicator of this solidarity. Once again the examination of limited areas of behavior provided some evidence that intra-familial affect does differ somewhat in the sample groups. The democratic family as depicted in the literature, however, must be somewhat revised. Our data do not always support the pronouncements of Osborne, Burgess et al, who claim that planned activities and sharing of recreation is inherent to democratic organization. In our sample, democratic families tend to indulge, as a unit, in more leisure activities than father-dominated families, but

at best democratic participation is only moderate. While there is a significant difference in the way democratic families share the intellectually oriented spectator activities (i.e. concerts, theatre and art exhibits), reading, painting, etc. are activities which, even in the democratic sample, are executed in solitary.

The most highly significant difference in group activity behavior is found in the socio-political area. The only single activity in this area which significantly differentiates the groups is the church going habit of sample families; democratic families attend religious services together with more frequency than father-dominated families. This is unusual only because the traditional family is often perceived of as devout, while the modern family (which includes those with democratic organization) is thought to be secularized.²² Religious attendance in contemporary society is in actuality a social activity and exceedingly secularized in nature; it is therefore not really odd that democratic families are more involved in this activity. Perhaps this kind of family does after all represent the stereotyped 'family that prays together stays together', although one would doubt that this is what Burgess et al had in mind.

While some doubt remains as to the degree of 'togetherness'

²² See R. Angell, op cite

in democratic families, evidence in the area of communication is fairly conclusive. Democratic subjects maintain a high to moderate level of communication with their mothers; the subject-mother relationship in father-dominated families is moderate to low. In addition the behavior of the democratic group is far more homogeneous in nature. The democratic group also tends to be more homogeneous in regard to communication rates with their fathers. However, the intensity of the relationship in both groups is moderate to low and differences are tenuous.

Because the very basis of democracy rests upon decision-making processes, high communication would appear to be a prerequisite to democratic living. We would propose that participation in joint activities is of far less importance to democratic living than the willingness of members to be interested in each other and to communicate to each other that this interest exists.

The configuration of the subjects' affect towards his family is a measurement probably somewhat closer to what the literature refers to as family solidarity. The difference in strength of family bonds between the groups is enormous, and leaves no doubt that democratic subjects are more committed to family relationships than father-dominated subjects are. The democratic groups exhibit higher affect towards individual family members, but it is in the subject-total family relationship that the striking difference between samples emerges.

The democratic subject derives far more conscious satisfaction from family life than the father-dominated subject.

The evaluation of family closeness should not in any way be interpreted as a value judgment. Whether or not this commitment to family life is healthy or unhealthy is problematic; the results of this relationship on personality development will be analyzed in the following chapter. When the literature lauds the warmth and security to be found in democratic family living, however, it brings to mind a statement made by democratic Subject 8, whose family ties are very strong: "It is comforting to know that there is still somewhere in this huge lonesome world where you can come home to roost". Obviously family closeness can take many forms, not all of which are beneficial to the individual.

One surprising element in communication and the affectional configuration evaluation is that, although paternal authority is the major variable that differentiates the sample groups in the area of positive affect, it is the mother-subject relationship that differs significantly. In the normal course of events one would anticipate role similarities to generate a kind of mother-daughter closeness not to be found in the father-daughter relationship. This, however, does not explain the intensity of the democratic subject-mother relationship as compared to moderate subject-mother relationships found in the father-dominated sample.

Neither does Homan's hypothesis that there is a relation between sentiment and authority in the interaction situation with the emotional attitude of the subordinate towards the superior tending to be that of respect rather than close friendship.²³ Within the father-daughter framework, variation between the two groups is not significant; based on Homans' thesis, democratic relationships should be friendlier. Homans' theory, however, may well be applied to the mother-daughter relationships in the sample. In order for the man in the father-dominated family to maintain his position of authority, his wife must also be somewhat amenable to the traditional orientation. Mothers in the father-dominated sample were found to be 'good mothers' in the traditional sense, but lacked the friendliness and empathy of the democratic woman. Although father-dominated women sometimes criticized husband rigidity in the area of control, they generally favored this kind of family organization. These women are, therefore, authoritatively oriented, and the distance between subject and mother produces a relationship of respect rather than friendship.²⁴

This democratic family solidarity makes for an extremely effective tool in the area of socialization. We would agree

²³ G. Homans, The Human Group, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1950) p.444

²⁴ Indications are that in the weaker father-subject relationships father-dominated subjects all exhibited some feelings of admiration and respect.

with Bossard that democratic leadership in the democratic family is most certainly tactful.²⁵ Democratic methods of direction, however, can sometimes be coercive. Democratic children strive for parental approval and are somewhat like the girl in the example given by Burgess and Locke, who states that parental pleasure and pride is her greatest motivating force and anticipation of parental disappointment her greatest control.²⁶ The democratic family appears to produce the ideal other-directed person, who is trained to respond, not so much to overt authority as to the subtle but nonetheless restricting, constricting interpersonal expectations.²⁷

There is no indication that democratic parents are more concerned about the rights of their children as individuals to a self-determined existence, nor did they appear to be more absorbed in the inculcation of democratic principles. Both sets of parents are equally concerned with directing the children towards the internalization of parental and cultural values; democratic parents, however, have evolved a more efficient way of reaching their goal.

SUMMARY.

Research data both supported and contradicted suppositions

²⁵ J. Bossard, "Child Parent Relationship", op cit.

²⁶ Burgess and Locke, op cit., p.333-334

²⁷ D. Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Book, abridged, 1956), p.288

found in the behavioral area of family literature. Division of labor, adaptability and family activities were found to be, at best, peripheral issues of democratic organization. Role patterns in the area of allocating family income were too intricate to be accepted as reliable indicators of authority. Family closeness, although not mandatory, appears to be a major element in democratic organization. Democratic subjects exhibited great family loyalty and were infinitely more committed to family goals than father-dominated subjects were. ²⁸

The democratic sample is superior to the father-dominated sample in at least two of the four Koos' criteria for adequate family organization:

1. Family members must have a willingness to accept some common definition of the good of the family in preference to the good of the individual members. This willingness must be based upon mutual acceptance rather than coercion.

2. Members must find satisfaction within the family unit. ²⁹

One must be careful not to equate family solidarity with individual health. We pointed out that covert measures can sometimes be very coercive and not always respectful of the individual as a self propelled human being. In the following chapter we will evaluate the relationship between authority structure and personality development.

²⁸ Attention should be directed to an unavoidable flaw in the research design. While division of labor, activities and financial results are applicable to the entire family, communication and closeness is more or less a two sided relationship with the subject as the central figure. The perspective of other family members may differ.

29. E.L.Koos, op cit., p.11-12

CHAPTER VI.

AUTHORITY PATTERNS AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

Personality consists of a wide variety of psychological processes; logically no one projective test can measure the total personality. We must, therefore, assume that relatively limited sectors of the personality configuration may be evaluated by a combination of available instruments.¹

Psychological evaluation of all subjects will be limited to the following areas: a) General emotional health and b) Specific dimensions of personality which will include personality richness, independence and expressions of hostility.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION.

Emotional Health Framework.

Research in the area of emotional health has been chiefly concerned with the pathological; comparatively little has been done with the positive aspects of mental health. Recently, however, there has been an increasing concern with normality and the determinants of a healthy personality, and in order to evaluate emotional health of sample subjects, we will use a schema developed by a researcher involved in such a project.

¹ L.E.Abt, "A Theory of Projective Psychology", Projective Psychology, ed. L.E.Abt and L.Bellak (New York: Grove Press, Evergreen Paperback ed. 1959.

Specifically emotional health will be evaluated in accordance with a system developed by Dr. Nathan B. Epstein and used in the Human Development Study. Basically this approach consists of:

- 1) An attempt to evaluate what are the behavioral potentials inherent in the innate biological design of the human organism.
- 2) An attempt at judging how well the adolescents studied are realizing their own unique behavior potential.
- 3) An assessment of the degree to which the individuals' environmental¹ surroundings allow for fulfillment of these behavioral potentials. For many adolescents a pathological intrapsychic development is the price they pay for a tolerable adjustment within their particular environment.²

The emotional health classification and rating scheme used will be based upon the above approach; a subject may fall into one of four broad categories:

- a) Absence of structured symptoms.
Social and occupational adaptation.
Dynamic integration.
- b) Absence of psychiatric symptoms.
Social and occupational adaptation.
Mild impairment of dynamic integration with mild anxiety.
- c) Absence of structured psychiatric symptoms.
Social and/or occupational maladaptation.
Moderate impairment of dynamic integration, severe psychopathology and severe anxiety.
- d) Presence of structured psychiatric symptoms.
Social and occupational maladaptation.
Severe impairment of dynamic integration, severe psychopathology and severe anxiety.³

²W.A. Westley and N.B. Epstein "Report on the Psycho-Social Organization of the Family and Mental Health", in Decisions, Values and Groups, Vol. 1, Pergamon Press.

³N.B. Epstein, "Concepts of Normality or Evaluation of Emotional Health", Behavioral Science 3 (1958) p. 342

In accordance with this schema those subjects falling into the a) and b) categories are considered to be within the range of emotionally healthy individuals.

Personality Framework.

Specific dimensions of personality will be analyzed within the following personality profile:

1. General Personality Sketch:
 - a) rough level of mental health
 - b) flexibility vs compulsiveness
 - c) emotional warmth and sensitivity
 - d) gross problem area
 - e) social and sexual relationships
2. Independence:
 - a) degree of realistic coping
 - b) intensity of conflict
 - c) manner of resolution
 - d) self confidence - self reliance
 - e) ego identity
3. Hostility:
 - a) degree - awareness
 - b) acceptance, freedom and expression of
 - c) defenses against
4. Relationship with parents:
 - a) perception of
 - b) feelings of affection and hostility
 - c) acceptance of authority
 - d) general level of tension

General Methodology.

Psychological data necessary for evaluation of emotional health and personality were obtained by administering Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Tests to all sample subjects. ⁴

⁴Not all pictures in the TAT series were administered because of a time consideration and a belief that an optimum of material is obtained from about 10 to 12 pictures. The selection of pictures was based upon such considerations as the age and sex of the subject, and the visual situations contrived to elicit data needed for the personality profile. The following pictures were administered to all subjects: 1,2, 3BM,7BM,7GF,9GF,10,12F,13MF and 16. Depending upon the time element four others were also administered: 6BM,8GF,18GF,19.

These two particular projective tests were chosen for several reasons. Firstly evaluating techniques are fairly standardized and generally accepted. In addition the Rorschach is so constructed that it is able to give a picture of the dynamic structure of personality. Schafer states that while the Rorschach is an unstructured stimulus, the TAT is a personalized, semi-structured test situation which normally does not reach the primitive levels to which the Rorschach test can penetrate. The TAT often conveys more directly the person's characteristic mode of functioning in everyday situations that are personal, not routinized, immediately meaningful and potentially or actually conflictual.⁵ TAT protocols are especially useful for this particular project because they complement the sociological data so well. According to Bellak, TAT pictures, because of their very nature, give basic data on the testees' relationships to male and female authority figures and frequently show their genesis in terms of family relationships.⁶

Psychological tests were analyzed by a trained psychologist; the analysis and interpretation of the Rorschach was based upon contemporary Freudian concepts.⁷

⁵ R.Schafer, Psychoanalytic Interpretation in Rorschach Testing, (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1954), p.426.

⁶ L. Bellak, "The Thematic Apperception Test in Clinical Use", Projective Psychology, op cit , p.185

⁷ For clarification of this orientation see R.Schafer, op cite.

EMOTIONAL HEALTH OF SAMPLE GROUP.

Method.

Emotional health classification and health ratings were based upon the criteria and categories developed by Dr. Epstein.⁸ Each of the four basic categories (a)b)c)d)) consist of three sub-categories, e.g. a)-1, a)-2, a)-3; the possible range of emotional health is from a)-1 (or extremely healthy) to d)-3 (or extremely unhealthy). After consulting with members of the Human Development Study, it was decided to regard individuals in the c)-1 class as emotionally healthy.⁹

The results of the projective tests were analysed by a trained psychologist who had previously worked with Dr. Epstein and was familiar with this method of rating emotional health. The psychologist assigned a rating to each subject; in cases of doubt, the tests were re-evaluated (several times by a second psychologist also familiar with the system), and the necessary adjustments were made.¹⁰

Findings.

Democratic subjects tend to be somewhat healthier emotionally than father-dominated subjects; the difference, however, is minimal.

⁸ N.B.Epstein, ibid

⁹ Subjects rated in this area are frequently borderline cases and do not suffer severe psychopathology and severe anxiety to the same degree as c)-2 and c)-3 individuals. On the basis of the criteria used to distinguish the healthy from the unhealthy c)-1 subjects appear to have more in common with the former.

¹⁰ A good deal was known about each subject through other material gathered. If some aspect of the psychological evaluation appeared to be inappropriate in the light of this previous knowledge, a re-evaluation was demanded. The health rating of 3 subjects was changed; in only one case did the subject move from the healthy to the sick category.

In addition total sample variation is limited; the large majority of subjects are located in the c)-2, c)-3 class. (see Table 16).

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF EMOTIONAL HEALTH RATINGS

Health Rating	Sample Frequency		
	Democratic	Father-Dom.	Total
a)	-	-	-
b)-1	1	-	1
b)-2	-	-	-
b)-3	1	-	1
c)-1	2	1	3
c)-2, c)-3	1	1	2
c)-2	3	5	8
c)-3	2	3	5
d)	-	-	-
Total	10	10	20

A fourfold contingency table, showing a chi-square distribution of healthy and sick subjects (Table 17) indicates no significant relationship in this sample between emotional health and authority patterns.

TABLE 17

CHI-SQUARE DISTRIBUTION OF EMOTIONAL HEALTH

	Healthy	Sick
Democratic N=10	4	6
Father-Dom. N=10	1	9

$x^2 = 1.07$
Significant at
.30 level

A non-parametric test for two independent sample indicates that democratic subjects tend to be emotionally healthier; statistically, however, the results are not of critical significance. ($z=1.61$)

SUMMARY.

Differences do exist in the emotional health ratings of the sample groups. Since these differences are not of major significance, a possible relationship may exist between emotional health and authority patterns; the data, however, do not show this relationship to be a crucial one.

PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES IN DEMOCRATIC AND FATHER-DOMINATED SUBJECTS.

Emotional health ratings, although invaluable in establishing the stability of the personality configuration, do not always reveal and distinguish the positive and negative qualities that both healthy and sick subjects may exhibit. Unfortunately because dimensions of personality cannot always be isolated, personality traits are difficult to evaluate and quantify objectively. In addition, for this particular research, a technical problem existed; psychological reports varied in detail from subject to subject and data were not always comparable.

With these limitations in mind psychological data derived from objective tests were supplemented by available sociological data and specific personality traits of the subjects were evaluated and classified.

PERSONALITY RICHNESS: WARMTH AND EMOTIONAL SENSITIVITY.

The subjects' emotional sensitivity, responsiveness and ability to develop meaningful relations was examined. Positive and satisfying relationships that the individual was capable of forming were evaluated in terms of potential.¹¹ According to the degree to which they were able to relate, subjects were placed into one of three categories; high, medium and low. Attention is drawn to the fact that this classification is not based on the ordinary concepts of 'warmth' and 'outgoingness'. Some subjects possess a social facade of friendliness, cooperation and fluency, but these same individuals do not necessarily relate with as much comparable skill on an emotional level.

The following excerpts from individual psychological profiles serve to illustrate modes of classification. Because the emotional health configuration tends to ignore positive aspects of the unhealthy personality, we will use the profiles of c)-2 subjects only and illustrate that mental health and personality richness are not necessarily concomitant factors.

High Potential - Subject 20, c)-2

The subject shows a very complex personality with high intelligence and sensitivity and a fairly high

¹¹ Some subjects, because of personality complexities, do not always live up to their full potential. These same individuals, however, are capable of displaying warmth, sensitivity, etc., even though at times they are inclined to hesitate or withdraw from relationships.

degree of emotional conflict. She seems to be a basically warm and sensitive person but is inclined to be withdrawn ... As she shows a good deal of sensitivity and potential tenderness, one would suspect that she is probably the sort of person to form a few close relationships which do not threaten her.

High Potential - Subject 1, c)-2

This subject seems to be a rather complex and interesting personality, showing more richness than most of the subjects. She has warmth and sensitivity and a good ability to emphasize with other people. In spite of the subject's emotional richness, however, she does show signs of having serious problems.

Medium Potential - Subject 12, c)-2

Although the subject has some richness and flexibility, she is afraid to let herself go The subject has a fair amount of warmth, sensitivity, and the ability to empathize with others.

Medium Potential - Subject 11, c)-2

The subject seems to be a bright, sensitive girl with a high degree of verbal fluency which helps her maintain a good outer facade ... Although she may appear fairly well adjusted outwardly, she has strong internal conflicts The subject has some positive resources in emotional warmth and sensitivity although she is afraid of deep involvement.

Low Potential - Subject 8, c)-2

The subject seems to be a rather superficial, conventional person ... Although she is friendly and cooperative on the surface she does not seem to be able to make emotional contact.

Low Potential - Subject 18, c)-2

This is a subject who is able to make a fairly good impression on other people but shows a good deal of inner disturbance. She has little emotional depth or warmth and is very much afraid of becoming involved in a close relationship, though she keeps up a superficial facade of being interested in other people.

Findings.

Table 18 shows that democratic subjects have more potential in regard to personality richness than father-dominated subjects; inspection of the sixfold contingency table reveals that the difference is insignificant.

TABLE 18

DEGREE OF PERSONALITY RICHNESS

	High	Medium	Low	
Democratic N=10	5	2	3	$x^2 = 1.98$ Significant between .30 and .50 level
Fath.-dom. N=10	2	3	5	

INDEPENDENCE AND ITS COROLLARIES

Subject.

We will evaluate the ability of the subject to express her own individuality, to recognize her own wishes, thoughts and feelings and to determine her own course of action. Emotional dependency needs are, of course, implicit in this examination; the degree to which the subject relies upon others for support, direction and comfort will have a direct bearing on behavior organization.

Method and Findings.

The dependency needs of sample subjects vary in kind and in intensity, while it is relatively simple to describe

this variation by means of clinical reports, classification is not quite so easy. The psychological tests disclose that 18 of the 20 subjects have more than mild problems within the framework of emotional independence, yet overt behavior does not always confirm this weakness.¹² Therefore, in order to present this material with a minimum of distortion the data will be analyzed on two levels: emotional dependency needs and independence on an overt behavioral level. According to the intensity of the problem, subjects will be placed into one of three categories: mild, medium and intense. The following summaries of both psychological and sociological material will serve to illustrate classification judgments:

Subject 17. Emotional Dependency needs = intense;
Overt manifestations = mild. c)-3.

Psychological data: In the area of dependence the subject shows severe conflict. She has very strong oral needs and in spite of her resentment of domination has a deep underlying need to submit to a stronger person ... She presents a facade of pseudo-independence in that she seems very cold emotionally and does not care what other people think of her. She shows no inclination of developing any ego identity.

Sociological data: Due to parental inadequacy subject was forced to make decisions and behave in situations too difficult for her to manage. With increasing age both her mother and friends turned to her for advise and help. She feels compelled to act independently, but does show some resentment.

Subject 13. Emotional Dependency Needs = medium;
Overt manifestations = mild, b)-3

Psychological data: In the area of dependence the subject shows definite problems though she seems

¹² In regard to the two subjects with mild problems, one has a b)-1 rating, the other a c)-2 rating.

aware of them and is consciously trying to work them out. The subject's ego identity seems vague and immature at this point, but she most likely has the potential to develop in this area.

Sociological data: The subject is very responsible and very independent. She likes to please her parents but makes her own decisions. "I have no desire to do things that they will disapprove of, but I do what I want and I don't ask them".

Subject 14: Emotional dependency needs = medium;
Overt manifestations = medium, c)-2,c)-3

Psychological data: The subject is intensely aware of excessive dependency upon her parents; she resents the situation but lacks the strength to overcome it. The dependency is hostile and, in fantasy at least, she takes steps to overcome it. She is still immature and has not developed much sense of ego identity.

Sociological data: Subject wants to break away from family but spends a good deal of energy on meaningless arguments with her father; these arguments are never resolved. Her preoccupation with the problem and her conscious efforts to solve it somewhat temper the intensity of the problem.

Subject 16: Emotional dependency needs = intense;
Overt manifestations = intense, c)-2.

Psychological data: Subject has a strong oral dependency conflict. She seems afraid of going against her parents' wishes because she genuinely believes that they are right. Although she has an underlying need to divorce herself from her parents, this dependency will probably be shifted to her husband. 13

Sociological data: Subject somewhat regrets dependency and passivity but admires her father excessively and enjoys relying upon him. Sometimes difference in opinion discussed but "I usually come around to their way of thinking". Has now shifted some of dependence on to fiancé, "if we have any disagreement, I come around".

13 Subject 16 is now married and from all appearances, this is precisely what has happened.

TABLE 19
EMOTIONAL DEPENDENCY NEEDS

	<u>Mild</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Intense</u>	
Democratic N=10	1	5	4	$\chi^2 = .9$ no significance
Fath.-dom. N=10	1	3	6	

TABLE 20
DEPENDENCY NEEDS: BEHAVIORAL

	<u>Mild</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Intense</u>	
Democratic N=10	5	3	2	$\chi^2 = 4.66$ Significant above .10 level
Fath.-dom. N=10	1	3	6	

Table 19 indicates that while democratic subjects show less pathology in regard to emotional dependency needs, the differences between groups is so small that it must be completely ignored.

Table 20 indicates that on a behavioral level democratic subjects are more independent than father-dominated subjects; the difference, however, is significant only around the .10 level.

MANIFESTATIONS OF DEPENDENCY NEEDS.

There is only a modicum of difference in the sample dependency needs. These needs are manifested in various ways. On a conscious level many democratic subjects appear to be unaware of hostile dependency feelings; few conceptualize any real or direct resentment of parental possessiveness and control, or of their own dependency needs. In extreme cases, 6 democratic subjects have successfully repressed and denied conflict in this area. On the other hand a good many of the father-dominated subjects are excessively preoccupied with their unresolved dependency problems, some to the point of obsessive concern. On an unconscious level the struggle is characterized by a hostile dependency; this is probably more positive than passive dependency since the subject can take steps towards resolving the problem. ¹⁴

One way of clarifying this difference in perspective is by comparing acceptance or denial of independence problems in conjunction with TAT protocols. If we agree with the premise that the subject is projecting her own image onto a picture, several of the stories are especially revealing in this area.

First the protocols of democratic subjects will be examined. These stories illustrate the difficulty the subjects have in expressing direct rebellious feelings and feelings of

¹⁴ This does not imply that the rebellion both on a conscious and unconscious level is handled in a meaningful manner.

resentment; that they have these feelings, however, is obvious. The very fact that these figures submit quietly to authority figures is of special interest, since we have already found that an efficient system of parental control exists in the democratic family.

Subject 5. Democratic, c)-1

Picture 2. This has a European background, it is not our time. Up to this time there has been very little book learning in this family, they have always worked in the fields. Now they are starting education and the daughter is learning. They are hard working - serious, they don't get much fun out of life. The daughter will go to school for a few years and then the parents will arrange a marriage for her. She's the type that likes to read and study. The mother is the harsh strict type. She sees no sense in book learning except the Bible. The girl, even after she's married, will be interested in education.

Picture 7 GF. This is another picture of years ago. The little girl is with her mother or tutor who is trying to teach her to work. She's not terribly interested, she's dreaming of things far away. The tutor is quite engrossed in her work; this seems like the natural existence of lots of people at this time. The little girl looks dull, she might be a smart kid but ... The mother or tutor looks as if she's kind but not too understanding, she doesn't pay any attention to the fact that the child is not interested. The outcome will be that this sort of teaching will go on for quite a while.

Subject 8. Democratic, c)-2

Picture 2. This looks like a middle class country family. The mother of the family is a domineering type of woman, she tries to make sure that the children are doing their job, perhaps she wants them to be farm hands. The daughter is coming home from school. The son is training for the farm, he's preparing to take over when his parents die, or perhaps have a farm of his own. The mother is concerned about her children. The girl is sweet, quiet and neatly groomed. The son is muscular and handsome. They

could be a family in Northern Quebec. A good education is wanted for the daughter so she can leave the farm. The outcome will be just what the parents want.

Subject 11. Democratic, c)-2

Picture 2. The girl is coming home from school and looking at her mother and father working hard. She thinks she doesn't want to work hard like that and she will leave the farm and go into the horizon. But the girl doesn't want to be like the mother. The outcome will be that she will marry the farmer next door and live just like her mother, but she will want her children to get away and study hard.

Picture 7 GF. The mother is reading a story and the little girl is daydreaming about when she is grown up and a beautiful princess. She'll grow up and be a mother, just an ordinary person. The mother is older and more or less recapturing her youth.

Conscious awareness of independence problems does not necessarily enable father-dominated subjects to resolve these problems (even on an unconscious level). The stories do indicate, however, that even though submission to parental pressure may be the final outcome, the problem itself is approached in a more direct manner.

Subject 6. Father-dominated, c)-3

Picture 7 GF. The mother called the little girl and told her how to look after her doll properly. Now the little girl looks out the window and sees more interesting things, like a bunch of her friends outside ... she wants to go out and play with them. She can't just rush off and leave her mother, so she just looks out the window wanting to go. In the end the mother will realize this and let the little girl go.

Subject 14. Father-dominated, c)-1, c)-2

Picture 2. This is a puritan family; a mother, father and daughter. The daughter looks as if she has been to school and wants to continue learning. The mother

doesn't approve, she thinks the daughter should settle down and become a farmer's wife. The girl is intelligent and sensitive, she enjoys learning and doesn't want to end up living on a farm like her mother. The farm doesn't look too prosperous anyhow. She's determined to prove to her mother that it's worthwhile. She will win a scholarship and her parents will realize it's important for her to go on, she will prove to them she has ability.

Subject 15. Father-dominated, c)-3

Picture 2. The girl looks as if she came from an atmosphere where there was not much learning, where there was more physical exercise. She is going to try to learn and study to break away from the conditions of the other people. She will probably go off and read her books. The man and woman have shunned her, or are annoyed with her because she has broken with their type of life. She looks resigned and yet determined... She looks sad and disturbed. She will probably do what she wants to do but breaking away is difficult for her.

Picture 7 GF. The little girl is unhappy about something. She probably had an argument or was rejected by her friends. The mother is trying to comfort her by reading to her. There is not a strong attachment between mother and daughter ... the mother would like to be close but the girl is not interested and not concentrating on the mother's effort. She'll probably listen to what the mother has to say and then go off by herself, work out by herself or forget it.

A difference in content of TAT protocols exists in the groups, even when independence problems are of equal intensity. In the following samples the emotional and behavioral problems of both subjects are mild but note the difference in perspective.

Subject 10. Democratic, b)-1

Picture 2. There has been some sort of argument between the mother and daughter ... the mother is looking off haughtily to the hills instead of looking at her daughter as she goes off to school. The girl is dressed in modern

day clothes even though they are of a country hick type ... the mother is more old fashioned, as a matter of fact, all three look as if they are dressed in clothes that come from three different periods. The outcome will be that she will come home and everything will be fine ... she will give in ... work.

Picture 7 GF. For some reason the woman and the girl are estranged. She is trying to get the girl close to her. First she tried to read to her and that didn't work. Now she's talking about the doll that won't work either. Eventually she'll be able to get the girl reconciled to her because if the girl is capable of becoming attached to a doll she can probably become attached to a human being. The woman may have been someone who replaced the mother who was lost. The girl is not absolutely negative but she's neutral. She appears to be sad and just a little far away.

Subject 1. Father-dominated, c)-2

Picture 1. The boy's father wanted to be a violinist but his parents could not afford it, so he forced his son into wanting to become a violinist .. the son couldn't care less about the violin. Now he's alone, staring at the violin that meant so much to his father, he doesn't know if he wants to continue with it to please his father or what he wants to do. The outcome will be that he will do it for a few years, then someone will point out to him that he's no good or he doesn't have enough money to continue with lessons. He will stop but keep the violin as a memory of his father. He will then go on and do something he wants to do.

Picture 7 GF. This little girl is about 8 or 9; there has been a discussion among her parents if they should be modern and tell her the facts of life. They finally decided to tell her. The mother is reading from a book but the little girl is bored and couldn't care less how people get here ... she wants to play with her dolls. The mother is trying to be modern, the girl is spoilt. After this the mother will go back to the father and admit defeat ... and say they should wait a few years before they teach the child anything.

Democratic subject 10 can reject parental domination without feeling too much guilt, and can express resentment

of domination; she does feel, however, some obligation to submit. Father-dominated subject 1 appears to be able to reject domination and feels little obligation to submit.

EXPRESSION OF HOSTILITY.

Subject.

When we speak of hostility, we are of course referring to the prolonged rather than the momentary kind. Clearly all individuals have some hostile impulses. These impulses may be either healthy and non-destructive or unhealthy and destructive in nature. Of crucial importance is the manner in which hostility is handled and expressed; the degree of conflict involved; the amount of energy expended in dealing with hostility and the pathological defenses developed to handle hostility.

Ideally from a health point of view hostility should not permeate the individual's life and become a source of major preoccupation. In order to deal with hostility realistically, the individual should recognize his own feelings and relate them directly to the appropriate situation. The inability to deal realistically with aggressive impulses forces the individual to resort to denial in the form of suppression, repression or projection. These mechanisms, when excessively employed, are destructive.

Findings.

18 of the 20 subjects employ varying degrees of damaging psychological mechanisms in order to defend themselves against their own hostile-aggressive impulses; over 50% of the subjects have severe problems in this area. A sixfold contingency table (see Table 21) shows that no difference exists between the groups in this respect.

TABLE 21.

INTENSITY OF HOSTILITY PROBLEMS

	Mild	Medium	Severe	
Democratic N=10	1	4	5	$x^2 = .232$ significant at .99 level
Fath.dom. N=10	1	3	6	

Differences in handling of hostility: Behavioral Level:

There is a difference in the handling of hostility between the groups on a behavioral level. It seems that father-dominated subjects have a specific outlet for hostile feelings that democratic subjects are deprived of; the sometimes unreasonable and autocratic behavior of their fathers. The therapeutic value of this outlet is somewhat limited because most of the father-dominated subjects are encompassed by feelings of frustrating rage; although vociferous verbal battles may occur it is seldom that the

subject wins, and in the long run she is usually forced to submit.

On the other hand, democratic subjects are inclined to over-idealize family life; they also have a propensity to deny aggressive-hostile impulses towards their parents. Six democratic subjects found it difficult to recall any kind of unpleasant family experience and they found it exceedingly difficult to express any resentment towards family life.¹⁵ This general attitude was well expressed by Subject 5, who during the interview stated: "I find it very hard to think about these things. It is so much easier to think about good things rather than conflicts".¹⁶

Differences in handling of hostility: Emotional level.

While the data show that both groups have fairly intense problems in the area of hostility, the indications are that on an emotional as well as on a behavioral level, father dominated subjects are better able to conceptualize aggressive-hostile impulses.

TAT picture 3 BM (the picture is that of a huddled figure with the shadowy outline of a gun lying on the floor) often gives information on problems concerning aggression. According

¹⁵ Since projective tests show clearly that resentment exists, we can only assume that it has been repressed or suppressed.

¹⁶ Only 2 democratic subjects had good recall and were able to express themselves with a fair amount of freedom in regard to unpleasant aspects of family life. In contrast one father-dominated subject was inclined to over-idealize family life but was still able to verbalize some aversion to her father's authoritarian tendencies. The remainder of father-dominated subjects, with varying degrees of freedom, were able to recall and pronounce unpleasant aspects of family life quite openly.

to Bellak, a subject who has to repress his latent aggressiveness may completely deny the presence of a gun. Sometimes hemming and hawing over what the object might be shows great conflict over aggression which manifests itself in a compulsive pattern.¹⁷

It is therefore relevant to note that not a single democratic subject incorporates the gun in her story, while 5 father-dominated subjects use the object in a very dramatic fashion. The responses of both groups are shown in Table 22. Not only are democratic subjects inclined to deny the presence of a gun, but they are prone to ignore the presence of an object in the picture completely.

TABLE 22

SUBJECT RESPONSE TO OBJECT: TAT PICTURE 3BM

Identification of Object	Frequency of Response	
	Dem. Sub.	Fath.-dom.Sub.
Object identified as gun or weapon; used as a potentially dangerous weapon in story	-	5
Object perceived but identified and used in story as a toy	-	1
Object perceived as gun but great difficulty and hesitation in weaving it into story	1	-
Difficulty in deciding if object is gun, idea rejected, not in story	2	-
Object perceived but not labelled; used as symbol of love or danger	1	-
Object perceived of as keys, ignored in story	-	1
Presence of object completely ignored	6	3

¹⁷L.Bellak, op cit , p.207-208

Table 23 shows that the outcome of this story is also somewhat differently presented by the groups. Attention is directed to the fact that only democratic subjects tell stories in which the heroine will continue to be sad. The following story illustrates this tenor:

This is a hunchback kid and she's crying, maybe someone teased her about it. She realizes that no one will love her in life and she is doomed to a lonely future. They are poor and she is realizing that life doesn't look too bright and it probably won't be. ¹⁸

TABLE 23

OUTCOME: TAT STORY 3BM

<u>Outcome of Story</u>	<u>Frequency of response</u>	
	<u>Dem.Sub.</u>	<u>Fath.-dom.Sub.</u>
Will get over incident	3	6
Will continue to be sad (although tragic mood might be suppressed)	4	-
Severe outside punishment inflicted	-	3
Convicted for crime but will be acquitted	-	1
Self-punishment for moral transgression	1	-
Childish, empty stories; no content, no outcome	2	-

No democratic protagonist is punished by outside forces; father-dominated protagonists either forget about the incident or have punishment inflicted upon them by others.

In regard to content one is impressed by the difference in mood; 7 father-dominated subjects present stories which reflect, in some way, either death or physical danger; only 3 democratic

¹⁸ TAT protocol, Subject 11.

stories convey this impression and in all three the danger is either obscure or muted.

Clearly it is impossible to evaluate personality by the use of a single TAT picture; an effective use of projective tests demands a cumulative composite utilization of a series of tests. Nonetheless indications are that it would be useful to explore further the differences between groups within the independence-hostility framework.

DISCUSSION.

Evidence does not support the hypothesis that democratic family organization encourages positive emotional growth and development. Only 4 of the 10 democratic subjects were found to be emotionally healthy and two of these were borderline cases. While democratic subjects were found to be healthier than father-dominated subjects, the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant. In addition the variance of scores in the total group was limited; at least 50% of all subjects in both groups received c)-2 to c)-3 ratings.

A disparity was also observed between democratic subjects in our sample and the democratic progeny described in the literature. Democratic subjects are far from the paragons of carefree 'young Americans' as depicted in the writings of the more evaluative authors. In regard to personality richness and the ability to relate, there is only a modicum of difference between the sample groups. With our results in mind, we would

be predisposed to agree with Mead and Erikson rather than Bossard et al ¹⁹. In neither sample are subjects daring, original or inordinately self-sufficient. Generally most subjects are conventional; autonomy in all but two subjects is of a limited kind.

The majority of subjects were found to have rather severe emotional problems of one kind or another, especially in the areas of independence and hostility. Within the research framework these two particular areas are closely related. It is Fromm's contention that the degree of personal independence and the amount of individuation is limited by society, and there is a certain level beyond which the individual cannot go. As a child grows, however, he must break the ties with his parents; attempts to remain in childish dependence result in submissiveness whereby consciously the child may feel secure and satisfied, but unconsciously he realizes that he has paid too high a price, that he has given up the strength and integrity of self. This submissiveness increases and creates hostility and rebelliousness against those whom the child has become dependent upon. ²⁰ This is partially descriptive of arrested development leading to personality pathology. We found family ties to be more binding in democratic family organization;

¹⁹ M.Mead, op cit; E.Erikson, op cit; C.Beasley, op cit; J.Bossard and L.Boll, op cit; J.Bossard op cit; S.Davis, op cit.

²⁰ E. Fromm, Escape from Freedom (Toronto: Rinehart & Co., 1941) p.29-30.

democratic subjects had a larger personal investment in family life. On the surface these subjects appear to be more independent than father-dominated subjects. However, this is merely pseudo-behavior. Democratic subjects are prone to submit quietly to covert parental pressure rather than disturb family tranquility. Despite this seeming lack of surface conflict, projective tests reveal that these subjects are unable to deal effectively with hostile-aggressive impulses and are forced to employ pathological mechanisms in the form of suppression, repression and projection. This kind of unconscious manipulation is somewhat germane to Erikson's contention that the lack of friction and parental conflict in the modern family obstructs the need of the child to rebel .²¹ We would disagree with Erikson; the parent-child conflict is not really extirpated any more than the need to rebel is; rather, both have been obliged to go underground. Theoretically in view of this it would be anticipated that father-dominated subjects would encounter less difficulty in their efforts to attain autonomy. These subjects were better able to verbalize hostile feelings in regard to parental control and were freer in the recognition of positive advantages of freedom. On both a conscious and unconscious level, however, serious malfunctions are just as evident in this group as they are in the democratic group; whether or not father-dominated subjects are less inhibited is problematic.

²¹ E.Erikson, op cite.

There is nonetheless a difference in emotional composition between the two groups on an unconscious level in as much as they express dependency needs and hostility in a dissimilar fashion. The 'velvet glove' method of control used in the democratic family makes it difficult for subjects to rebel effectively or to even be completely aware of autonomous needs. Parental indoctrination is so successful that even on an unconscious level rebellious impulses are often accompanied by guilt. In order to expiate these feelings, most democratic subjects feel an obligation to submit to the authority. In addition, hostile-aggressive phantasies are often muted due to repressive mechanisms. Because father-dominated subjects are more aware of dependency problems and because they have a visible authority to rebel against, the struggle for independence is more direct and rebellion does not involve the same type of self-recrimination. This approach is, however, of little advantage; father-dominated subjects are prone to rebel in meaningless ways; their hostility is such that it is a source of major preoccupation and guilt, and they are unable to deal with it realistically.

We would, therefore, argue the legitimacy of the much publicized theory that the presence of equality and the lack of friction in the modern family is injurious to youth because it deprives them of the need to rebel. Father-dominated families do not provide this kind of climate, yet father-dominated subjects have as much difficulty in the dependency-hostility area as democratic subjects.

SUMMARY.

In the course of our investigation the relationship between democratic organization and emotional health was found to be inconsequential. Although results were inconclusive in the analysis of personality traits, the investigation was profitable; it was discovered that the system used to evaluate overall emotional health had somewhat of a blurring effect in as much as it ignored positive qualities in unhealthy subjects. Personality richness, independence and the ability to deal with hostility were not necessarily concomitant to emotional health. Positive qualities in c)-2 subjects were of course more observable than positive qualities in c)-3 subjects (the overlay of psychopathology in the latter group made it difficult to locate these qualities), nevertheless we would assume that they do exist.

There was little difference found between the groups in regard to personality richness, ability to relate, dependency needs and the intensity of hostility. There was, however, a difference found in the way dependency-hostility needs were expressed.

CHAPTER VII

THEORETICAL BASIS OF CONTEMPORARY FAMILY AUTHORITY
STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION.

The need to formulate a reliable and equitable scheme for the appraisal of family authority structures becomes clear when one considers the existing possibility of varied researchers viewing family authority systems in dissimilar fashions. If family authority is to be explored and correlated to other dimensions of behavior, it is necessary to ascertain that the same social phenomena are under examination.

An effective analysis of family authority patterns must be sensitive not only to overt behavior but also to social change, societal demands and the normative system. In addition, a sensitive appraisal of contemporary North American family authority patterns must recognize that family control is based upon both social and psychological factors.

PART I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE : THEORETICAL ORIENTATION.

AUTHORITY-POWER AND SOCIAL CHANGE.

Family authority patterns are always somewhat utilitarian in as much as they^{are} in part contingent upon cultural demands. For example Bosanquet pointed out that the sanctity of the family and the importance of producing heirs was crucial to the Aryan family because the culture was oriented around ancestor worship. Because the duties and responsibilities which held the family together were an integral part of ancestor worship the father, as Priest of the family religion, assumed a centrally dominant position. Bosanquet added that this was in complete contrast to modern families whose *raison d'etre* is the nurturing of the young.¹ Ogburn and Nimkoff maintain that the economic role played by men and women in primitive societies was in itself authority determinant. In a society where life was hard the men were more dominant because they were depended upon to hunt for food while the women bore children and remained at home. If the work was easier, for example in a hoe culture, women had the necessary physical strength to work and at the same time could stay close to their homes, then it was possible for the women to be more dominant.²

Because societies are dynamic, family authority patterns

¹ H. Bosanquet, The Family, (New York: MacMillan & Co., 1906) p.22

² W.F.Ogburn and M.Nimkoff, Technology and The Changing Family, cited: Blood and Wolfe.

do not remain constant; these transitions, however, are not without conflict. A cultural lag exists, and many contemporary norms have their roots in the past. According to Ogburn, prior to modern times the power and prestige of the family was due to seven functions it performed: economic; educational; religious; recreational; status giving; protective; and affectional.

Of these functions six have been reduced and only the affectional function remains as vigorous and extensive as in prior areas.³

Westermarck maintained that, although parental or paternal authority and filial submission reached its height among people in archaic civilizations, the old notions of parental rights and filial duties have left traces that still survive. He also noted distinct change in the replacing of duty, reverence and obedience by natural regard and affection.⁴ Burgess contends that the family is in a state of transition from one that in historical times had behavior governed and controlled by mores, public opinion and law, to a companionship type of family with forms of behavior arising from mutual affection and the consensus of its members.⁵ Davis maintains that if the modern family emphasizes companionship it is not because mores are ceasing to control family behavior but because mores have changed.

³ W.F.Ogburn, "The Changing Functions of The Family", Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family", ed. R.Winch, R.McGinnis, p.74-78

⁴ E.Westermarck, The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization, (London: MacMillan & Co., 1936) p.98

⁵ E.Burgess and H.Locke, op cit .

We now have a different normative system with reference to the family and a different social setting in which the system is applied.⁶

CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITY AND POWER STYLING: THE DECLINE OF MALE CONTROL.

Because societal demands and the normative system are essential factors in the determination of family control, societies will style authority in different ways. Both Nimkoff and Mead agree that the contemporary middle class normative system encourages husband and wife to consult each other in important decisions,⁷ thus legitimizing a relatively equalitarian relationship. This does not preclude the possibility of one partner becoming more dominant than the other; it merely discourages an arbitrary power relationship within the confines of the normative system.

The husband and wife may have equal control or one may be more dominant than the other; in most cases no one partner will dominate every family situation. Bales and Slater argue that, as there are different classes of decisions, so will there be different components to leadership. Since it is hardly likely that an individual will combine all of these components into a single role, one should expect to find different kinds of leaders. The manner in which power differentiation takes place depends upon many factors, among which

⁶ K. Davis, op cit , p.426.

⁷ M.Nimkoff, "The Family in The United States", Readings in General Sociology, ed. R.O'Brien, C.Schrag,W.Martin.(Boston:Houghton Mifflin, 1957) p.245. M.Mead, Male and Female,(New York: New American Library, 1949) p.224-225.

are the kind of tasks involved and the personality differences of group members.⁸ Zimmerman claims that although power in the modern family is limited, it still tends to polarize itself into dominant and submissive roles. For most purposes any one member can be the dominator while others submit. These roles can sometimes change from day to day and from function to function.⁹ He characterizes the real holder of power in the family as the one who can influence it in the particular decision which is current.¹⁰

While one does not expect a single person to dominate all areas of family life, social changes and societal demands have remolded authority patterns and male control of family life has diminished. It is Mead's contention that in legal form the United States is patrinal, patrilineal, patrilocal and for the most part patriarchal. In reality, however, the power of the father over his wife and children has weakened considerably since this particular family form was brought over from Europe. This change was initiated by the exigencies of frontier life, with the woman taking over more roles and becoming more of a partner.¹¹ The immigrant wave of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were also influential in granting the woman more power. The man, when he first came

⁸ R.Bales & P.Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Decision-Making Groups", Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, (Illinois: The Free Press, 1955) p.302.

⁹ C.Zimmerman, Family and Civilization.(New York:Harper & Bros.1947)
p.18-19

¹⁰ ibid, p.25

¹¹ M.Mead, op cit , p.224-225

to the United States, had to set to work in order to make a living, the woman had to set to work in order to discover how to live. This division of labor resulted in the woman securing more power than she was able to acquire previously.¹²

Wolfe asserts that in America today patriarchal family is dead. Because American wives are more resourceful and competent than their grandmothers, there are some powerful husbands, but they can no longer take their power for granted; they must compete with their wives and win power by virtue of their own skills and accomplishments.¹³

Current North American norms no longer dictate that intense power be invested in the father-husband role. Homans argues that the norms actually enhance the woman's power. Because the family is no longer complex enough to require central control, the father has lost not only his job as boss but also the respect his job gave him; from being a sort of god he has become an equal. The check he earns is deposited in a bank and earned in an organization outside of the home, so that there is no emotional impact leading to direct command. On the other hand, the mother's positional change is not as great, since she still takes charge of the household; because of this her authority has risen relatively if not absolutely.¹⁴

¹² ibid., p.245 Term paper material indicates that authority patterns in families with a European background may be of any type depending on the members' personality and the social circumstances involved. Some families are extremely mother-dominated because of the father's difficulty in adjusting to a new environment; others are father-dominated because of tradition. There are also families who are democratic, even anarchistic, because the children have been better able to adjust to and interpret their present culture.

¹³ R.Blood and D.Wolfe, op cit., 19-29

¹⁴ G.Homans, op cit., 277-279

An additional element to be considered in an evaluation of contemporary family authority patterns is the role played by children. One result of social change is that the power of the parents over their children is of shorter duration, and children no longer follow blindly their parents' wishes. Escalona states that recent changes in child-rearing practices have considerably altered authority. With increased attention now being directed towards the emotional needs of the child, the child finds himself in a position to demand more power.¹⁵ Waller and Hill maintain that "from an adult centered world, in which children are expected to adjust to adult standards, parents are expected to shift now to a child-centered family, in which the needs of the child take precedence".¹⁶ Riesman contends that in other-directed societies such as ours, parents lack self assurance in both work spheres and social relationships. This insecurity is accompanied by doubt as to how children should be brought up; parents no longer feel superior. Children can obtain more power because the other-directed child is more knowing than his parents.¹⁷

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITY STYLING;
THE PERSONALITY CULT IN MODERN MARRIAGE.

Cult in Modern Marriage.

Inkeles argues that an adequate sociological analysis

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- ¹⁵ S. Escalona, "A Commentary Upon Some Recent Changes in Child-Rearing Practices", Child Development, 20, Sept. 1949, p. 158
- ¹⁶ W. Waller and R. Hill, The Family (New York: Dryden Press, 1951) p. 414
- ¹⁷ D. Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, op cit.

of many problems is either impossible or severely limited, unless explicit use is made of psychological theory and data in conjunction with sociological theory and data.¹⁸ To understand the balance of social and psychological factors in contemporary authority stylings it is again necessary to examine normative prescriptions within the framework of social change.

Sirjamaki postulates that in pioneer days the criteria of a successful marriage were in terms of the adequate achievement of family functions which secured individual maintenance and group survival for all members. Contemporary criteria of a happy marriage are quite different; since the struggle for survival is reduced, personal happiness and individual development become more crucial.¹⁹ Americans regard marriage as a major life goal for men as well as women, and to ensure marital fulfillment, marriages, they feel, should be based upon mutual affection and freedom of choice.²⁰ Winch concurs and maintains that current mate selection is based upon romance and affection with the emphasis upon personality and personal happiness. He sees marriage as a personal commitment rather than a social one and contends that love, upon which American middle class selection of mates is based, may be stated in terms of complementary needs. By this he means that the majority

¹⁸ A. Inkeles, "Personality and Social Structure" Sociology Today, eds. R. Merton, L. Broom and L. Cottrell Jr. (New York: Basic Books, 1959) p. 250

¹⁹ J. Sirjamaki, The American Family in the Twentieth Century, (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1955) p. 77-80.

²⁰ ibid, p. 57

personality needs of marriage partners tend to be opposite rather than similar. ²¹ Because a submissive person will look for a mate who will dominate, this is an important issue in regard to authority; the relative power of husband over wife will be contingent upon unconscious needs rather than social prescriptions.

Zimmerman asserts that the power relationship in marriage changes as it moves from an institutional relationship to a highly personalized one. ²² Blood and Wolfe claim that families have two alternative ways of disposing of power; they can do what the culture dictates or what their own characters dictate. In a stable society the sources of power coincide; because American society is not stable, societal custom does not necessarily dictate. ²³

Concepts of Power and Authority.

Before any discussion of contemporary authority can take place, the difference between power and authority must be clarified. Power and authority both deal with the ability of one social entity to influence the behavior of another but the prospectives involved are not necessarily the same. This is of special importance when dealing with the contemporary family unit, because authority within this framework is determined by a balance of social and psychological factors.

²¹ R.Winch, Mate Selection (New York: Harpers, 1958)

²² C.Zimmerman, op cit. p.801

²³ R.Blood, D. Wolfe, op cit., p.13

Weber, who saw power as an aspect of most, if not all, social relationships conceptualized it as "the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behavior of the other persons".²⁴ He maintained that domination involved a reciprocal relationship in as much as the rulers expected their orders to be obeyed because they had legitimate authority to issue commands, the obedience of the ruled was guided, to some extent, by the idea that those issuing commands constituted a legitimate order of authority.²⁵ It is Davis' contention that power, as applied to social affairs, means the determination of the behavior of others in accordance with one's own ends. He sees the possibility of two power constructs:(1) structural or positional, with the individual acquiring power because of his role and(2) naked unauthorized power.²⁶ Davis describes authority as a system of normatively sanctioned power and legitimate dominance.²⁷ Wolfe also views power as an aspect of an informal social relationship based upon the ability of one person to contribute to the gratification or deprivation of another's needs. Authority on the other hand is an aspect of the formal structure of the group, based upon role prescriptions and founded in the normative system of the group. He maintains that power is independent of roles, any one may have needs or goals or may have resources valued by others regardless

²⁴ R.Bendix, Max Weber (New York: Doubleday & Co. 1960) p.294

²⁵ ibid, p.295-296

²⁶ K.Davis, op cit, p.94-96

²⁷ ibid, p.48

of his role. Norms, however, may set a limit to acceptable influences. Power and authority are not exclusive categories; Wolfe claims that in order to maintain authority in an ongoing group a person must have a certain amount of power with which to enforce conformity with his decisions. ²⁸

DISCUSSION.

In all societies family authority systems are a part of the institutional complex, and family control has its foundation in the political, economic and religious-ideological orientation of the society. The demands of our society are such that the most skillful and competent family member is often in a position to control family life, if he so wishes. The modern woman is not necessarily more skillful and competent than she was at one time; on the contrary, in regard to physical household tasks she is possibly less so. The demands of modern homelife in areas labelled as important are such that the woman has as many or more skills than the man. Without formal sanctions, therefore, she sometimes is able to propel family members towards goals with greater ease than her husband.

Competence and skill were, even in the past, integral factors of the authority phenomena; assigned rather than acquired role was, however, the major determinant of family authority. Because ^{of} changes in the social structure, the assigned male role is invested with less authority than it once possessed, but a cultural lag persists; authority systems are

²⁸ D.Wolfe, op cit., p.102-103

rooted in the past and some mores endure even though the *raison d'etre* no longer exists. Contemporary society sanctions equality but this is somewhat of an intellectual rationalization; emotionally many feel that the man's rightful position is, at the very least, as executive head of the family. In Davis' terms ²⁹ the male structural position is such that he is still able to acquire power because of his role.

Changes in the social structure have in reality eliminated much of the legitimation for traditional authority and a rejection of patriarchal organization has come into being. The normative structure has become relatively flexible in regard to family authority structures. Ideally it sanctions the husband and wife consulting with each other on important family issues; society demands, however, only a limited commitment to this norm and the immediate effects of deviation from this kind of patterned behavior are nil.

Because there is no strong legitimized system of family authority, a gap exists and a melange of authority structures fill the void. Not only does normative flexibility allow for idiosyncratic behavior on the part of the individual family units but, in addition, because marriage has become a personal rather than a social act, and because the contemporary family emphasizes psychological rather than social dependency, personality and individual needs are among the essential determinants of family authority organization. There exists, therefore, a discrepancy

²⁹ K.Davis, ibid

in the meanings that different families attach to the authority relationship; each family may legitimize authority in their own way, defining differently which decisions and behaviors are related to family control.

Notwithstanding, somewhat of a balance remains between the idiosyncratic and structured patterns of control. Wolfe's results indicate that authority distribution in the Detroit area is oriented towards equalitarianism, the implication being that there is a sameness in American family organization. We would not quarrel with this thesis; the family is part of the institutional complex which supports in theory, if not always in fact, equalitarian relationships. While traditional patriarchy is relatively non-existent, however, contemporary family authority structures may still take on a variety of forms, as the norms governing family behavior become more flexible, the importance of individual power becomes more pronounced. Weber stated that among the many sources of power there were two important contrasting types: (1) power derived from established authority that allocated the right to command and the duty to obey and (2) power derived from a constellation of interests that developed in a formally free market.³⁰ In North American society both are pertinent but the latter has become an extremely important source of power in family organization. The norms or lack of norms, encourage the partner who is more intelligent, capable and talented to reach for a greater portion

³⁰ R.Bendix, op cit . p.294

of family control. In Weber's terms family power may be viewed as a commodity to be purchased by the most competent individual within a given social situation, if he so desires.

CONCLUSION.

The normative system in regard to family control is a flexible one, but also one which legitimizes authority in a paradoxical manner. Equalitarianism and self-expression with the male as nominal head of the family is sanctioned. On the other hand, authority is somewhat legitimized according to personal competence and individual needs. This system encourages the packaging of control with no single person dominating all areas of family life which is in itself equalitarianism by diffusion. We can then expect to find in our society a large number of families with relatively socially acceptable authority systems. We can also expect to find a smaller group of families with authority systems not so morally acceptable, but none the less socially permitted.

PART II. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS.

NORMATIVE LIMITATION OF CONTEMPORARY
FAMILY AUTHORITY STRUCTURE.

Despite the variety of authority alternatives proffered by contemporary society, the majority of families in the University population tend to operate within a circumscribed framework. Resulting authority structures, while not identical, are inclined to embody some elements of equalitarianism and self-expression. This is especially true of families with more than just a minimum amount of cohesiveness.

There are families to-day with tyrannical fathers, men who consider themselves to be rightful dictators in their own homes. On investigation, however, unless these men temper their dictating tendencies with some flexibility and benevolence, these particular families are inclined to become highly disorganized; relationships deteriorate, especially as the children mature and discover the variety of possibilities for independence in our society.

The following summaries, based on student term paper material, illustrate this tendency towards disorganization in coercive father-dominated families. More severe examples could have been presented if students with divorced parents had been investigated.

Family 141. ³¹

Mother 141, while possessive and domineering in relationship to the children, is in control only when her husband is away. Father 141 is aggressive, patriarchal in orientation and makes all final decisions, both social and financial. The children are completely subservient to their parents, who attempt to control all of their activities. The children are extremely resentful of the authoritarian atmosphere, and, as a result, a good deal of tension and disorganization is to be found. The outcome has been that the eldest son (author of the term paper) now goes his own way and does as he pleases despite parental opposition.

Family 162. ³²

Mother 162 feels that husband and wife should make joint decisions; father 162 feels that the man should make all family decisions. As a result the mother-father relationship is brimming with conflict, especially in the area of finance. The father controls the family income, will not disclose his earnings and will not consult with his wife about large family purchases. Father 162 states that it is his wife's job to cook, raise children and be a good wife, while it is his prerogative to give her as much money as he thinks she's worth. The conflict relationship permeates into the entire household; the parents have, in addition to other arguments, innumerable disputes over the bringing up of the children. The writer has no relationship with his father and little with his mother. Now he has achieved some independence, is indifferent to them and manages to go his own way.

It is difficult to locate intensively mother-dominated families in the sample. While there are many mother-dominated families in the sample population, as the woman's authority becomes excessive, disorganization appears to result more rapidly than in intensively father-dominated families. The following examples illustrate the difficulties encountered in a mother-dominated family:

³¹ Term Paper 141, April 1959

³² Term Paper 162, April 1959

Family 25. 33

This family is completely dominated by the mother. Mother 25 is competent and skillful; father 25 is not successful in his occupation, is extremely introverted and is now an alcoholic. Although not hospitalized, he is undergoing psychiatric treatment. The father refuses to cooperate in family matters, which has increased his wife's anxieties. This is an extremely high tension family which has managed to remain a single unit in name only.

Family 159. 34

Mother 159 is completely dominant; she is superior and socially more attractive than her husband. The couple's goals and needs are completely divergent, but because the mother is stronger, her way of life is followed. The children like both parents and until recently the superficial parental relationship was quite good and the household was harmonious. In 1958 Mr. 159 went bankrupt and had a heart attack; his wife went to work and he lost whatever status he previously possessed. The household is now permeated with tension and conflict and, at the time of writing, the parents were considering a separation.

Tyrannical parents, benevolent or otherwise, are in the minority; in the majority of intact families at least some discussion of matters relating to and affecting individual family members is the accepted mode of family behavior. The differences that occur in many cases are not necessarily in the discussions but rather in the manner of final resolution. An individual may customarily propel the remaining family members towards his own goals, but unless the family recognizes his dominance and are committed to accepting his decisions, he will not be the indisputable leader or holder of family authority. To illustrate, Family 16 is one of the extreme father-dominated families in our sample. Not only the nuclear

33 Term Paper 25, April 1959

34 Term Paper 159, April 1959

family unit but to a lesser degree the extended family admire and respect him; generally they all accede to his wishes. Mr.16, however, is by no means a dictator; the nuclear family unit is a close one and all members are inordinately vocal in matters pertaining to family life. At the same time, because they feel that Mr. 16 is competent, reliable and somewhat omnipotent, these democratic discussions are not resolved in a democratic manner; the father as head of the family makes most of the final decisions, whether they be where the family should go on a Sunday outing or what school the children should attend.

There are men in the father-dominated sample who long to make decisions without family comment, but they rarely achieve this goal. For example, in Family 14 the father's tyrannical orientation costs the family some disorganization; members resent his efforts of arbitrary decision-making policies and resist by discussing matters pertaining to the family, even though these discussions may result in conflict. On the other hand although Mr. 14 desires no opposition, he is aware of the impossibility of his position and permits discussion and some resistance to his demands. He retains the right, however, to make all major decisions and the family accepts this.

CONCLUSION.

Term paper material indicates that, while the contemporary normative system is not rigid or powerful enough to compel families to adopt a specific form of family authority, excessive deviation generally causes family disorganization. The more cohesive and stable families in the University population embrace some family norms congruous with the societal norms of equality and free expression.

The exigencies of society still favor the male, rather than the female, as executive head of an organized family unit; should the female become too powerful, complete disorganization is most likely to result, because the male is then deprived of any major role in the family system. The husband-father is able to maintain his balance of power and authority chiefly because of his influence in the economic area. The man is normally the major economic provider for his family and if he does not always control distribution of his earnings, he may limit his wife's influence in this area if he so wishes. In many families, when the husband is smothered by his wife's dominant personality, one way he may frustrate her power drive is by withholding and controlling family income.

SOCIETAL NORMS VERSUS INDIVIDUAL NEEDS IN CONTEMPORARY FAMILY AUTHORITY PATTERNS.

In a given family unit that member can be most powerful who has the potential ability to propel other members towards

his desired goals. This generalized power potential, however, is sometimes enigmatic because it can be a dormant factor in any given relationship; an individual with a high power potential may choose not to exercise it and thereby limit his role in the family authority structure.

To understand the balance of exercised authority in a family organization it is necessary to examine the psychological properties of husband and wife; in our society an individual can exert pressure if he possesses suitable skills, but need structure is a more complicated phenomenon. Clearly, couples do not consciously assess their own abilities in order to decide upon a family authority system. Bott, in her study of family networks, found that no couple clearly recognized the right of one partner to direct the activities of the other. In a subtle sense couples recognized that one partner was more domineering but felt it was a matter of personality rather than right or role expectation.³⁵ Our research does not corroborate this extreme psychological view. Some wives in our sample feel that implicit in the husband role is the right to direct certain activities. Personality and individual needs, however, are also important determinants of family control.

Our research results indicate that while the relative power of husband over wife is somewhat contingent upon unconscious needs, these needs are not necessarily related to the actual

³⁵ E.Bott, Family and Social Network, (London:Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1957) p.238-239

skill and competence possessed by the individual. On the contrary, the need of the husband to dominate in all ten father-dominated families in our sample is not really commensurate with the resources and skills being brought into the power-authority relationship; in most cases neither are the wives weak and inadequate. Since these wives are not basically lacking in the resources necessary to wield power, it is assumed that the need exists to repress their power potential and submit. By this act of repression they are inclined to distort their own natural capabilities. These wives play with varying degrees of rigidity the traditional woman role; many laughingly describe themselves as anachronisms but still intimate pride in their chosen roles. Despite this attitude most emit an aura of dissatisfaction. 50% of the sample work exceptionally hard in the traditional task area, yet they either dislike this kind of work or they are not particularly talented in this area; one woman has undergone rather extensive psychiatric treatment but is unable to come to terms with her environment; two women suffer relatively severe psychosomatic symptoms,³⁶ and are thus limited in the scope of their activities. In the remaining 50% of the sample, two women are or have been under psychiatric treatment; an additional wife is unable to travel because she finds it impossible to leave the city proper. Only two wives function well in their

³⁶ headaches, backaches, varicose veins, tiring easily.

roles, voicing only minor dissatisfactions. Since projective test material is unavailable, it is not possible to examine need structures more intensively. It is clear, however, that the father-dominated women in the present sample have a great need to submit, even at pathological cost.

With some exceptions the wives in the democratic sample appear to be happier in their life situation. They bring to their families a good deal of enthusiasm and are better able to use their skills to procure respect and admiration from their families. The democratic husbands need to dominate is of course limited; in at least six of the families the wife's personality is dominant. If the family is to adopt a democratic structure, the wife's need to suppress some of her power potential and the husband's need to exert some authority must be concomitant factors. Interview data indicated that many of the democratic wives have a need to sustain a self image which precludes over-dominant behavior in the marital relationship; this is conjoined with the need to perceive of the husband as partner or boss, rather than as subordinate. For example, ³⁷ Mrs. 21 who is, without a doubt, the dominant partner in the marital relationship, stated: "It is very important for the man to wear the pants. It's psychological that the woman should walk behind the horse;

³⁷ This family was eliminated from the democratic sample because the subject was male. Interview data were, however, available.

when a woman is boss, it's ghastly". While Mrs. 21 uses an ideological commitment to traditional norms to limit her own power, it is fairly obvious that in some areas she has an unconscious need to submit to her husband despite his being quite the antithesis of the traditionally dominant male. Since this is a tranquil marital relationship, one can also presume that a truly dominant husband would not satisfy Mrs. 21's needs.

CONCLUSIONS.

Within the framework of individual innovation and family control unconscious needs of marital partners are essential factors in the determination of family authority systems; personal skills and competence may well be distorted in order that the individual may satisfy some deeper psychological need. Complementary needs are of special significance since family democracy appears to be fostered by the combination of specific need structures. For example, a man's limited need to dominate combined with a wife's need to limit her power potential creates a gap into which the children of the family may step and thus acquire some voice in family policy. In families where the father's need to dominate is excessive, or the mother has need to unleash her full power potential, there is little room for the children to exercise power and unilinear or parental control is the result.

The effect on the individual of acting out unconscious needs within the contemporary normative framework is interesting. The data suggest that a woman with a strong need to be dominated has difficulty in coming to terms with her environment in a society that not only permits women a good deal of power but one which also sanctions equality. Wolfe found wives in syn-
cratic families more likely to be satisfied with their marriage, while wives from autocratic families (both husband and wife dominated) were more likely to be low on marital satisfaction.³⁸ It appears that as in family cohesiveness personality needs which are compatible with normative sanctions and which encourage an equalitarian relationship produce, for the wife at least, a happier and more satisfactory life situation.

CONCLUSION: BASIS AND LEGITIMATION OF CONTEMPORARY FAMILY AUTHORITY.

It is difficult sometimes for families to classify with any degree of accuracy respective family authority patterns. Intuitively they do recognize that a family authority system exists and they are able to perceive a texture, or a feeling of authority. One reason why it is difficult to recognize the whole cloth is because in our complex society generalized family authority is the result of many interwoven factors. Family authority patterns are determined by the manner in which individual power potential and needs are structured within the framework of the societal normative system.

³⁸ D.Wolfe, op cit , p.116

While a combination of the above will determine the authority structure of a family unit, family consensus in defining authority will determine how smoothly the organization will run. Generally when individual family systems and societal norms are oriented towards similar principles, there will be less conflict in the family climate. Since the normative system is flexible, however, and does not prescribe a fixed legitimation for authority, families can legitimize authority differently, some more effectively than others.

While there are no precise canons of behavior for children towards their parents and vice versa in the authority relationship, legitimation of traditional patriarchy is rarely effective in terms of stability. In contemporary society this kind of family organization is usually based upon the father's arbitrary claims to rightful power; it is legitimized in a personal or idio-syncratic manner. In most cases, however, families resent totalitarian control so, unless the man is in possession of some charismatic qualities, which enables him to claim authority on the basis of primary legitimation, his position is extremely vulnerable, and at best, limited in duration. In other words, in contemporary society the source of patriarchal control can no longer be considered as institutional; although the equalitarian-democratic family organization with the father as president is probably considered ideal within the normative framework. ³⁹

³⁹ Koos and Komarovsky also distinguish grounds upon which patriarchal control is accepted. Within our framework the categories used are not exclusive. See E.L.Koos, op cit, p.48; M.Komarovsky, op cit, p.50

The norms of our society legitimate equalitarian and democratic authority patterns in the family. Therefore these families are normally relatively stable units.⁴⁰ Normative flexibility is such, however, that it allows for and legitimates a melange of authority types among which are autonomous control, moderate mother-domination and moderate father-domination. As these patterns deviate with greater intensity from equalitarian principles, normative legitimation diminishes and idiosyncratic-personal legitimation increases. In addition, unless family consensus in regard to authority is cogent, increased deviation usually generates increased family instability.

⁴⁰ One doubts that the father whole-heartedly endorses family democracy but unfortunately we have no information in this area.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSIONS.

Traditionally oriented societies possessed fairly rigid normative systems, clearly defined rituals, and circumscribed canons for the child-parent relationship. While even in the most rigid of societies unauthorized power played some role in family control "the power behind the throne" was severely limited in scope by social perscription.

In contemporary society, because the authority-power dimension in family organization is so loosely defined, it is difficult to locate pure types in any given population. Authority systems tend to be a combination of types and may sometimes alter according to the exigencies of a given social situation. Individual innovation is frequent and psychological as well as social factors are of importance in determining family control. Due to the complexity of the problem the majority of attempts to differentiate families according to authority type have been somewhat crude. While overt social behavior is not too difficult to categorize, psychological factors in the authority relationship are difficult to evaluate.

Despite variations the accepted mode of family authority in contemporary society is equalitarian-democratic control with the father as nominal head of the household. Families who do

not follow this mode of behavior come under pressures which may sometimes lead to family disorganization.

Perhaps because there is little conflict between societal and family norms democratic families generate a kind of harmony not always found in other kinds of families. This does not mean that democratic families are better breeding grounds for democratic principles; there is no indication that democratic families have a predeliction for this kind of training. Nor is there any indication that democratic progeny, by the process of osmosis, are more imbued with democratic principles.

While equalitarian control sometimes generates friendlier relationships within the family unit, democratic families are not like the stereotyped descriptions which abound in the literature. The literature gives some indication that democratic and father-dominated families behave quite differently from one another; our research does not confirm this extreme behavioral difference between the two groups. Both groups of parents are extremely responsible and highly concerned about their families' welfare. They do differ, however, in their approach to child-guidance and discipline. Democratic discipline tends to lean towards self-direction and inner-control; father-dominated discipline is more direct. Since the 'velvet glove' treatment can be as coercive as the direct approach and since most subjects have been somewhat over-directed

the crucial difference between these two modes of socialization lies in the effectiveness of the methods employed. Democratic families are more successful in directing children towards the internalization of parental values. These values, however, are the acceptable middle class ones; most democratic subjects are not exceptionally creative, original or self-directed. It can be said that in contemporary society there is nothing avant garde or revolutionary about the democratic family; it is motivated by moral middle class values and is institutionally legitimized.

Neither form of family authority is favorable to healthy emotional development. Neither does family closeness insure for the emotional health of its members. While democratic subjects are slightly healthier than father-dominated subjects, and on the surface more flexible and independent, the differences are tenuous and most subjects have rather severe emotional problems. The majority of subjects have problems in the areas of independence and hostility. While father-dominated subjects show more awareness of these problems, they are not able to deal with them any more realistically. We would therefore question theories which advocate that a strong parent is conducive to the development of independence because the child has a figure to rebel against. Hypothetically this seems like a reasonable assumption; realistically, the father-dominated subjects are equally involved with guilt feelings and have a deep need to submit.

While neither form of family organization is favorable to the emotional health of the child, in a social sense most of the subjects are extremely healthy. While some of them might be in need of psychiatric help, the well organized and stable family units in the sample generally produced young adults well able to function in their society. These subjects may not be emotionally healthy, according to our standards, but we would postulate that they will be reasonable citizens and not social problems.

APPENDIX.

AUTHORITY QUESTIONNAIRE.

This questionnaire was submitted to both the subjects and their mothers. Question 1 and 2 were omitted in the mother questionnaire and all other questions were transcribed appropriately.

1. How would you describe your mother, her personality, temperament, etc.?
What do you particularly like about her?
What do you particularly dislike about her?
What is the most striking thing about your mother that you notice above all?
2. Same as above but in relation to father.
3. What usually happens when you talk back or argue with your mother?

She gives in
You give in
Neither gives in
Depends on the situation, one or the other may give in
Arbitration by another family member
4. What usually happens when you talk back or argue with your father?

He gives in
You give in
Neither gives in
Depends on the situation, one or the other may give in
Arbitration by another family member
5. Who handles discipline in your family?
6. When disagreements arise between your father and mother, do they usually result in:

your mother giving in
your father giving in
neither giving in
agreement by compromise
arbitration by another family member

AUTHORITY QUESTIONNAIRE CONTINUED

7. Who decides what the family should do in their spare time, on weekends, etc.?

father
mother
father and mother together
entire family together
each member chooses his own preoccupations
irrespective of the other family members
no advanced planning

8. In your family, who makes the decisions about large purchases to be made?

your father
your mother
your father and mother together
the whole family together

9. When your family is gathered together, whose ideas and interests does the conversation normally center around?

mother
father
brother(s)
sister(s)
your own
over a period of time pretty well distributed
amongst all members
never gather often enough to know
have too little conversation to judge

10. Who generally decides where the family should go on a vacation?

father
mother
father and mother together
whole family
each member decides upon own separate vacation
don't take vacations
other

11. If the family is going to buy a new family car, who decides what type model it should be?

father
mother
father and mother together
entire family
don't buy a family car
other

12. If you question something one of your parents has asked you either to do or not to do, do they ever give you the kind of answer: 'Because I know best' or 'Because I say so'?

very often
often
occasionally
seldom
never

13. If you were rating your family would you say that generally yours was a family that sat down and discussed matters which concerned all of you, or would you say that it was one where the mother and father made most of the decisions without too much discussion with other members?

mother and father make most of the decisions
we sit down and discuss matters that concern the family

14. How are decisions made which involve all members of the family?

family council
parents make decisions together
father as 'head' of family makes decisions
mother as 'head' of family, or one of the children makes the decision
children run the family, or no apparent leadership

CAVAN ADAPTABILITY SCALE

Two questions were omitted from the original scale; one related to family control and the other related to family crisis.

1. What aspects of living with your family are most important to you?

Cultural and affectional values highly esteemed; disregard for physical standard of living

Same as above, but less extreme

Cultural and physical aspects both appreciated

physical standard of living more important than cultural

would make any sacrifice to maintain physical standard

2. Adaptability to roles.

What is your father's attitude towards his role in the family?

Reasonable pride

Accepts his role

Would like to change

Tries to evade his role

Very proud, would resent change

What is your mother's attitude towards her role in the family?

Reasonable pride

Accepts her role

Would like to change

Tries to evade her role

Very proud, would resent change

3. Family Responsibility.

How eager are members of the family to assume responsibility to help out in family duties?

Grasps at added responsibilities

Accepts, even when very difficult

Reasonable acceptance

Dislikes responsibility, inclined to be irresponsible

Very irresponsible

4. When the occasion demands, can traditional roles in the family be reversed?

In the House:

Father will help with the housework and dishes

Father will help grudgingly and appears ashamed

Father never helps in the house or cares for babies

Outside the home (wife working)
Father adapts or would adapt to wife working without chagrain
Father allows wife to work but is ashamed
Father insists a woman's place is in the home and would
starve first

Mother's preferences
Mother enjoys or would enjoy equally well wife and mother
and working partner role
Mother will work but feels it's wrong
Mother insists husband should earn the money and wants no
man messing up her kitchen

DIVISION OF LABOR

All respondents were required to indicate 'often', 'sometimes' or 'never' for each family member, according to their participation in the following areas:

- A. Husband's Work: wash windows (outside
fix things in the house
mow lawn
shovel walk
wash car
serve drinks
- B. Wife's Work: make beds cook breakfast
housecleaning make sack lunches
plan meals wash windows (inside)
buy groceries feed and care for pets
cook meals write thank you notes
- C. Shared Work: wash and dry dishes
carry groceries
empty garbage
take care of garden
drive car

Child Care:

- D. Female: bathe child
feed child
look after sick child
get up to feed
get up if cries
- E. Common: put child to bed
read or tell stories
get child up
help with homework
teach table manners

FINANCIAL QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. If you and your husband have money invested, who usually does the investing?

you
 your husband
 both together

2. When you borrow money, who makes the arrangements for the terms?

you
 your husband
 both together

3. Who usually pays the following bills in your family?

	Husband	Wife	Both	Neither
a) Utilities				
b) Phone				
c) Rent or mortgage				
d) Insurance				
e) Medical, dental				
f) Charge accounts				

INTEGRATION SCALE.

1. Degree of Affection.

Between Father and Mother:

Deeply and romantically in love
 In love more than average
 'Average', congenial, loyal
 Minor disagreements or impersonal
 Estranged or very detached

Between Mother and Children:

Extremely close relations to all children
 Closer than average
 'Average', good relations to all
 Some friction or favoritism or detachment
 Much friction or great detachment

Between Father and Children:

Extremely close relations to all children
 Closer than average
 'Average' good relations to all
 Some friction or favoritism or detachment
 Much friction or great detachment

Children with each other:

All very closely bound together
Above average affection
'Average' passing affection only
Friction minor but continued
Great friction

2. Joint Activities.

Extent to which the family engages in joint activities or discussions:

Do almost everything together
Do most things together
Enough things done as a family to maintain unity
Few family activities
Almost none, most activities individual

3. Mutual cooperation.

Degree of cooperation: the degree to which family members cooperate in crisis situations:

Make extreme sacrifices for family; great amount of cooperation
Sacrifices if crisis makes necessary
Moderate sacrifices but also maintain own interests, reasonable cooperation
Reluctant to sacrifice or cooperate; few family objectives
Refuse to sacrifice or cooperate; no family objectives

4. Degree of esprit de corps: How much pride do family members have in the family tree, in the line you have come from, your illustrious forebearers?

Extreme pride in family style of living, in ancestors, etc.
Great family pride, would resent criticism
Average, thinks family is all right
Accepts family but would like to make some changes
Dislikes style of family life

5. Degree of Tension:

Amount of tension among family members:

No rivalries or antagonisms
Passing rivalry only
Average, some pairing off, no lasting tension
Minor but lasting and create tension
Creates major strain

6. Family Interdependence:

Degree to which solidarity is promoted - how interdependent do you feel as a family, are you dependent on one another for happiness, is there a feeling of unity?

Extreme feeling of unity

More than average unity

Very average unity

Family unity dissatisfactory

Feeling of tension and desire to break away

ACTIVITIES QUESTIONNAIRE:

All respondents were required to indicate 'often', 'sometimes' or 'never' in relation to family participation in the following areas:

Interactional:

1. Socio-political
 - a) political activities
 - b) club meetings
 - c) church going
2. Social Sports
 - a) group athletics
 - b) bowling
 - c) golfing
3. Social Activities
 - a) card games
 - b) visiting
 - c) poker
 - d) 'going out'
 - e) party going

Solitary:

1. Individual Sports
 - a) swimming
 - b) skiing
 - c) tennis
2. 'Cultural' - Spectator
 - a) art exhibits
 - b) music
 - c) theater
3. 'Cultural' - Participation
 - a) studying
 - b) reading
 - c) painting

Pastimes: Entertainments and Pastimes - Passive

- a) movies
- b) nightclubs
- c) radio
- d) T.V.
- e) newspapers

COMMUNICATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE:

1. When you have problems, how do you USUALLY solve them?

talk to your father

talk to your mother

talk to others (specify who)

2. Do you talk to your mother about your romances?

always
often
occasionally
seldom
never

3. Do you talk to your father about your romances?

always
often
occasionally
seldom
never

4. Do you talk over your school and social activities with your father?

Yes
No

5. Do you talk over your school and social activities with your mother?

Yes
No

6. When your mother speaks to you, what USUALLY is her purpose in speaking to you? (check all and any that are relevant)

assigning you work to do
disciplining you
asking you about your activities
engaging in discussions with you
complaining or nagging
asking your help or advise
teasing you

N.B. Score given only if either or both 'engaging in discussion' or asking your help' is checked.

7. When your father speaks to you, what USUALLY is his purpose in speaking to you?

assigning you work to do
disciplining you
asking you about your activities
engaging in discussions with you
complaining or nagging
asking your help or advise
teasing you

N.B. see directions for Question 6.

8. What sorts of things do you find it difficult to discuss with your mother?

9. What sort of things do you find it impossible to discuss with your mother?

10. What sort of things do you find it difficult to discuss with your father?

11. What sort of things do you find it impossible to discuss with your father?

12. How often does your mother talk over her daily activities with you?

very often
often
occasionally
seldom
never

13. How often does your father talk over his daily activities with you?

very often
often
occasionally
seldom
never

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