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Assessment of Parenting Attitudes of Spanish Surnamed Adolescents, Their Perception of Their Parents' Attitudes, and Four Constructs Found in Abusive Parents

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ASSESSMENT OF PARENTING ATTITUDES OF SPANISH SURNAMED ADOLESCENTS, THEIR PERCEPTION OF THEIR PARENTS' ATTITUDES, AND FOUR CONSTRUCTS FOUND IN ABUSIVE PARENTS

by

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LIFE

Olga Meza-Lehman, (née Olga Meza Lopehandía) was born in Linares, Chile, on November 21, 1939. Her elementary and secondary education took place at the Manuel de Salas Laboratory School, connected with the State University of Chile, at Santiago. At the end of her secondary education, she took the Baccalaurate Examination, where she obtained the highest national score in the Humanities concentration. It was at the University of Chile where she took her higher education degree (1964), and where she taught as a graduate assistant for several years. Later on, she was appointed a Lecturer at Concepcion University (1965-1967). The focus of her higher education and teaching during this period was that of Ancient History.

After a year spent studying in Turin, Italy, she came to the United States in 1968, and with the encouragement of the Late Fr. Charles A. Curran and the Late Dr. Andrew J. Torrielli, entered the M.A. program in the Modern Languages Department, which she completed in 1972. She was later accepted to the program and completed the M.A. in Counseling and Guidance (1974). Since then, she has been engaged in the doctoral program in the same department.

While a student at Loyola, she had several part-time teaching assignments: in Spanish Language at Loyola University and at Language House; in Culture and Civilization of Latin America, at Mundelein College. She also participated as a Spanish language counselor in the Counseling-Learning Institutes held in the United States and Canada, from 1969 to 1976.

Her full-time involvement in counseling began in March 1977, within the context of a community agency, Casa Central, which had a contract with a state organization to provide counseling services to abusive Spanish-speaking families. Since 1979, the focus of her work at this agency has shifted to child play-therapy, parenting counseling, and early childhood educator consultation within the agency.

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INTRODUCTION

Concern with child abuse and systematic study of related factors and variables contributing to child abuse is a relatively new field of inquiry. Historically, absolute control over children, which included maltreatment as well as physical and psychological abuse, right of life and death, were time honored and unquestioned givens in child rearing. Traditional beliefs and practices have been grounded in social conditions, legal religious and cultural concepts of childhood (Ziegler, 1976; Stone, 1980).

In this century children who had undergone extreme or life threatening abuse were brought for medical treatment to a physician by a parent or admitted to a hospital. The parent or caretaker usually told a cover-up story of accidental injury. However, in most cases, such stories were not congruent with the laboratory findings. It is, therefore not surprising, that the first group of professionals who focused upon this population of abused children were medical doctors.

In 1962 a group of physicians published a seminal paper in which they called attention to this group of children. It was in this report that the term "battered child syndrome" was used for the first time (Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegemueller, and Silver, 1962). As a consequence of this important contribution, the treatment and the intervention procedures with abused children and their parents

have remained the prerrogative of the medical profession.

In recent years, social workers and psychologists have indicated the limitations of the medical approach, centered upon remediation. Psychological treatment within the medical model consists of helping the abuser to better self-understanding and to acquire better coping skills. In contrast, the newer emphasis in regards to child abuse and the abuser, is on preventive rather than remedial or treatment measures (Bower, 1969; Brown, 1974). The research findings presented in this dissertation are concerned with the preventive aspects of child abuse.

Need for the Study

As research in child abuse has progressed, various populations at particular risk have been identified. One such group is adolescent parents, both married and unmarried. The chart below, citing figures for 1978, gives some idea of the dimension of this population.

	Years of age			
	15 Years	15-17	18-19	Total
Number of Women	10,772	202,661	349,747	563,179

The total live births for that year was 3,333,279 for the whole nation. In Illinois, one in six infants born live had a teenage mother (Ognitz, 1981). It has been estimated that in 1981 about 1.3 million children lived with their teenage mothers nationwide (Time, November 9, 1981).

Demographic information on the specific ethnic group under consideration here is quite incomplete; through 1978, only 17 states requested information on the origins of both mother and father on birth certificates. Conceding the incompleteness of the statistical

information, however, the National Center for Health Statistics records that in 1978, Mexican women had a fertility rate 89 percent greater than non-Hispanic women (114.1 births per 1,000 women vs. 60.5); 20.6 percent of the infants were born to women under the age of 20 (1981). The size of the reported Hispanic population is 14.6 million, of which 580,000 live in the Chicago area. Thus the problems of Hispanic adolescent parentage have a potential to be considered acute.

These figures on adolescent parenting are of concern because such parents seem to be at risk. Schwartz (1979) asserts that "a major proportion of dependent and neglected children coming into courts have minor parents" (p. 361) while Smith, Hanson and Noble (1975) found that the 134 battered children in a study that they conducted had parents under 20 at the birth of their first child.

Clearly, not every adolescent parent, or even most adolescent parents will become abusive. One task of primary prevention, therefore, is to identify those adolescents who show the potential to become abusers. However, the position that prevention is of primary importance in the struggle against abuse is relatively new, and thus, few specific procedures can be found in the literature.

One approach, which was chosen by Bavolek is the construction of a parenting inventory especially geared towards the identification of the attitudinal potential for child abuse. This inventory, the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API) does lead, according to Bavolek, to the identification of high risk adolescents prior to parenthood (Bavolek, 1978). The present study is using an inventory of 40 items,

following Bavolek's initial inventory. These 40 items have been generated from the following four constructs:

Construct A: Inappropriate expectations of the child (Expectations)

Construct B: Inability of the parent to be empathetically aware of the child's needs (Empathy)

Construct C: Strong parental belief in the value of physical punishment (Punishment)

Construct D: Role Reversal

Bavolek's initial study resulted in the findings of significant score differences between a group of adolescents who had been identified as abused and an adolescent comparison group not so identified (Bavolek, 1978). A further study by Bavolek utilizing the inventory indicated that "the utilization of the four parenting constructs of abusive parents in examining the origins of delinquent behaviors in adolescents provides valuable intervention and treatment insights" (p. 22).

Stone (1980) conducted research to verify the factor structure in Bavolek's inventory using normative data from an adult sample. In addition, she compared attitudes between the self and the subject's parents, as perceived by the subjects. Stone's findings indicated that "all items of the inventory were shown to contribute significantly to the common variance, that a majority of the variance was accounted for by the four factors" (p. 91). Furthermore, she found that differences between mean self scores and mean parent scores were significant.

Although Bavolek's inventory has shown promise as a tool in the primary prevention of abuse, it is still in the experimental stage. Additional normative data, using a variety of population samples is

needed before this instrument can be considered adequately standardized.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to field test the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory by Bavolek on a Spanish surnamed adolescent sample. The results will provide additional normative data for the inventory as well as begin the establishment of norms for a specific sub-population, namely the Mexican and Mexican-American adolescents of this study's sample.

A second purpose is to test issues of learning and modeling in the intergenerational transmission of parenting attitudes. Comparisons will be made between the responses of the adolescents themselves and those made by the adolescents as they believe their parents would have answered. The findings will yield implications for further research and will also raise issues of a preventive nature.

Finally, the study is to test questions concerning socioeconomic status and the potential for abuse. The relationship between test scores and demographic information drawn from a General Information Sheet will be examined.

Hypotheses

The research hypotheses of specific interest in the present study are the following:

1. There will be significant differences in scores obtained in the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API) by females and males for each of the four constructs: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Role Reversal.
2. There will be significant differences among the scores of

female subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers, for each of the four constructs of the A/API: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Role Reversal.

3. There will be significant differences among the scores of male subjects as selves, and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers, for each of the four constructs of the A/API: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Role Reversal.
4. There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects in the various family income levels.
5. There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents work as blue collar workers or as white collar workers.
6. There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents have different levels of educational attainment.

The direction of the testing will be to accept the hypotheses at the .05 level of significance.

Definitions of Terms

Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API), Form C: A 40-item inventory of parenting and child-rearing attitudes which are found in abusive parents.

Child Abuse: (according to Gil, 1975, p. 347) "any act of commission or omission by individuals, institutions, or society as a whole, and any condition resulting from such acts or inaction, which deprive children

of equal rights and liberties, and--or interfere with their general development, constitute,... abusive or neglectful acts or conditions."

Conformity: (as used in this study) Adherence to traditional family values.

Egalitarianism: (as used in this study) Equality between men and women.

Ethnic group: (according to Spencer, 1979, p. 271) An ethnic group is a large collectivity in which membership is generally inherited. Its members share a feeling of identification with the group.

Familism: (as used in this study) Overriding loyalty to family unit and family traditions.

High-risk Adolescents: (as defined by Bavolek, 1978, p. 8) Those adolescents whose attitudes toward parenting and child-rearing indicate a high potential for child abuse.

Mexican: (as used in this study) Individuals born in Mexico, of Mexican descent, culture and heritage, who remained south of the border or who immigrated to the United States.

Mexican-Americans: Individuals of Mexican descent, culture and heritage who have been born in the United States.

Limitations of the Study

The findings based upon this investigation apply to the two population samples which constituted the subjects for this study. Any generalizations have to be made with caution. The findings apply to a specific locality. Mexican and Mexican-American adolescents living in other parts of the United States may not indicate the same attitudes as the Chicago sample.

The sample population used does not represent a random sample of

the total Chicago population. Subjects came from sex segregated Catholic High Schools. It is possible that Mexican and Mexican-American adolescents enrolled in public schools may have different attitudes from the subjects of this study.

The instrument used is a self-report, paper and pencil attitude inventory. It is so open to the criticisms of all such evaluation instruments, namely, the ease of faking, inattentive reading of and/or responding to questions. Also, it has to be remembered that the parent responses have not been given by parents, but reflect the parental attitudes as perceived and recollected by the adolescents. Actual parent responses may vary from the data used for this study. Finally, in repeatedly responding to the instrument in order to generate maternal and paternal attitudes, the subjects may have "learned" the instrument, and thus responses may have lost spontaneity.

Organization of the Study

Chapter I supplies a rationale for the study, discusses the need for and purpose of the study. In addition, the specific hypotheses are listed, followed by a definition of terms and a consideration of the limitations of this investigation.

Chapter II presents a review of the related literature. Topics considered are the theory and research in child abuse as well as issues in the transmission of abusive potential. Special emphasis is placed upon an overview of Mexican and Mexican-American childrearing practices in the past and in the present. A section on adolescent parenting in relation to abusive childrearing practices follows. Finally, a discussion of preventive programs and screening procedures is presented.

Chapter III describes the methodology utilized for this study. Subjects, data collection, instrumentation, and proposed methods for data analysis will be discussed. In Chapter IV the results of the statistical analysis in terms of the study's hypotheses will be presented; Chapter V will examine the results for their implications and suggest recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature relevant to the topic of child abuse. The first section describes the evolution of theory and research about child abuse. In the second section, how abuse parenting behavior is thought to be transmitted from generation to generation is explored. The third section describes the problems in defining child abuse. The fourth section will describe family structure and child rearing practices among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. The next section will focus on adolescent parenting, further exploring the factors which may predispose toward abusiveness. In the sixth section, primary prevention theory and practice will be emphasized with definitions and explanations of a variety of concepts about what constitutes primary prevention, and who are the appropriate subjects for primary prevention. The final section will focus on the identification of potential abusers with particular reference to the work of S.J. Bavolek's constructs in child abuse.

The Evolution of Theory and Research in Child Abuse

This section presents theoretical models of child abuse which have evolved since it became a subject of inquiry. It covers the medical model, the sociological model, the ecological model, and

the ecclectic model.

While child abuse as a phenomenon has existed probably since before the start of recorded history, it has existed as a subject of social and scientific concern only since the early 1960's. Accounts of the general cultural pervasiveness of abuse towards children have been summarized by Radbill (1968), Lord and Weisfeld (1974) and Kalmar (1977). Overt interest in abusive childrearing, however, started with the original work by Kempe, Silverman, Steele, Droegemueller and Silver (1962) within the medical field, where the concept of the "battered child syndrome" was first coined. Their work, and other subsequent publications by one or another of these joint authors (1967, 1968, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980), have intensely influenced the thrust of the research in the field of abuse and abusive parenting. The original concept was the medical one of illness, with the concommittant elements of the diagnosis and the treatment of the patient and the "carrier". The patients and carriers were both the child and the parent.

In 1968, Steele and Pollock published an account of their study of abusive parents. For five and one half years they studied 60 families, and although not useful for statistical purposes, the authors felt that "our data have particular significance because our haphazardly selected group provides a spectrum of child abusing behavior and negates in many respects stereotypes of the 'child beater' ... held in the past" (p. 90). After having ruled out the existence of psychopathic or sociopathic characteristics to the abusing parents, the researchers focused on the characteristic pattern of childrearing. This specific

pattern was seen "not as an isolated, rare phenomenon but rather a variant form, extreme in its intensity, of a pattern of childrearing pervasive in human civilization..." (pp. 96-97).

Steele and Pollock further defined the abusing syndrome in parents:

> From early infancy the children of abusing parents are expected to show exemplary behavior and a respectful, submissive, thoughtful attitude toward adult authority and society.... The abusing parent implements such standards with exaggerated intensity, and most importantly, at an inappropriate early age.... Infants and children exist primarily to satisfy parental needs,... and children who do not fulfill these requirements deserve punishment (p. 96).

More specifically, these parents share a childrearing pattern characterized by: high demands and expectations of infants and children; demands for performance that are inappropriate to the age of the infant and child; expectation of obtaining a sense of security and loveability from their children; complete disregard for the infant's or child's own needs, limited abilities and general helplessness; and a "sense of righteousness" in their use of physical punishment.

When considering the origin of abusive behavior in parents, the researchers presented two causes. First, on the basis of their observations, the authors suggested that the patterns of parenting practiced by adults are rooted in their own infancy. A crucial element of parenting, which the authors call "motherliness", defined as the "ability to show tenderness, gentleness, and empathy, and to value a love object more than the self" (p. 101), is absent in the lives of abusing parents. The researchers suggest a possible connection between lack of "early being mothered" experience and shortcomings in adult parental function.

The second element in the formation of the abusive parenting pattern is child-focused aggression. This concept is described as:

> making demands and attacks upon the infant, (and) also frustrating some of the infants' most basic needs for comfort and empathy. Such frustrations of the aggressive drive with its accompanying anger toward the frustrating caretaker, coupled with the parallel development of strict superego rudiments, inevitably leads to a strong sense of guilt. This guilt, largely unconscious... persists through the patient's life, and leads to turning much of the aggression inward toward the self.... When the parents misidentifies the infant as the embodiment of his own bad self, the full aggression of his punitive superego can be directed outward onto the child (p. 108).

As a result of these assumptions, Steele and Pollock have determined that the basic thrust of the abusive parent treatment should be focused on improving the basic pattern of childrearing, and the basic relationship with the abusive parent's parents, particularly the mother.

Gladston (1973) reported on work with abusive families after four years of treatment. The approach chosen by his group involved a therapeutic day care unit for the children in the project, and a Parents' Group, which held weekly group meetings. These elements had the twofold purpose of preventing the abuse of the children while maintaining the integrity of the family unit to which they belonged. Also from a psychoanalytical framework, the basic hypothesis underlying the work of Gladston is the contention that "parents who inflict violence upon their children ... are acting in response to ambivalent emotions they are unable to endure. This intolerance of personal ambivalence was thought to be a consequence of the parents' own development" (p. 373).

Similar to the findings in Steele and Pollock's work, the parents in this research were found to be prone to use punishment as a prevention of undesirable behavior in children; to see their children either

as good or bad persons; to describe them in terms more appropriate to adults than to children; and to have a particular negative relationship with their own parents. In addition, the abusive parents were found to be persistently frustrated in the sexual area in their relation with their current partners. The sequence of events in the abusive encounter appeared to be: denial of past emotions, projection of unacceptable characteristics onto the child, provocation of the child to behave in ways that confirmed one's badness, for which the child was consequently abused.

The focus of the treatment of parents and children centered in providing an environment and therapeutic relations that would help parents change their views of their children as "saints or sinners" and of themselves as parents in order "to protect the viability of the reproductive relationship" (p. 380).

One unexpected finding in this study was the absence of a demonstrable correlation between the progress made by the parents and that made by the children. "Several of the children whose development while in the project was the most impressive... belonged to parents whose measurable progress over the same period of time was negligible" (p. 380).

A multidisciplinary treatment and research project was reported by Fontana and Robison (1976). The population treated constituted 62 families, all but one of them composed of a mother and one or more children.

While the project's thrust was centrally the rehabilitation of the mothering capabilities of the woman, an important component in this approach involved the lessening of the environmental stresses endured

by the heads of the families in the project. Specific treatment activities addressed to the mothers' improvement were: mother-child sessions focused on child stimulation teaching, led by a psychologist; mother-paraprofessional interactions focused on teaching appropriate mothering techniques related to training and disciplining of children; and psychiatrist-mother sessions concentrating on discussions of videotaped mother-child feeding and free play interactions.

The therapeutic component directly addressed to the abused children consisted of structured therapeutic activities in play form while the children were residents of the nursery. The authors stated that "all the children in the program showed growth and development gains a few weeks after admission." Contrary to the results in Galdston study, "their weight, height, motor and speech development showed marked improvement and in many cases paralleled the mother's improved emotional stability" (p. 764).

The foregoing studies exemplify a theoretical and research focus based on the medical model, with differencial stresses in interactional, intrapsychic concepts, but they share the view of the parent as the transmitting element in the abusive illness. However, the latter studies do take into account socioeconomic and other environmental stresses in the treatment plan.

In a paper published as a contribution to a volume on violence, Steele (1978) acknowledged the complexity of the socioeconomic and intrapsychic factors interacting in child abuse; however, he feels that the "psychological set" is of deeper importance than the socioeconomic stress.

Abusers seem to respond to stress in a characteristic way.

> When faced with great loneliness or a crisis... they are hampered or even totally blocked in trying to solve the problems through useful assertion in the real world. Instead, they respond by feeling uncared for, misunderstood, put down, and fearful.... There may be a lot of aggression mobilized, but is is more likely to be discharged on a "bad child" than in constructive actions (p. 298).

The proponents of a sociological view of violence in society and specifically against children, primarily Gil (1970, 1975, 1979), Garbarino (1977, 1980), and Giovannoni (1971, 1978, 1979), have suggested that an exclusive focus on the individual carrier is insufficient as an explanation of the abusive phenomenon, and consequently, inadequate as a framework to generate change and prevention. Gil (1970) for instance, has contended that the "use of force against children is a culturally sanctioned phenomenon in American society," and that these individual acts of violence "are paralleled ... by what must be considered collective, societal abuse of large segments of the young generation" (p. 15).

Garbarino (1977) has proposed a model to conceptualize child maltreatment as a phenomenon with multiple sufficient and necessary conditions for its development. When analyzing the necessary conditions for child abuse, the author states:

> First, for child abuse to occur within a family microsystem there must be cultural justification for the use of force against children... a culturally defined concept of children as the "property" of caregivers as legitimate users of physical force appears to be an essential component of child abuse (p. 725).... Of equal or greater importance on a day-to-day basis as a necessary condition is isolation from potent support systems (p. 726).

The sufficient conditions include, abuse proneness due to "some combination of childrearing ignorance, unrealistic expectations

concerning children, propensity towards violence, psychopathology, presence of a special child, etc" (P. 725).

In 1971, Giovannoni stated that "historically we find a relationship between societal treatment of the poor and sanctioned mistreatment of children through social institutions" (p. 657). She pointed out that the families in her studies had been victimized by the stresses of poverty and by lack of support from the community. The same researcher stressed, in a study with Conklin and Iiyama (1979) that a focus on a theoretical dychotomy between individual psychopathology or sociological variables as causes of child abuse might be false and invalid as well as sterile, whereas maternal support systems seem to be essential.

In 1978, Belsky stated in a theoretical paper on child abuse remediation strategies, that so far there is no proposed model, factor or set of factors that can completely account for the phenomenon of child abuse. Along with other eccelecticists he pointed out that:

> There are families that live under social stress identical to that of abusing families that do not abuse; parents with psychiatric histories similar to abusive parents who do not become abusers; and children with characteristics identical to those of abused children who do not elicit abuse.... Some dynamic interplay between adult, societal and child characteristics is at work in the abusive process (p. 120).

Strauss (1978) studied a wide range of variables in a study of child abuse and family patterns. The study was based on a nationally representative sample of 1,146 families with one child between 3 and 17 years old living at home. The figures, 14 out of 100 children, or 46 million abused children every year, revealed an incidence 680 times higher than those presented by the National Center for Child Abuse and Neglect. Even these new high figures are said to represent an

underestimate since they do not include infants or children younger than 3 years old, nor do they include neglect, sexual or psychological abuse.

The definition of abuse that underpins this investigation considers the performed act of violence rather than the resulting injury on a child: "an attack by a parent involving punching, biting, kicking, hitting with an object, beating up, or using a knife or gun" (p. 75).

The researcher examined 25 different factors in the social area: social characteristics of the parents and social interactions of parents and children. These factors included: sex, class, employment status of the abuser; previous childhood experience or witnessing of child violence, interspouse violence, and intersibling violence.

Some of the findings among the variables studied were: 62% greater rates of abuse for mothers than for fathers; full-time housewives had half again higher rates of abuse than working mothers; 72% greater abuse rates for unemployed husbands; 60% greater abuse rates in working class parents than among the middle class parents, but specifically for working class fathers, 41% higher rates of abuse for blue collar fathers than for white collar fathers.

One of the major findings in the study was the "close association between the amount of violence experienced by the parents as children and the rate of abuse toward their own children" (p. 75). For mothers who had been subject to intense physical punishment as children, the rate was 148% higher than for other mothers, while for fathers, the rate was 129% higher than for non- or less physically punished men.

The pattern of increased use of physical attack was also present

within the families. Thus, parents who physically fought with each other had a rate of abuse 136% higher than other parents who did not engage in mutual violence. Children abused by their parents, on the other hand, abused their siblings at a rate 240% greater than other children, and attacked their parents at a rate 1,200% greater than other children.

The studies in this section have considered child abuse from the perspective of parental pathology, a view that the problem lies in faulty parental expectations of children and broken-down parent-child interrelationships,from a standpoint that examines social and cultural values approving of violence and force in child socialization, and finally, from a perspective that, appreciating the complexity of the issues, attempts to develop systems which incorporate elements from all the foregoing. All these perspectives have also evolved characteristic explanations for the manner in which child abuse propagates itself from generation to generation.

Issues in the Transmission of Abusive Potential

One of the elements in abusive parenting, aggression expressed through physical punishment of the child, has been variously explained in terms of its origins and modes of transmission by theorists and researchers from different orientations. Aggressive behavior, especially within the family, has been seen as generated by severe frustration of gratification needs and passed on through the mechanism of identification with the aggressor; as a behavior learned observationally from parents and transmitted to the next generation primarily through modeling; as a function of frustration generated by the broader

social environment.

Aggression as Innate Drive and the Identification with the Aggressor

Within the area of child abuse, Steele and Pollock (1968) are the foremost proponents of the aggression drive as innate and the identification with the aggressor as the mode of aggression transmission. In this, they follow closely the concepts of Anna Freud and René Spitz. Initially, they propose, the observed abused infants present some behavioral changes that can only be the reflection of an experience leading to the formation of a rudimentary superego. Soon after, the formation of a "primordial identification with aggression" can be seen, which later in the second and third year develop into a full-fledged identification with the aggressor. However, aggression is mostly child-focused; this narrow focus develops, according to Steele and Pollock, because in abusive upbringing, anger, as a result of low levels of motherliness, is coupled with stringent superego demands, and consequently, associated with guilt formation. Normally, guilt is turned inward, except when, as parent, "badness" is perceived in the infant and thus physically punished.

Studies Related to Identification, Punishment and Aggression

In 1963, Lefkowitz, Walden, and Eron attempted to measure differences in the kind of identification and levels of aggression generated in third grade boys and girls by the different kinds and intensities of punishment given by their parents. The researchers concluded that parental choice of physical punishment increased aggressive scores in children and did not foster the development of conscience or developmental identification.

In 1971, in a study of broader scope, Eron, Walden and Lefkowitz attempted to find an empirical base for the proposition that the most important antecedents to aggressive behavior were instigation, reinforcement and identification. Instigation in this context was defined as parental rejection, lack of nurturance and parental disharmony. Their findings confirmed that children with low parental identification exhibited very high aggression, which increased with the use of physical punishment. For boys who are not identified with their fathers, punishment appears to act as an instigator to aggressive behavior. In general, they concluded that children who were highly identified with their parents internalized their prescriptions and obeyed, whereas children who are not identified with their parents tend to copy their parents' aggressive behavior.

Learning Theory Studies on Aggression

The disinhibiting effect of modeling of aggression had been studied earlier by Bandura and associates (Bandura and Walters, 1959; Bandura, Ross, and Ross, 1961). Their findings focused on the effects on children of aggressive behavior and modeling. The children in these studies tended to copy the behavior, and more so, if the aggressive model was successful in achieving his goal.

In 1978, Bandura summarized his views on the sources of the learning and the transmission of aggression in a modern society. The identified sources were: familial influences, cultural influences and symbolic modeling. In this account, only the first two sources appear relevant and will be described. Within the family, parents of violence-prone children have been offered an aggressive model of problem resolution

in the area of disciplining through physical punishment.

In the outer society, Bandura states, most societies offer high status for aggressive behavior models, thus supplying another influence for the acceptance of aggression. "When subjected to aversive or deprivation treatment, subjects generate a state of 'emotional arousal', which facilitates a variety of behaviors, depending on the types of responses the person has learned for coping with stress, and their relative effectiveness" (p. 41). Thus, modeling of aggressive behavior may disinhibit or facilitate aggressive acts under aversive or deprivation conditions.

Steinmetz (1977) reported in an exploratory study about conflict resolution patterns in families not labeled as abusive, that nearly all the families in the study used verbal aggression to resolve conflict; the use of physical aggression ranged from 72% for siblings conflict, to 69% for parent-child conflict and 30% for marital conflict. In correlating scores of aggression between husband and wife, mother and child, father and child, and sibling and sibling, Steinmetz found a highly significant correlation, lending support to the social learning theory contention that aggressive behavior is learned within the family.

Studies Related to Frustrations as the Origin of Aggression

Ilfeld (1970) has summarized the original basic tenets of the frustration theory of aggression. He stated that aggression is the natural and dominant and inevitable response to frustration. Addressing specifically the issue of violence against children, Gil (1970) and Gelles (1973) have focused on the social structure base of

the frustration associated with such aggression. In their studies, the incidence of violence against children was highest in families with lower educational achievements, lower socioeconomic status, broken families, and families with four or more children.

Thus, within this theory of aggression, it is the generally frustrating organization of society the responsible structure for the intergenerational pattern of high aggression among the poor, ill-educated and unemployed.

Problems in Definition of Child Abuse

Definitions of child abuse have shifted and expanded as awareness of the problem and its ramifications has developed. From a narrow focus on the specific medical nature of an injury, through the various psychodynamic and system theories, to the broad ecological perspective, the field of inquiry has lost concreteness as it has added complexity. Many researchers and theorists now operate from areas of children's rights, parental duties, developmental issues and patterns of behavior rather than observable consequences; in all these areas it is, at best, difficult to ascribe outcome to action with any real confidence. Thus, confusion plus a certain amount of acrimony is a frequent occurrence.

The differences and difficulties in defining child abuse have not been confined to the scientific community. Legislation on child abuse reflects similar disharmony. Lord and Weisfeld (1974) pointed out that variations in reportable child abuse range from considering only physical, deliberate assault to including emotional neglect.

Giovannoni (1971) has proposed that a definition of child abuse

needs to be looked at from the point of view of rights and duties inherent to the parental role and not just from the point of view of the resulting injury to the child. Hence, "abuse constitutes an exploitation of the rights of parents to control, discipline and punish their children" (p. 649).

In 1975, in Illinois, the Legislature passed a new law, the Abused and Neglected Child Reporting Act, to replace the old Abused Child Act. Whereas the area of child abuse had formerly been dominated by medical people, this new legislation reflected the views of researchers from other fields (Gil, 1970). The legislation defined child abuse as "any physical injury, sexual abuse or mental injury inflicted on a child other than by accidental means by a person responsible for the child's health or welfare."

On a more national level, Gil proposed a broader definition during the hearings on the Child Abuse Prevention Act (S. 1191 of 1973) before the subcommittee on Children and Youth of the U.S. Senate. This definition included:

> any act of commission or omission by individuals, institutions, or society as a whole, and any conditions resulting from such acts of inaction, which deprive children of equal rights and liberties, and/or interfere with their optimal development, constitute by definition abusive or neglectful acts or conditions (quoted in Gil, Unraveling Child Abuse, 1975).

Definitions from the field of social work or social policy, as the above by Gil, or previously that of Giovannoni, tend to involve a broader range of responsibilities for abuse. In an effort to apply the model of human ecology to the field of child maltreatment, Garbarino (1977) has stated that "maltreatment of children is a mismatch of

parent to child, of family to neighborhood, and to community" (p. 271). The ecological model proposes the view that interdependent human systems out of synchrony is what generates maltreatment. Within this concept, Garbarino (1980) has stated that the meaning of most actions is determined by the environment in which they occur, the intentionality, effect, evaluation, and standards. Consequently, he developed a definition that includes "acts of omission or commission by a parent or guardian that are judged by a mixture of community values and professional expertise to be inappropriate and damaging" (p. 7). When referring to damage, Garbarino stresses the issue of developmental damage or the "threat to development."

While both focus primarily on parental action or non-action rather than on child injury, the definitions of child abuse proposed by Strauss (1979) and by Helfer and Kempe (1980) differ somewhat. The former focuses very much on parental physical attacks, while the latter views it as actions or non-actions which could harm the child's physical or developmental state.

It would seem that although there is some degree of reapproachment in the definitions in child abuse research, the statements made by Giovannoni, Conklin, and Iiyama (1978) still apply.

> The area of ambiguities include whether the concept refers to the condition of the child or to the factors that contributed to produce those conditions. Are actions abusive or neglectful, regardless of the impact or harm to the child? (p. 3).

Child Rearing Practices Among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans

The research on child rearing practices among various national and ethnic groups frequently is based on psychoanalytical personality

theory. This seems to be true, both of those research efforts found in the more socio-anthropologically oriented literature as well as in the more psychologically focused works (Wolf, 1952; Bermúdez, 1955; Díaz-Guerrero, 1955; Lewis, 1959; Rottenberg, 1964).

However, research critical of psychoanalytic theory as an explanatory framework can also be found in the literature. As early as 1959, Beatrice Whiting wrote:

> child rearing practices are based rather upon certain conditions in the natural and social environment that make them necessary for survival.... These child training practices, arising from necessities that do not pertain to children, are rationalized and justified by a structure of beliefs and values designed to support them. The beliefs do not produce the practices, rather the practices precede and necessitate the belief (cited in Minturn and Lambert, 1964, p. 291).

Furthermore, when considering specific investigations on child rearing practices among Mexicans on both sides of the border, a number of other variables need to be considered, such as length of immigrant status, socioeconomic status, as well as rural-urban status (Peñalosa, 1968; Grebler, Moore and Guzmán, 1970; Staples, 1971; Mirandé, 1977).

An additional important variable in Mexican and Mexican-American child rearing is the strong emphasis on sex-specific roles which boys and girls are assigned. These sexual differences within the family matrix constitute the social context within which child rearing takes place (Díaz-Guerrero, 1955; Staples, 1971; Mirandé, 1977).

Studies of Mexican Family Attitudes

One of the earliest studies on the Mexican family structure, and consequently, child rearing practices was done by Díaz-Guerrero in 1955. This author made two major points. The first, was the

absolute dominance of the male and consequent submissiveness of the female. The male expected absolute obedience from his wife as well as the children and had the privilege to administer brutal punishment according to his whim.

The second point was the sharp, "clear-cut cliff", which separated infancy and early childhood treatment from later childhood. During the first period, the child was fondled, admired and indulged; during the latter period the child was exposed to intensive pressure to become "well brought up." The socialization goal was facilitated at first by persuasion, but if deemed necessary, physical punishment was used (Díaz-Guerrero, 1955). The ultimate goals of this training were "obedience, humility, respect for the elderly and for authority" (p. 11). The social and economic necessity for this training is particularly well explained in the literature on rural societies and working class urban groups. Wolf (1952), for example, in discussing the goals which underlie the unspoken norms in one rural society, found that they required family labor and restraint of consumption. This was achieved by control of these factors by the man of the house, whose authority is sustained by norms favoring submission on the part of women and children.

Whiting (1963) similarly found a relationship between acceptable child behavior (and, consequently, approved child raising standards) and adult social roles, determined by each culture's family structure and socioeconomic system. As in the Wolf study, the relationship is so organic to each culture as to be unperceived by its members.

Lee (1977) makes perhaps the most straightforward reference to the relationship between the socialization process in childhood and the subsequent social roles, specifically relating them to needs for obedience, conformity and compliance:

> We have found evidence to the effect that in the socialization process parents are likely to value traits such as obedience, conformity, and compliance under the following kinds of conditions: 1) in horticultural and pastoral economies where routine work must be accomplished collectively, and where potential for food accumulation is high; 2) in extended families, where parents are themselves closely supervised by parents or in-laws and where the authority structure is clearly demarcated; 3) in societies with centralized political authority, where economy tends to be horticultural, and workers are likely to be under close supervision; and 4) in the working classes of industrial societies (p. 273).

In a somewhat different social context, Kohn (1969) found that there was a sharp contrast in emphasis between the child rearing values of the working class group and those of the middle class group. The working class values in child rearing stressed the children's conformity to external authority, whereas the middle class values centered in the development of self-control, responsibility and curiosity. As an explanation of this difference, Kohn proposed the view that it was the qualitative differences in the jobs' activities and duties performed that generated the opposite values. Working class jobs involve relatively less complex activities and are the subject of external supervision and routinization.

With reference to the socialization process by means of physical punishment, Lewis (1960) described types of punishments used with older children. Traditionally, these have ranged from the extremely severe to the relatively mild. He reported, however, that recently a trend has developed toward more tolerance for misbehavior and a milder

range of corporal punishment.

The foregoing studies indicate the basic structure of child rearing beliefs and practices among rural, working class groups, and specifically among Mexicans. As a system adapted to a particular time and place, it has been subject to transformation when the social and economic environment has changed.

Researchers of the Mexican family structure and child-parent relationships seem to agree with the view that immigration to the U.S. and social contact with intra-family American values have generated a varied degree of role and relationship changes inside the Mexican family (Peñalosa, 1968; Staples, 1971; Mirandé, 1977).

Penalosa (1968) advanced that "an expanding economy and society are providing more opportunities for personal expression and growth and, thus, also more situations for the development of self-esteem, particularly for men" (p. 688). He also foresaw that "with an expanding and modernizing economy, there are increasing opportunities for women to gain advanced education and employment outside the house; and for young men to achieve social positions higher than those of their fathers" (p. 689).

On the other hand, Sluzki (1979) demonstrated that changes in family rules, roles and relationships do not occur without a great deal of conflict. In a paper describing the process of migration and the presence of family conflict, Sluzki presented five stages in the migration process: preparatory stage, act of migration, period of overcompensation, period of decompensation, and transgenerational phenomena. "Each step has distinctive characteristics, triggers

different types of family coping mechanisms, and unchains different types of conflicts and symptoms" (p. 380). During the preparatory stage, new family rules, roles and functions are explored and negotiated; depending on the conditions in which migration takes place, with specific roles of "mourners" and "traitors" ascribed to different family members. The act of migration itself is a more or less brief stage, which presents differences mostly at the level of style, e.g., final, temporary, with trial periods, legal, illegal, free or forcible.

The overcompensation stage is a period characterized by "heightened task-oriented efficiency... with a strong increase in the split between 'instrumental' and 'affective' roles within the family, in the service of the basic need for survival" (p. 383). Decompensation, on the other hand, is that conflict-filled period in which the immigrant family tries to come to terms with its new environment while protecting its own identity.

Referring to the decompensation stage among families of rural origins Sluzki states that;

> In these circumstances, even though on occasion a switch of roles may take place uneventfully, much more frequently the man will become symptomatic (depressive, alcoholic, or with somatic complaints) or a major crisis of family disorganization will ensue (p. 386).

One element which has appeared to serve the Mexican family in the process of migration has been the strong loyalty to traditional values attached to the family unit. During the period of transgenerational impact, where "the long-term delays in the family's adaptive process will tend to become apparent," problems with the second generation tend to arise. While these problems are often clearly

generational, they also appear to have some cultural elements in that the child's culturally determined coping styles may be viewed as delinquency according to the norms of the quite different world to which the family has moved.

Earlier on, Díaz-Guerrero and Maslow (1960) had discussed the positive values attached to the tendency to familism among Mexicans: the typical "cohesiveness and closeness of the members of the Mexican family seem to be definite factors in preventing juvenile delinquency" (p. 15).

As previously mentioned in this paper, Oscar Lewis had noticed changes within Mexico in regard to child discipline. Grebler, Moore and Guzmán (1970), in their investigation spanning over four years (1964-1968) found that outside of Mexico the traditional patterns of familial roles were present only in some "cultural pockets." These researchers concluded that immigration and social change within Mexico account for a marked change in family roles.

Studies of Mexican-American Family Patterns

While the previous studies discussed were concerned with Mexican born persons, Grebler and his group studied Mexican-Americans. The term Mexican-American applies to U.S. born individuals of Mexican descent, culture and heritage. The authors drew a sample of Mexican-Americans in two cities, Los Angeles and San Antonio. They compared and contrasted two age groups, those fifty years and older and those thirty years and younger, in regard to a number of attitudes.

The researchers found that 93% of the older sample agreed that the wife's role should be limited to the rearing of children, whereas

only 73% of the younger sample saw the wife's role so limited. They found, furthermore, that 67% of the older sample believed that the husband should be in control of the family income, while only 45% of the younger group agreed with exclusive husband control of income.

Based on this study, a considerable shift in attitude about family issues can be noted between the two generations. In regard to maternal responsibility, however, even the lower percentages of the younger Mexican-Americans leave nearly three-fourths of them believing in a limiting woman's role. Additional findings in the Grebler, et.al. research were that, "Among Mexican-Americans, egalitarianism is generally greater within higher-income families and among those choosing to live outside the predominantly Mexican area" (p. 362). The term egalitarianism in this context applies to equality between men and women, and between adults and children.

Despite the possible implications of stronger egalitarianism in families as income rises and acculturation proceeds, "the traditional Mexican-American family, particularly in the middle class, seems to have a very distinct ideal of what is appropriate behavior for children. The "well brought-up child is a model of respect" (p. 366). It is important to remember, however, that the actual meaning of the word "respeto" has a somewhat different connotation than that of its English cognate; it includes the concepts of obedience and loyalty.

This finding seems to indicate that even in acculturated Mexican-American middle-class families, the impact of Mexican family traditions, as reported by Díaz-Guerrero and discussed earlier in this review, still apply to child rearing procedures. Implicit in the broader

meaning of "respeto" would seem to be the importance of familism, another value grounded in Mexican culture.

McClain (1977) attempted to describe Mexican-American child rearing practices, and mentioned the fostering of non-competitive attitudes, submission, respect for adults, and differential practices in keeping with the sex of the child as primary characteristics. While there is considerable overlap, when McClain's descriptions are compared with findings of other researchers, the attempt to produce a single, comprehensive listing applicable to the Mexican-American family may lead to overgeneralization and cultural stereotyping. Criticism along these lines has been voiced by Grebler and his coworkers (1970) and by Mirandé (1977). Nevertheless, despite the danger of stereotyping, research findings have indicated patterns and tendencies shown to be more typical of one culture than of another.

One construct which has implications for this specific ethnic group and for the present study is conformity. Conformity in this context is defined as adherence to traditional family values. Thomas and Weigert (1970) conducted a study of conformity patterns in a population of middle class adolescent boys and girls. Their samples were drawn from four cities: New York, St. Paul, San Juan (Puerto Rico) and Merida (Yucatan, Mexico).

To avoid the confounding effect of degree of urbanization, the researchers focused upon a comparison between their St. Paul sample and their San Juan sample. It was assumed that these two cities have a similar degree of urbanization. Thomas and Weigert found that there was a clear cut cultural difference in regard to conformity between

their Latin and Anglo sample. The Latin subjects were found to be significantly more conforming than the Anglo subjects.

Studies of Mexican-American Families from Lower Socioeconomic Status

While the population samples chosen by Thomas and Weigert were drawn from a middle-class socioeconomic background, the Mexican-American subjects in other studies are clearly from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Samples drawn from these less advantaged backgrounds are, in fact, more representative of the total population. Morril (1971) pointed out that "Black, Native, Mexican and Puerto Rican Americans represent only about 13% of the total population, but account for 40% of the poor" (p. 4). In a similar vein, Murillo (1971) referred to the fact that "one third to one half of the Mexican-American in the South West live below the official level of poverty or immediately above it" (p. 97).

Giovannoni and Billingsley (1970) studied differential conditions and child rearing practices among several ethnic groups of similar socioeconomic status in order to assess the effects of ethnicity and socioeconomic levels on child rearing practices and child neglect. Families in the population were divided into three ethnic groups--Black, Caucasian, and Spanish speaking. In addition, the three groups were divided according to their adequacy in the child rearing task: adequate families, potentially neglectful families, and neglectful families. Of the five child rearing practices measured, only two--emotional nurturance and supervision and protection--were able to significantly differentiate neglectful from non-neglectful mothers across ethnic lines. "The major area in which neglectful mothers deviated from

adequate mothers was in acceptance of and in meeting the dependency needs of the very young children" (p. 213).

In the same study, there were findings specific to the Spanish speaking group related to levels of child neglect. The findings showed that "U.S.-born mothers predominate in the neglectful group, while Central American and Mexican-born mothers were most common in the more adequate group" (p. 198).

In a 1975 study of child rearing practices among 90 families drawn from several low-income groups, Durret, O'Bryant and Pennebaker reported that although there were significant differences in five of six reported rearing orientations among the White, Black and Mexican-American samples, there were few significant differences in child rearing techniques. It was reported that

> Mexican-American parents were most consistent in their methods of reward and punishment, and mothers reported using more guilt. In the child rearing orientation, the Mexican-American parents reported themselves less authoritative and less achievement and success oriented than the other groups; they also were the lowest in emphasis on individual responsibility and significantly more protective of their children, and also stressed greater control of the children's emotions (p. 871).

Somewhat similar findings were reported by Bartz and Levine (1978) in a comparative study of three ethnic groups comprising a total of 455 parents in Kansas City. With social class controlled, the authors still found significant differences among the ethnic groups. Several of the findings are of particular interest, both the similarities across the three ethnic groups as well as the differences among them. In the area of acceleration of autonomy, which includes toilet training, weaning, and walking, all three ethnic groups agreed that it

should occur as early as possible. However, the strongest expectations for these accomplishments were found among the Black and the Chicano groups.

In the area of equalitarianism, similar results were found. While all three ethnic groups supported equalitarian parent-child relations, Chicano parents were the least supportive of this type of relation. On this particular finding, the level of education was a contributing variable. The higher the level of education the greater was the value placed on equalitarianism, and this relationship held particularly for Chicano families.

It has been found that the level of education plays an important role in other aspects of the mother-child relationship. Laosa (1978) investigated the teaching style of Chicano mothers who had children of kindergarten age in the Los Angeles Public Schools. The mother's level of education was used as the independent variable in this study.

> The higher the level of education attained, the more the mother used inquiry and praise as teaching strategies. The lower the mother's attainment, the more she used modeling as teaching strategy, and for boys only, the more she appeared to physically punish and control (p. 1134).

The findings relating parent education to child-parent relationship styles coincide with those of other studies where educational attainment differences within an ethnic group and of the same socio-economic status made a significant difference in parenting attitudes and style of discipline (Feshbach, 1973; Shipman, 1973; Steward and Steward, 1974; Bartz and Levine, 1978).

Finally, using a case study approach, Keir, Hoppe and Leon (1977) found that the low income Mexican-American families they studied could

be clearly differentiated in their attitudes toward child rearing. Coping families gave a high priority to emotional fulfillment, and their children "were allowed to form their own identity with appropriate guidance along the way" (p. 273). In contrast, non-coping parents "did not seem to understand emotional needs or to have a concept of love and affection. They displayed little warmth to their children and stated that it was bad to show affection" (p. 274).

Overall, the studies seem to indicate the existence of three basic groups in the Mexican populations. First, there are the Mexicans still residing in Mexico, rooted largely in rural family structures and practices. These studies indicate practices which include absolute male predominance and strict demands for obedience from children once they have passed early childhood. Severe physical punishment is still part of the child rearing methods in use.

The second group consists of Mexican-born immigrants to the U.S. These subjects have greater socioeconomic opportunities. They are, however, also affected by multiple stresses related to migration, especially in regard to family organization and role definition. Such stress factors also affect the parent-child relationships.

The Mexican-Americans, the third group investigated, have become more urbanized. Studies of these groups show that social class, acculturation, and especially, level of education, are important variables which in turn, affect the child rearing methods. Strictness and harsh treatment of children is much more prevalent among the poor and poorly educated Mexican-Americans, while more supportive attitudes

are found among the middle-class Mexican-Americans. Even among Mexican-Americans, the findings seem to show that the inter- and intra-group similarities or differences may indicate not separation from, but modifications in traditional Mexican child rearing attitudes and practices, with a pervasive trend toward familism and strong emphasis on rearing obedient, respectful children.

If Mexican and Mexican-American families have issues which can lead to abusiveness in parenting, the same can be said of adolescents of any ethnicity. For adolescence is a time of specific tasks, and parenthood is a task that few adolescents are prepared to do successfully. Since parenthood is alluring to many adolescents, the problem is of growing concern.

Adolescent Parenting and Abusive Child Rearing

The psychological tasks of adolescence have been characterized by theorists and researchers as all-consuming and self-centered. Erikson (1968) has described adolescence as a moratorium period, "almost a way of life between childhood and adulthood," in which people need to intergrate childhood identity elements into what he considers an initial identity. Additional burdens involved in the developmental task are the "physiological revolution" and the vagueness of societal demands. Erikson goes on to say that adolescent interpersonal contacts--sexual or of other sorts--are mostly determined by the need to be reflected and clarified. Real intimacy is thus a difficult task, since identity is too fragile to take chances with it.

Mays (1971) described additional tasks to be achieved by the adolescent person:

> The youth needs not only to find and secure for himself a place in the social and economic life of his community; he needs also to come to grips with his own physical being, with his sexuality and with his aggression. Finally, there is the philosophical task to be worked through, and this involves coming to terms with life and with reality as a whole and founding for himself some set of values and a code of ethics to live by (p. 132).

Zinn (1969) describes adolescent development as a complex, interactive task among society, individual behavior and self-concept; the results--young adult identity--may depend on the balance or imbalance among those elements. Failure to master tasks, to live up to social expectations at any given point may lead to lowered self-esteem and an unwillingness to engage in further tasks. These processes are described as cyclical in nature with oscillations between progressive and regressive feelings. During the course of these processes, various pseudo-solutions are found and chosen depending on the needs of the individual. Among these is adolescent pregnancy.

Psychological Processes in Adolescent Pregnancy

There is a general agreement among investigators that adolescents engage in sexual behavior for reasons which have nothing to do with the desire to parent a child. These reasons appear to be rooted in the adolescent struggles toward reaching adult status. Daniels (1969) pointed to the struggle for independence and to the fear mixed in the process of adolescent pregnancy. This was dramatically stated by one girl who said that she wanted to have this baby to show her mother she was not a child any longer. Yet, she was intending to turn the child over to her mother for her to rear (p. 333). Similarly, Schaeffer and Pine (1975) discussed pregnancy in adolescence as an expression of and solution to the conflict between the wish to be mothered and the

urge to be mothered. In their group therapy study, Haagen, Rosenberg, and Richmond (1975) found that the pregnant girls were acting out and taking revenge on an unsatisfactory mother, and that they expected to receive love from their mothers as a reflection of the love that they anticipated their mothers would have for the grandchild.

In Hertz's work with pregnant teenagers (1977), it appeared that pregnancy in adolescence may also be a remedy for a sense of loss of one parent due to separation or divorce, or for a sense of rejection stemming from domestic conflict, as well as from fears of abandonment by the girl's families. Nadelson (1979) pointed out the ambivalence involved in the developmental struggle: A baby may be a doll to play with; it may express a regressive wish; it may be the representation of a childlike self-image; or it may be a plea for caring (p. 355). Still another form of struggle resolution during the adolescent years is the search for proof of femininity or masculinity which may also lead to pregnancy during this period (Lieberman, 1979).

Theorists and researchers of the ego psychology orientation propose that childbirth in adolescence is one of the precipitating factors in clinical depression (Anthony, 1975; Gordon, 1978). Within the variety of ways and directions in which adolescents seem to search for their identity and for intimacy is the "developmental foreclosure," which is essentially a shortcut of adolescent tasks and which leads to the formation of foreclosed identity and pseudo-intimacy (Highland, 1979). According to Highland, these pseudo solutions are based on denial of feelings, and consequently, when under stress, the person

with foreclosed identity and pseudo-intimacy can no longer sustain these pseudo solutions, and as a result, depression occurs.

This potential for depression is particularly serious in view of the fact that adolescent pregnancy is generally considered in the high risk category, both in terms of the health of the infant and in terms of parenting. According to the Center for Health Statistics, about 10% of all adolescent births in 1978 fell in the category of low birth weight, with a total of 55,148 low birth weight infants born to adolescent mothers. In reviewing the literature on adolescent pregnancy, Magrab and Danielson-Murphy (1979) reported that "infants born to adolescent mothers were at significant risk for prematurity, low birth weight and perinatal mortality" (p. 123) and that infants of young teenagers were at least twice as likely to have neurological impairment than infants born to women 20-24 years old. The additional demands in the parenting of a low birth weight, premature, or neurologically impaired child, can only increase the normal stresses involved in parenting, placing additional burdens on the adolescent's already fragile parenting skills.

There seems to be general agreement among theorists, researchers and practitioners on the high risk quality of parenting by adolescents. Miller (1974), for instance, suggests that during adolescence there is an intense need to express aggressive feelings, either physically or verbally. Schwartz (1979) states that the difficulty in controlling aggressive impulses in adolescence is a major contraindication for adolescent parenting. Lack of self-control appears again in the area of limit-setting; here the young mothers are seen as "erratic, and

often simply abandon this parenting requirement" (p. 361). After the period of early infancy, young mothers are found to be often purposively harsh and ungiving to their children, as if preparing them for the hardships of life. "Many of the children are maternally deprived. As evidence, a major proportion of dependent and neglected children coming into courts have minor parents" (p. 361).

In regards to maternal deprivation, Smith (1975) asserts that very often the main source of loving care and nurturing is the grandmother, and that adolescent mothers may become consistently nurturing only under very supportive conditions. Similarly, Benas (1975) points out that programs intended to serve young adolescents and their infants need to include a system by which supplemental mothering is available to the child, while the mother learns about nurturing and parenting.

Most of the research in regard to adolescent parenting has focused on the single adolescent mother; single parenthood, however, seems to be just one of the elements predisposing to distorted parenting patterns. As part of a larger study on adolescent marital adjustment, DeLissovoy (1973) reported on the child rearing attitudes and practices of married adolescents. The study was based on 48 couples, 46 of which were expecting a child at the time of their marriage. From a rural working class background, the age of the girls ranged from 15 to 18, and that of the boys from 14½ to 19 years of age. Forty-one of the wives and 35 of the husbands had withdrawn from school prior to the graduation. One of the most striking results of the investigation was the disparity between the parents' expectations in terms of development and the appropriate norms. For sitting alone, for instance, mothers'

expectations were 12 weeks, and fathers', six weeks; expectations for toilet training clustered for both mothers and fathers around 24 to 26 weeks. In the general area of verbal communication, mothers expected the child to use their first words by the time they were 32 weeks old; while fathers expected it by the time the babies were 24 weeks old; obedience to verbal commands was expected at 36 and 26 weeks, respectively. In the area of moral behavior, the expectations were that the children would be able to recognize wrong doing by the time they were 52 weeks old (mothers) and 40 weeks old (father).

Another area on which this study focused was the area of expectation of crying:

> While 67.4% of the mothers recognized the fact that some babies cry more than others, or realized that one can expect a lot of crying, only 39.7% of the fathers selected these answers.... This low tolerance, combined with unrealistic expectations of development, contributed to their impatience with their children--and to the sometimes cruel treatment of them (p. 24).

The area of discipline and the use of physical punishment was also investigated. Eighty percent of the mothers mentioned physical punishment as a means of control. When mothers were asked about the frequency with which they punished the children, their answers reflected developmentally inappropriate judgement and loss of aggression control. The author concluded that the children of these married adolescents had a high risk of "joining the number of battered and abused babies" (p. 25).

Kruk (1978) studied a group of women, unmarried and currently living without a partner, at the time of the prenatal care visits. The researcher found that

> The single teenagers had many current difficulties with members of their families and differed from the other (age) groups (of women)

> in their attitude towards the expected child. In terms of the possibility of developing difficulties in mothering, a young age seems a far greater risk factor than does being unmarried (p. 128).

Parenting Tasks and Parenting Instruction

Galdston (1979) has proposed a definition of parenting as a process

> in which the participants (in the reproductive relationship) devote considerable attention to one another. Particular child rearing practices, the vehicle through which parental attention is delivered, vary in accordance with cultural factors, but the stuff of which it consists is universal. The normal function of parenting depends upon the ability to watch over and give care to the child, to provide surveillance and response. When the parent is free to take care of the child's needs, the child will thrive and realize his biological potential through maturation (p. 582).

Shapiro, Freiber, and Adelson (1975) reported on a case of simultaneous psychotherapy for an adolescent married mother and her infant in critical nutritional state. The adolescent mother, as well as the father, were considered by the therapeutic team to be in as much need for nurturing as their infant, both physiologically and psychologically. Later, it became clear that there were several other elements in the withdrawal of nourishment and nurturance from the infant: depression, anger, loss of family and friends; and sibling rivalry with her own son. The treatment involved two levels of activity: one that helped the young mother free herself from her unfinished childhood conflicts; another that informed and guided the adolescent in the understanding of the infant's nutritional and psychological needs.

Kempe (1972) has stated that instruction in parenting needs to focus on "mothering, nurturing, and what a child needs at different ages and stages and how parents (female and male) should respond to

those needs" (p. 117).

Researchers and practitioners have posed the question of how, at what point and what kind of parenting skills need to be spread among our adolescent population as a primary prevention of child abuse. Bell (1975) in Parenting in the Public Schools proposed that the point of preventive intervention was indeed the high school, "as adolescents learn to evaluate themselves, they gain confidence in their own actions and deeper understanding of what conditions are needed for growth in others" (p. 8).

In a study conducted with a population of eleventh grade students, Byles (1975) found that of the 150 girls and 140 boys, 90% of the girls and 63% of the boys declared that they had often wondered 'what kind of a parent I will be'; 65% of the girls and 36% of the boys declared that 'If it were offered in school, I would like to take a course on how to be a good parent'; and 50% of the girls and 55% of the boys 'would like to be a better parent than their own parent of the same sex.' Broadhurst (1975) reported similar findings: many adolescents do want parenting classes. Helfer (1976) has proposed that, given the accessibility of elementary and secondary school children, "rather than develop a screening program for this age group, all children should be taught these (parenting) skills" (p. 368).

Blair and Blair (1976) stressed the need for parenting instruction to include practical experience in a day care center or nursery school, and that this experience and instruction should "go well beyond the mechanical aspect of child care" (p. 237). In quoting Margaret Mead's writings on societal requirements for marriage, the joint

authors stated that "no constraints are placed on child bearing which is even a greater responsibility" (p. 235). Lieberman (1979) similarly felt that practical experience needs to be combined with intellectual learning. He believed that this would meet a community need as well as address itself to the child development knowledge and parenting skills needs of adolescents.

In a study designed to compare the potential of preventive education in child abuse, Constanzo (1977) compared the effects of two types of parenting education courses: a structured/didactic and a non-structured/affective training course. Among the conclusions drawn by the researcher were:

> A non-structured/affective model is more efficient than a structured/didactic model in generating increased knowledge about child abuse. A non-structured format is also more effective than a structured format in improving attitudes towards child abuse. Abused students following treatment, have much less accepting attitudes about child abuse, than do non-abused students (p. 1858-B).

In order to efficiently utilize primary prevention tools or resources, it seems important to be able to identify those most in need of such intervention. Accordingly, it seems necessary to concretely define the characteristics which identify potentially abusive future parents or currently parenting individuals.

Trends in Primary Prevention

Primary prevention has been defined, within the context of community mental health, by Bower (1969) as

> any specific biological, social or psychological intervention that promotes or enhances the mental and emotional robustness or reduces the incidence and prevalence of mental or emotional illness in the population at large. In this framework, primary preventive programs are aimed at persons not yet separated from the general population and hopefully, at interventions specific enough to be operationally defined and measured (p. 237).

Within the specific context of child abuse primary prevention, several trends can be found. The one that seems to have the most implications is the set of strategies proposed by Gil (1975), who feels that the primary prevention of child abuse requires a radical transformation in social and human relationships including the elimination of poverty, the use of force, and mental illness. Besides these changes, he believes that we also need to restructure our thinking about childhood and about child rearing questions.

Other trends in primary prevention are more focused; they attempt to screen individuals at the moment when parenting tasks begin. Consequently, although "before the fact" of abuse, these efforts are addressed to a somewhat narrowed down population. Greenberg (1976) started screening prospective mothers with an instrument (Maternal Personality Inventory) that tapped problem areas in the future of the mother's situation, namely, "rejection of pregnancy, hostility, depression, marital adjustment, relations with mother, and somatic symptoms. High scores in any two of these areas will cause staff to look at that person right away" (p. 21). Schneider, Hoffmeister, and Helfer (1980) devised a questionnaire which attempted to predict abuse potential in mothers; the element "Emotional Needs Met" was the most accurate predictor. Recent evaluative research on the instrument revealed that it has "85% sensitivity and specificity in identifying known abusers and high-risk groups from known good parents and low risk groups" (1980, p. 369). Grey, Cutler, Dean and Kempe (1976) studied the potential for problems in mother-child interactions during the perinatal period, and reported that a high-risk group was successfully identified on the

basis of their screening procedures.

Disbrow, Doerr, and Caulfield (1977) attempted to identify persons who were already parents with potential for abuse. Their sample included 69 families, 37 known abusers and 32 controls. The variables they studied included: parents' background, personality, child rearing attitudes, social networks and parent-child interactions, and physiological response to stimulus tapes showing mother, father and child interactions in families of the same race as the subject with a child the same age as the subjects' child. The researchers pointed out that their battery had a sensitivity of 85%, and a specificity (the ability to correctly identify non-abusers) of 89%.

Ayoub and Pfeifer (1977) reported on a program which screens for abuse potential at three different levels: "inpatient infants and children, inpatient protocol and teaching programs in child and family health; and the pediatric 'At-Risk' outpatient clinic" (p. 15). Some of the results reported by the program directors were:

> None of the families actively involved (in the program) has had a child admitted to the hospital for abuse or neglect. Parents identified as being those with whom the program and other agencies could not work... were tagged "high priority" by the 'At-Risk' Program, and the local child abuse agency.... Our ability to predict abuse and neglect has been good.... Out of 20 children who were identified as "priority" children in 1975, and whose parents refused followed-up help, 17 were removed from their homes on the grounds of child abuse or neglect within six to 12 months after their initial identification (p. 17).

Strauss (1978), as part of a larger study previously referred to, developed a checklist of parental characteristics associated with child abuse. This instrument consisted of 16 variables, which were identified as most useful in discriminating abusing parents. The

discriminating power of the instrument was found to be only 33% accurate, since among the group of parents who were characterized by all the elements in the instruments, two-thirds did not abuse a child. Strauss concludes that, even if the checklist is able to isolate many of the factors associated with child abuse, "there is an obvious need to include data on the psychological characteristics of the parents and the characteristics of the child" (p. 223).

Finally, there is another type of effort towards primary prevention of child abuse which focuses on the adolescent population before engaging in parenting tasks. In 1975, Bavolek began his efforts to develop an instrument which would identify adolescents in need of learning appropriate parenting and child rearing skills.

The Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory

On the basis of testing approximately 3,000 adolescents in grades 10, 11, and 12, whose background was Caucasian, urban and rural, and with a Latter-Day Saints religious affiliation for the most part, Bavolek (1978) selected 32 items from an original pool of 50 as the best items in terms of content validity, construct-item correlations, inter-item correlations, and internal reliability. The original 50 items were generated from three sources, namely, a review of the current literature on parenting and child rearing; existing parenting instruments; from professionals who were advisors for the study.

The items of the Adolescent Parenting Inventory (later called Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory) represented statements reflecting attitudes commonly found in the literature on abusive parents, and

organized in four parenting child rearing constructs:

A. Inappropriate expectations of the child

Abusing parents, according to Bavolek, have a basic ignorance of what infants and young children are able to achieve according to their level of development. They are also unaware of the actual needs of their infants and children. This inaccurate perception of skills and needs leads these parents to treat their children as if they were older than they actually are, and are left to basically take care of themselves. "Often, inappropriate expectations surround such activities as eating, bathing, toileting, etc." (p. 7).

B. Inability of the parent to be empathically aware of the child's needs

Abusive parents share an inability, according to Bavolek, to "understand the condition or state of mind of the child without actually experiencing the feelings of the child." Abusing parents fear that responding to the children's feelings or emotional states will "spoil" them, the consequence being that these children are not nurtured and seldom are they shown love. Although appropriate behavior for the child is seldom clarified, the parents expect the child to be good and to be obedient.

C. Strong parental belief in the value of punishment

According to Bavolek, studies on the use of physical punishment seem to show that abusive parents consider this method of disciplining as a proper tool to "punish and correct bad conduct or inadequacy on the part of the child" (p. 7). These parents also believe in their right to use such disciplinary method.

D. Role reversal

The child is placed in the position of being a nurturant parent to one's own parent: "... the child is expected to be the source of comfort and care; to be sensitive to and responsible for much of the happiness of her/his parents" (p. 7). These kinds of parents also expect their children to generate an adequate flow of self-esteem.

After formulation of these four constructs and selection of the items, Bavolek put the instrument to trial to determine whether it was able to discriminate between abused and non-abused subjects through their total construct score deviations, by administering the A/API to 91 adolescents with known histories of abuse. "The results of the MANOVA ... indicate a significant overall mean difference ($p < .001$) across the four factors between abused and non-identified abused adolescents" (p. 24).

The 32-item form of the instrument has also been used with adults by Bavolek himself in a pilot project, and by Stone (1980), who attempted to assess parenting attitudes in educators as well as to further validate the instrument itself. Her findings provided both internal and external validation for the instrument.

More recently, a further refinement of the instrument has taken place (A/API, 1980); the new form (C) includes items from the original pool of 50 as well as a number of new ones, reaching a total of 40 items.

Summary

Child abuse though an ancient phenomenon, has only recently been identified as such and made an object of concern and inquiry. The

earliest researchers, basing their work on the medical model and psychodynamics, viewed abuse and neglect as a consequence of aberrant parent-child interaction. Although the stance remains current, later researchers have also worked from other premises. Some have considered abuse to be the consequence of unrealistic parental expectations given extreme expression by conflicts within or stress on the parents. Others have seen abuse to be primarily a socioeconomic phenomenon, the consequence of poverty and oppression. Another school of research has focused on social values, seeing abuse as a consequence of our society's acceptance of violence and its view of children as property.

Each of these different perspectives also has associated with it explanations for the ways in which abuse perpetuates itself. Among the mechanisms considered have been: identification with the aggressor, favored by those who stem from an essentially psychodynamic perspective; unconsciously shared cultural values and social learning. As with the theories themselves, no one mechanism has yet demonstrated to be the definite explanation.

The differences of contending theories has had its impact on the very definintion of the phenomenon. Areas of agreement do exist, and these are centered around the most manifest aspects of abuse, but there are differing emphases and considerable variation in the scope and comprehensiveness of the definition.

As important as the theoretical approach in any study of child abuse is the specific human context within which one examines it. In this study, that context is Mexican and Mexican-American adolescents.

Three major subgroups are derived from the sociocultural literature. The native Mexicans have a life, family structure and child rearing methods shaped by the needs of a rural peasantry. Those Mexicans who choose to emigrate find new opportunities, but they also find that their old patterns have been brought into a new context, creating stress. The Mexican-Americans retain traditional norms, but transformed by and modified to deal with the new environment. They also show internal variables such as class and education, which further modifies the effects of tradition.

The fact of adolescence has also been shown to be relevant to child abuse. In general, child-bearing among adolescents is found to be based on needs that have little to do with being a sound parent, and is generally viewed as a way of avoiding adolescence's real tasks. Adolescent parents are found to be at risk, physically, emotionally and behaviorally. The two latter points are in part related to the unrealistic expectations that adolescent parents have of their infant. At the same time, many adolescents show a desire to be better parents than their own were, and are receptive to the idea of parenting instruction.

The concept of parenting instruction is connected with the issue of primary prevention. The main population targets of such efforts have been those accessible to prenatal and pediatric clinics. Behavioral and attitudinal manifestations and various inventories are the means of identifying an at-risk population to whom corrective services can be offered.

The Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory developed by Bavolek is

described as an instrument for identifying potential abusers at an even earlier stage. The relevant constructs for detecting potential abusers in adolescence are: 1) inappropriate expectations of children; 2) inability to be empathetically aware of children's needs; 3) strong belief in the value of physical punishment; and 4) role reversal, where the child exists primarily to meet the parents' needs. Validation of this instrument on different adolescent populations will permit identification of potential abusers before they become parents.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter is concerned with the discussion of three topics: 1) selection of sample population and data collection methods, 2) instrumentation, and 3) statistical procedures.

Selection of Sample Population and Data Collection Methods

Originally, this study was to be performed on a Chicago Public School population; in the end, however, the subjects for this investigation were drawn from two Catholic high schools run by teaching religious orders in Chicago, Illinois; one a high school for males (St. Rita) and the other for females (Maria). These schools serve the population of the Southwest of the city.

Contacts were made with the principals of St. Rita High School and Maria High School during November, 1980, in order to interest them in the research and obtain their permission to perform the study with their students. The study was explained to both principals in detail, including its purpose, objectives, procedures and guarantees of anonymity; to gain the cooperation of the administration of both schools it became necessary to vary the selection procedures for the sample groups so that these procedures would fit within the official research policies at their institutions.

Data Collection for Males

At St. Rita's High School, the administration believed that the

findings of this study would be relevant to course curriculum planning; accordingly, in this school all students with Spanish surnames were asked by the administration to participate in the study. Additionally, the school counselor assisted the researcher in collecting the data. Memos were sent to all faculty asking them to inform students with Spanish surnames to participate in a research project which would help the school evaluate its course in Marriage and the Family (December 4, 1980, Appendix A, p. 154). Additional information was to be given the morning of the survey (December 9, 1980). On that date, the faculty teaching tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades received another memo requesting that all Spanish surnamed students be given an announcement that the survey would be administered during the seventh period (2:00 PM). The announcement also guaranteed the anonymity of the student and the lack of connection of this project with any government agency (Appendix A). At 1:30 the Spanish surnamed students were reminded through the paging system to show up at the Auditorium where they would participate in the research. The researcher was present during the administration of the inventory for consultation regarding the instructions (Appendix A) and for possible vocabulary questions.

Clipped sets of instruments and Standard Answer Sheets (SAS) were handed out. The subjects themselves picked out their ID numbers from a bag containing pieces of 3x5 index cards with numbers 001 to 256. The subjects were instructed to write their ID numbers on all five pieces of paper in their set. Additional instructions were given to those who were in doubt as to places of birth of parents and step-parents. After the completion of all forms, the students were asked to

return their sets to the researcher, who checked them for consistency in ID numbers and completion of answer sheets. One hundred and thirty-two sets of instruments were collected from this male population.

Data Collection for Females

The data collection for the students at Maria High School proceeded according to a general policy regarding research at that institution. A parental permission slip prepared by the researcher and signed by the principal, was sent to the parents of each Spanish surnamed student eight days before the administration of the inventory (December 5, 1980). The permission slip was to be returned, signed, two days before the inventory was to be administered (December 10, 1980, Appendix A).

Seventy subjects agreed to participate, ten refused. Students participating in the study met in a large classroom. Five honor students aided in the distribution, retrieval, and checking of the material. They specifically gave out the ID numbers (300-556 were assigned to these students) and later, reviewed the ID numbers and checked the sets for completeness and correct number assignation.

Verbal instructions followed the written form used for the administration of the A/API at St. Rita's. It was also stressed that there were no right or wrong answers, and the specific General Information Sheet item numbers that needed filling in were written on the board. Additionally, there was the need to clarify the equivalences of letter-code on the SAS and the verbal alternatives on the A/API, i.e., A: Strongly Agree or Always; B: Agree or Usually; C: Uncertain or Sometimes; D: Disagree or Seldom; E: Strongly Disagree or Never.

After the completion of all forms, the researcher and the helping honor students received the material and checked it for completion and correction of ID numbers on all forms. A total of 69 sets of instruments were collected from the female population.

The combined sample populations, 132 males and 69 females result in a final sample population of 201 subjects. This total of n = 132 for males and n = 69 for females had to be reduced whenever necessary information had not been supplied. The specific size of the population sample for each of the six hypotheses will be discussed following the demographic summary tables presented in the section on instrumentation.

Prior to data analysis the raw data were reviewed individually in order to eliminate the sets which revealed a place of birth for subjects different from those to be considered in this research. Further, two additional sets were eliminated for spurious responses to the A/API. There remained 197 data sets which were entered on data cards for computer analysis.

Instrumentation

Two instruments were used in this study: A General Information Sheet, and The Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API), Form C.

General Information Sheet

The General Information Sheet used in this study (Appendix B, p. 160) was based on those used by Bavolek (1978), and Stone (1980); items for this research were adapted, changed, or generated to better deal with the ethnic population under study and to obtain the necessary information. This instrument, as well as the A/API, were given in English. This researcher was certain that the population of grades 10,

11, and 12 was bilingual.

Seventeen items of information were collected, of which seven were crucial for this study: sex of the subject, place of birth, father's current work, mother's current work, yearly income level for the household, level of education of father and of mother.

Sex of Subject: The sex of each subject was stated in question 41 of the General Information Sheet.[1] Sex of subject served as the independent variable for Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3:

1. There will be significant differences in scores obtained in the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API) by females and males for each of the four constructs: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, Role Reversal.
2. There will be significant differences among the scores of female subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers for each of the four constructs of the A/API: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Role Reversal.
3. There will be significant differences among the scores of male subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers for each of the four constructs of the A/API: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Role Reversal.

Place of Birth: The place of birth for the subjects and their

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[1]Items in the General Information Sheet were numbered continuously after the items in the A/API, for the purpose of using Standard Answer Sheets.

mothers and fathers was stated in item 44 of the General Information Sheet.

Table 1

Country of Birth - Males

	United States		Mexico		Other Spanish Countries		No Information		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Subjects	109	82	21	16	2	2	0	0	132	100
Father	36	27	87	66	8	6	1	1	132	100
Mother	37	28	87	66	7	5	1	1	132	100

As can be seen in Table 1, 82 percent of the males (n = 109) were born in the United States and only 16 percent (n = 21) were born in Mexico. This relationship is nearly reversed for the fathers and mothers. Among both fathers and mothers, 66 percent (n = 87) were born in Mexico, while 27 percent of the fathers (n = 36) and 28 percent of the mothers (n = 37) were born in the United States. On one response sheet the relevant information was missing.

Table 2

Country of Birth - Females

	United States		Mexico		Other Spanish Countries		No Information		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Subjects	59	84	8	13	0	0	2	3	69	100
Father	13	19	47	68	7	10	2	3	69	100
Mother	13	19	48	69	6	9	2	3	69	100

According to Table 2, 84 percent (n = 59) of the females were born in the United States and 13 percent (n = 8) were born in Mexico. As in the case of the males, the majority of fathers (68 percent, n = 47) and mothers (69 percent, n = 48) were born in Mexico, while 19 percent of the mothers as well as the fathers (n = 13) were born in the United States. Ten percent of the fathers (n = 7) and 9 percent of the mothers (n = 6) were born in other Spanish countries. Information was unavailable in two cases.

Table 3

Country of Birth - Combined

	United States		Mexico		Other Spanish Countries		No Information		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Subject	168	84	29	14	2	1	2	1	201	100
Father	49	24	134	67	15	7.5	3	1.5	201	100
Mother	50	24.5	135	68	13	6	3	1.5	201	100

Table 3 represents the summation of the data listed in Table 1 and Table 2. The total population sample for this variable is n = 198.

Yearly Income Level per Household: The income level was stated in item 54 of the General Information Sheet. Income for the household serves as the independent variable for Hypothesis 4:

4. There will be significant differences among the scores of the subjects in the various family income levels.

Table 4

Yearly Income Level per Household - Males

Level	Income	n	%
High	< 20,000	56	42
Medium	10,000-20,000	47	36
Low	5,000-10,000	10	8
Very Low	> 5,000	4	3
No Information		15	11
Total		132	100

As can be seen in Table 4, 42 percent (n = 56) of the families were reported to have an income of $20,000 or more, which was defined as high income, while 36 percent (n = 47) reported median income ($10,000 to $20,000). Eight percent of the families (n = 10) reported a low income of $5,000 to $10,000 and only 3 percent of the families (n = 4) have been reported to have an income of less than $5,000. No information was supplied by 11 percent (n = 15) reducing the population sample to n = 117.

Table 5

Yearly Income Level per Household - Females

Level	Income	n	%
High	< 20,000	27	39
Medium	10,000-20,000	28	41
Low	5,000-10,000	5	7
Very Low	> 5,000	5	7
Information		4	6
Total		69	100

In Table 5, 39 percent of the subjects (n = 27) reported an income of $20,000 or higher; 41 percent of the subjects (n = 28) reported a median income of $10,000 to $20,000, and 7 percent of the

subjects (n = 5) each reported a low income of $5,000 to $10,000 and a very low income of $5,000 or less. No information was available for 6 percent of the subjects (n = 4) leaving a sample of n = 65.

Table 6

Yearly Income Level per Household - Combined

Level	Income	n	%
High	< 20,000	83	41
Medium	10,000-20,000	75	37
Low	5,000-10,000	15	7.5
Very Low	> 5,000	9	5
No Information		19	9.5
Total		201	100

Table 6 shows income level for both samples combined. When considering the total sample, 41 percent (n = 83) of the subjects indicated a family income of $20,000 or more, 37 percent of the subjects (n = 75) a median family income of $10,000 to $20,000. Five thousand dollars to $10,000 was reported by 7.5 percent of the subjects (n = 15) and a very low income of less than $5,000 was indicated by 5 percent of the subjects (n = 9). A total of 9.5 percent of the subjects (n = 19) failed to supply information, leaving an n of 182.

Father's Current Work and Mother's Current Work: The type of work each parent of subject was stated in questions 52 and 53. Parents' work status serves as the independent variable for Hypothesis 5:

5. There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents work as blue collar workers or as white collar workers.

Table 7

Employment Status of Father and Mother - Males

Type of Work	Father n	Father %	Mother n	Mother %
White collar	25	19	28	21.5
Blue collar	80	60	36	27.5
Does not work	5	4	57	43
Laid off	6	5	3	2
Disabled	4	3	1	1
Absent	4	3	0	0
No information	8	6	7	5
Total	132	100	132	100

Note: For classification into either the white collar or the blue collar category this investigator followed the occupational classifications as listed in the Code Book prepared by NORC, July 1980, as part of the National Data Program for the Social Sciences.

As can be seen in Table 7, 19 percent (n = 25) of the males' fathers are employed as white collar workers, while 60 percent (n = 80) work in blue collar jobs, and 5 percent (n = 6) are laid off. Four percent of the fathers (n = 5) do not work, 3 percent (n = 4) are disabled and the same number are absent from the homes. For 6 percent of the fathers (n = 8) no information was available.

The greatest number of the males' mothers, 43 percent (n = 57) do not work. They were usually referred to as housewives; 21.5 percent (n = 28) work in white collar positions and 27.5 percent (n = 36) were listed as blue collar workers. Three of the mothers were laid off and one was disabled. No mother was absent from the home; information was lacking for seven mothers. Total n for this variable is n = 124 from the males' sample.

Table 8

Employment Status for Father and Mother - Females

Type of Work	Father n	Father %	Mother n	Mother %
White collar	7	10	12	17
Blue collar	54	78	23	33.5
Does not work	1	1.5	29	42
Laid off	1	1.5	4	6
Disabled	2	3	0	0
Retired/Deceased	2	3	0	0
Student	0	0	1	1.5
No information	2	3	0	0
Total	69	100	69	100

Table 8, as in Table 7, shows a preponderance of blue collar workers among the fathers, 78 percent (n = 54). Ten percent (n = 7) have been reported to be white collar workers, one father is laid off and one does not work. Three precent each (n = 2) are disabled, have retired or are dead. Information is lacking for two fathers.

Among the mothers of females, similar to the findings of mothers of males, the greatest number (n = 29, 42 percent) do not work; 17 percent (n = 12) are employed in white collar positions and 33.5 percent (n = 23) of the mothers are reported to be blue collar workers. In addition four mothers are laid off and one mother is a student.

Total n for fathers of females in regard to employment is n = 67, while total n for mothers of females is n = 69.

Table 9 gives information about current employment of fathers and mothers when the males' and females' sample populations are combined. A total of 16 percent of the fathers (n = 32) are white collar workers, while a total of 20 percent of the mothers (n = 40) fall in this

Table 9

Employment Status for Father and Mother - Combined

Type of Work	Father n	Father %	Mother n	Mother %
White collar	32	16	40	20
Blue collar	134	67	59	30
Does not work	6	3	86	43
Laid off	7	3	7	3
Disabled	6	3	1	0.5
Absent	4	2	0	0
Retired/Deceased	2	1	0	0
Student	0	0	1	0.5
No information	10	5	7	3
Total	201	100	201	100

classification. By far the largest group of fathers (n = 134, 67 percent) are described as blue collar workers while 30 percent (n = 59) of the mothers fall in this classification. Three percent of the fathers do not work (n = 6), however, 43 percent (n = 86) of the mothers do not work and are presumably housewives. Three percent of fathers (n = 7) and 3 percent of mothers (n = 7) have been laid off and six fathers and one mother are reported to be disabled. All of the mothers are at home but 2 percent (n = 4) of the fathers are absent from the home. Finally, 1 percent (n = 2) of the fathers are retired or deceased, and one mother is listed as a student.

No information in regard to current employment was available for 5 percent of the fathers (n = 10) and 3 percent (n = 7) of the mothers, reducing the total n for fathers to n = 191, and the total n for mothers to n = 194.

Highest Level of Education: Parents' levels of education were stated in questions 55 and 56 of the General Information Sheet.

Father's and mother's highest level of education serves as the independent variable for Hypothesis 6:

6. There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents have different levels of educational attainment.

Table 10

Level of Education of Father and Mother - Males

Level	Father		Mother	
	n	%	n	%
No education	1	1	2	2
Some elementary	19	14	19	14
Elementary	25	19	26	20
High school	62	47	64	48
Technical/Trade	4	3	0	0
Commercial/Secretarial	0	0	0	0
College	14	11	14	11
No information	7	5	7	5
Total	132	100	132	100

Table 10 supplies information about the educational achievement of the fathers and mothers of the males' sample. One father and two mothers did not have any education. Fourteen percent (n = 19) of both the paternal and the maternal group had some elementary education, while 19 percent (n = 25) of the fathers and 20 percent (n = 26) of the mothers completed elementary school. Forty-seven percent of the fathers (n = 62) and 48 percent of the mothers (n = 64) achieved high school education. Technical school was attended by 3 percent of the fathers (n = 4) and 11 percent of both fathers and mothers (n = 14) went to college. Information in regard to this question is missing for 5 percent (n = 7) of fathers as well as mothers, leaving a total

n = 125 for both fathers and mothers of the male sample.

Table 11

Level of Education of Father and Mother - Females

Level	Father n	Father %	Mother n	Mother %
No education	2	3	0	0
Some elementary	19	28	16	23
Elementary	15	22	18	26
High school	21	30	28	41
Technical/Trade	5	7	0	0
Commercial/Secretarial	0	0	2	3
College	5	7	3	4
No Information	2	3	2	3
Total	69	100	69	100

In Table 11 we find a summary of educational achievement for fathers and mothers of the female sample. Two of the fathers were reported to have no education, none of the mothers fell into this category. Some elementary education was reported for 28 percent of the fathers (n = 19) and 23 percent of the mothers (n = 16). Twenty-two percent of the fathers (n = 15) and 26 percent of the mothers (n = 18) completed elementary school, and 30 percent of the fathers (n = 21) and 41 percent of the mothers completed high school (n = 28). Trade school was attended by 7 percent of the fathers (n = 5) while 3 percent of the mothers (n = 2) went to commercial school. Seven percent of the fathers (n = 5) and 4 percent of the mothers (n = 3) were reported to be college graduates. No information in regard to level of education of fathers and mothers was supplied in two cases. This leaves a total n = 67 for the testing of this variable.

Table 12

Level of Education of Father and Mother - Combined

Level	Father n	Father %	Mother n	Mother %
No education	3	1.5	2	1
Some elementary	38	19	35	17
Elementary	40	20	43	21.5
High school	83	41	92	46
Technical/Trade	9	4.5	1	0.5
Commercial/Secretarial	0	0	2	1
College	19	9.5	17	8.5
No information	9	4.5	9	4.5
Total	201	100	201	100

Table 12 is the summary tabulation of educational achievement for the two combined samples. Three fathers and two mothers have no education. Some elementary education was reported for 19 percent of the fathers (n = 38) and 17 percent of the mothers (n = 35), while 20 percent of the fathers (n = 40) and 21.5 percent of the mothers (n = 43) completed elementary education.

The greatest number of fathers (n = 83, 41 percent) and mothers (n = 92, 46 percent) were reported as high school graduates. Four point five percent of the fathers (n = 9) and one mother attended trade school, and one percent of the mothers (n = 2) completed education in a commercial school. Only 9.5 percent of the fathers (n = 19) and 8.5 percent of the mothers (n = 17) were reported as college graduates. Information in regard to this question was missing for nine fathers and mothers, leaving a total n = 192 for testing purposes.

In view of the fact that the data was collected on a population predominantly Mexican and Mexican-American, religious preference

(Question 45) was overwhelmingly Catholic. Of the total n of 132 males 97 percent (n = 128) identified themselves as Catholics, three subjects identified themselves as Protestants, and one subject did not respond. Of the total n of 69 females, 98.5 percent (n = 68) identified themselves as Catholics, and one subject identified herself as Protestant.

The Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API)

In addition to the General Information Sheet the major instrument used in this investigation was the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API) developed by Bavolek in 1978. This assessment instrument is still in the experimental stage. On-going research by Bavolek and his co-workers in various parts of the United States is being conducted. However, at present only the original research by Bavolek (1978), a second paper presented by Bavolek (1978) and Stone's dissertation (1980) are available.

At present the A/API is an attitude scale consisting of 32 items using a Likert scale format. The purpose of administering the A/API is the assessment of parenting and child rearing attitudes of adolescents and, especially, to identify "high risk" adolescents. Bavolek labels "high risk" those adolescents who show patterns indicative or predisposing towards child abuse on the A/API. As this instrument is not widely known, the development of the A/API and the standardization procedures utilized, will be discussed next.

Based on a thorough review of the literature related to child rearing and child abuse in particular, Bavolek proposed the following four constructs to typify abusive parents:

A. Inappropriate parental expectations of the child.

B. Inability of the parent to be empathetically aware of the child's needs.

C. Strong parental belief in the value of punishment.

D. Role reversal.

Bavolek then proceeded to write 50 items representing these four basic constructs. To establish content validity he submitted the 50 items to a panel of judges, consisting of experts in child abuse, test construction, and attitudinal measurement. There was at least 80 percent agreement among the judges on 49 of these original 50 items.

The total sample used in the study was n = 2,628, consisting of adolescents attending schools in Utah and Idaho, sub-divided into abused and non-abused adolescents. The abused subjects were living in institutional settings.

Three prototypes of the instrument, using a Likert format, were developed and field tested by Bavolek. He found that one of these scales representing only negative parental attitudes had higher discriminating power than other forms which included positive as well as negative attitudes. Therefore, the final form of the attitude scale, consisting of 32 items, contains only negative items.

Construct validity for the A/API was established by means of factor analysis. The highest positive factor loading was (_ .20) for each of the four constructs. The construct correlation for the 32 items ranged from r = .53 to r = .75, indicating adequately high correlations between each item score with its representative total construct.

Internal consistency for each construct was as follows: A = .70; B = .75; C = .81; D = .82. Test-retest reliability after one week was r = .76.

Bavolek's findings indicated that on the A/API those adolescents identified as abused earned significantly lower mean scores (p. .001) than the non-abused subjects. Furthermore, he found that male adolescents earned a significantly lower mean score than female adolescents. Earned scores and tendency toward child abuse constitute an inverted relationship on the A/API, the lower the score the higher is the tendency towards child abuse.

While Bavolek's research shows some evidence for concurrent validation, no data for predictive validity is available. In view of the newness of the instrument, this is not surprising. However, it is necessary to recall that one of the main purposes for administering the A/API is to discriminate abuse-prone future parents, so that such adolescents can be exposed to intensive preventive programs. Considerable additional validity research for this instrument has to be conducted, before such a diagnosis can be made with confidence.

Stone's (1980) critique of the standardization procedures for the A/API mentioned inadequate sampling procedures. The abused sample population was institutionalized, the non-abused sample was predominantly Caucasian and Mormon. In neither case can the sample population be considered representative. Stone, furthermore questioned the one dimensionality of the instrument resulting in a set which would influence the responses, especially, of sophisticated subjects. Finally, Stone states that for the establishment of test-retest

reliability too few subjects were involved (n = 17), and that the intervening time span (one week) was too short.

The A/API is adequate in terms of content and construct validity and efforts to establish reliability are continuing. No evidence on predictive validity is available. However, Bavolek's instrument is unique in that it attempts to assess potential for child abuse. For the applied clinician, who confronts child abuse in its reality, the A/API remains a promising instrument.

In this investigation, the A/API, Form C (1980) was used. Form C is the most recent form of the instrument; it contains in addition to the 32-items used by Bavolek (1978) and Stone (1980), eight items from the original pool, bringing Form C to a total of 40 statements. These eight items were included in this new form "because they are good discriminators between abused and non-abused subjects" (Bavolek, personal communication, 1980). The items are imbedded in the construct structure of the inventory as follows: Construct A: items #17, 29; Construct B: items #25, 13; Construct C: items #11, 35, 37; Construct D: item #20. A copy of the A/API (Form C) and a chart showing the construct-item composition of the instrument may be found in Appendix B.

Form C was finally selected on the advice of Bavolek (personal communication, November 1980). At the time, the instrument's author informed this researcher that further statistical investigations on Form C carried out by him and his associates had shown sustained internal consistency and reliability and increased discriminatory capacity.

Statistical Procedures

This section describes briefly the dependent and independent

variables involved in this study, as well as the statistical procedures performed on the data obtained.

Independent Variables

Usable demographic information was obtained on a total of 197 subjects, who responded to the 17 questions. For the analyses on the present study, only six of these constituted variables of interest: sex of the subject, educational level of the father, educational level of the mother, work status of the subjects' father and mother, and yearly income estimates for the subjects' whole family. Sex was considered a dichotomous variable which represented male or female; educational level of the subject's father and of the subject's mother were measured on the ordinal level and represented as: some or no elementary education, elementary education, high school education, and college education.

Work status of the father and of the mother were also considered dichotomous variables and represented blue collar work or white collar work, while yearly income level of the family was measured on the ordinal level and represented as follows: $\leq$ \$5,000; \$5,000 > Income $\leq$ \$10,000; \$10,000 > Income < \$20,000; and > \$20,000.

Dependent Variables

Each subject responded to the Adult/Adolescent Inventory (A/API) three times. The first time the subjects were asked to respond to the inventory from their point of view; the second time, the subjects were to respond to the inventory as they thought their fathers would have and the third time as they thought their mothers' point of view would have been.

The 40 Likert-type items which constitute the inventory are scored on a scale of 1 to 5, where the subject's mean score for each administration of the A/API is defined as the sum of the point values divided by 40.

In addition to an overall mean A/API score, the instrument yields four mean construct scores. These scores represent specific groups of items:

	Item Numbers
Construct A:	3, 8, 12, 16, 17, 18, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31
Construct B:	4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 21, 25, 34, 36, 40
Construct C:	1, 10, 11, 22, 24, 28, 33, 35, 37, 39
Construct D:	2, 5, 7, 14, 19, 20, 26, 32, 38

Analysis of Mean Scores: Multivariate Procedures

Since each subject responded to the A/API three times, these dependent measures may be analyzed either by univariate or by multivariate statistical procedures. In the univariate situation, a repeated measure design would be appropriate. However, there are two important underlying assumptions to be considered for this design: the population covariance between pairs of treatment levels (the repeated measures factor) are constant and the population variances for each of the treatment levels (the repeated measures factor) are homogeneous (Kirk, 1968). When the variances are unequal and the covariances are neither equal or constant, then univariate analysis procedures do not provide an exact test of the null hypothesis and so a multivariate approach is the preferred method.

For the present study, it was reasonable to assume that there

would be some degree of correlation between pairs of the repeated factors and that these correlations would not be equal. This, in turn, would violate the assumption of equal covariances. Therefore, a multivariate approach was used in order to avoid the potential problems that could arise in the univariate approach.

MANOVA

Genuine multivariate methods involve a multiplicity of dependent variables. Given an independent variable that represents a group classification of observations, a t-test or F-test may be used to look for group differences for each dependent variable. However, it could very well happen that for each dependent variable, the group differences were too slight to detect a significant one; but that when the dependent variables were taken together, real statistical differences could emerge. The purpose, then, of the multivariant significance tests is to study the differences among groups in terms of many dependent variables considered simultaneously (Tatsuoka, 1971).

Multivariate Tests of Significance

For the present study, the grouping variables are: sex of subject, educational level of the father, educational level of the mother, work status of the subject's father, work status of the subject's mother, and yearly income level for the family as a whole. The dependent repeated measures are the A/API means viewed as total means or construct means for each perception (subject's, father's, mother's). The test of overall significance is Wilks' Criterion (Tatsuoka, 1971). This test produces an F-value and a corresponding p-value. If the obtained p-value is less than the designated significance level, then

the null hypothesis of no group differences will be rejected. For the present study, the level of significance is set at .05.

A significant F-value indicates that there is a group effect. In order to determine how the groups differ in terms of the dependent measures, the characteristic roots will be inspected. In designs such as the present, where there are at most two main effects and one interaction effect, there will usually be only one significant characteristic root. This root will indicate which dependent measures suffice to differentiate among the groups (Tatsuoka, 1971).

Unequal Ns

The derivation of the multivariate tests of significance used in the present design are based upon the assumption that cell frequencies are equal or at least proportional. If this is not true, then the significance tests are only approximate. To resolve this problem of unequal Ns, the method of least squares was used. Least squares means are to unequal cell frequencies what arithmetic means are to equal cell frequencies.

The statistical procedures found in the Statistical Analyses System, User's Guide (1979) were used to perform the multivariate procedures. The resulting data obtained with these procedures will be reported in Chapter IV.

Summary

The population for this study consisted of 132 male Spanish surnamed students at St. Rita's High School and 69 female Spanish surnamed students from Maria High School, both schools being part of the Catholic school system in Chicago. These participants completed two

instruments: a General Information Sheet and Bavolek's Adult/ Adolescent Parenting Inventory (Form C). The latter form was filled out three times; once for each subject's own views and once for each parent's views as the subjects perceived them to be.

This methodology was designed to illuminate gender relationships in the intergenerational transmission of parenting attitudes by permitting comparisons between the subjects' attitudes and those they perceived each parent as having. It was also intended to determine whether those attitudes were affected by socioeconomic factors through use of demographic data on the General Information Sheet.

The statistical techniques employed to test the hypotheses were the Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA) and the t-test. The MANOVA was chosen on the assumption that data from the instruments would yield unequal covariances, and that it would detect more subtle significances. Strength of the significance test was measured by Wilks' criterion.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Introduction

This chapter describes and analyzes the results of the statistical procedures used in this study to test the six research hypotheses. A summary description of the problem areas is presented first. Following are the results of the several multivariate analyses of variance and t-tests used to test the research hypotheses.

Problem Areas in the Collected Data

In tabulating the data from the General Information Sheet (GIS, Appendix B, p. 160), there were responses which led to a decrease in the n's considered for the testing of the hypotheses. For example, data for three subjects had to be arbitrarily eliminated at the outset because of contradictory information about work status and about level of education. Further, incompleteness decreased the sample n in the following cases: to 158 observations when hypothesis 4 was tested (total family yearly income); to 109 and 169 observations when hypothesis 5 was tested (fathers' and mothers' work status); to 186 observations when hypothesis 6 was tested for significance (fathers' and mothers' level of educational attainment).

Insufficiency of information in the current work item was partially due to the assumptions made when the General Information Sheet was devised; the subjects were expected to state specifically what

both their parents did for a living, which was not always known or done. Another assumption made while preparing the GIS was: that the population for the study would come primarily from the public schools of Chicago, and that it would therefore be necessary to obtain specific work/no work status for fathers and mothers, either due to permanent disability, to ADC status, or to unemployment. These classifications of data were minimally present in the responses of the students in this study, who were attending private religious high schools, and thus had no meaning for this research. A more detailed or specific item about current type of work would have been more useful.

All of the research hypotheses will be stated in the positive and accepted at the .05 level of significance.

Hypothesis 1

> There will be significant differences in the scores obtained in the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory by females and males for each of the four constructs: Expectations (A), Empathy (B), Punishment (C), and Role Reversal (D).

The hypothesis of mean scores differential between females and males was tested statistically together with hypothesis 6 (levels of education for father and mother) with a MANOVA test of significance.

The results for the MANOVA for sex differences indicate that there are significant differences in the mean scores of the two sexes (P>F = 0.0001). Table 13 presents the test of the MANOVA, while Table 14 indicates the means and standard deviations on which the MANOVA was based.

An examination of the means on which this analysis was based

Table 13

Test of Significance of the MANOVA
Sex - Parental Education - Interaction Effect

	F-Value	DF	Probability of F
Father			
Sex	7.31	4,175	0.0001
Father Education	0.65	12,463	0.8107
Interaction Sex/Father's Ed.	1.08	12,463	0.3751
Mother			
Sex	6.35	4,175	0.0001
Mother Education	0.77	12,463	0.6791
Interaction Sex/Mother's Ed.	0.83	12,463	0.6208

Table 14

Least Squares Means and Standard Deviations[1]
Constructs - Sex

Sex	n	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
Female	65	$\bar{x}$ = 3.11	$\bar{x}$ = 3.24	$\bar{x}$ = 3.40	$\bar{x}$ = 2.90
Male	121	$\bar{x}$ = 3.00	$\bar{x}$ = 2.90	$\bar{x}$ = 3.00	$\bar{x}$ = 2.70
Both Sexes	186	$\bar{x}$ = 3.02	$\bar{x}$ = 3.00	$\bar{x}$ = 3.10	$\bar{x}$ = 2.77
		Sx = 0.42	Sx = 0.45	Sx = 0.51	Sx = 0.46
		P = 0.0247	P = 0.0001	P = 0.0001	P = 0.0353

Note that the P-values were found using univariate F-tests between males and females for the variables of Expectation, Empathy, Punishment, Role Reversal. The mean square was formed from a 2 x 4 ANOVA.

[1]Sx is computed on the entire sample for each construct.

reveals that the broadest difference between the sexes is on the construct of Punishment followed closely by the construct of Empathy. Although still significantly different, the means on the construct of Role Reversal are not only the lowest values but also have narrow differences between them (See Table 14). This particular finding seems to give support to the concept of "sociocultural premises" and attitudes proposed by Diaz-Guerrero (1975) who believes that within the Mexican family's values and strategies there is a built-in set of psychological and behavioral obligations for the child to both mother and father. This set of obligations seem to fall within what is called role reversal. More generally, the significance in mean scores differences between the sexes is consistent with Bavolek's original work with American adolescents (1978).

Table 15 shows the overall contribution of vectors to the differences in means; specifically, it indicates that the majority of the differences among the means are contributed by the vectors for the constructs of Empathy and Punishment. The values obtained for calculations on partial correlation coefficients show that constructs are not highly correlated, although still at a significant level; and that the constructs of Empathy and of Punishment appear to be fairly independent from each other, although not completely so. Table 16 presents the specific correlation coefficients for the constructs in addition to the level of significance.

A factorial analysis of variance was performed to determine the significance of differences for each of the constructs (Table 17).

Table 15

Characteristic Roots and Vectors
Sex - Constructs

Characteristic Root	Percent	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
.167	100.00	-0.0208	0.1081	0.0996	0.0004

Table 16

Partial Correlation Coefficients and Probability of r

	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
Expectations	0.32 0.0001	0.31 0.0001	0.22 0.0036
Empathy		0.23 0.0021	0.22 0.0032
Punishment			0.34 0.0001

Table 17

Factorial Analysis of Variance
Sex--Fathers' Education--Constructs Scores of Subjects

Construct	Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr>F
Expectations	Model	7	1.854	0.264	1.52	0.1607
	Error	178	30.930	0.174		
	Corr. Total	185	32.782			
	Sex	1	0.860		4.95	0.0274*
	Fathers' Education	3	0.123		0.24	0.8700
	Sex * Fathers' Educ.	3	0.870		1.67	0.1735
Empathy	Model	7	6.003	0.860	4.17	0.0003
	Error	178	36.610	0.205		
	Corr. Total	185	42.613			
	Sex	1	4.762		23.15	0.0001**
	Fathers' Education	3	0.143		0.23	0.8735
	Sex * Fathers' Educ.	3	1.100		1.78	0.1512

Table 17 (continued)

Construct	Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Pr>F
Punishment	Model	7	7.040	1.005	3.93	0.0006
	Error	178	45.550	0.255		
	Corr. Total	185	52.690			
	Sex	1	4.840		18.90	0.0001**
	Fathers' Education	3	0.790		1.03	0.3823
	Sex * Fathers' Educ.	3	1.413		1.80	0.1396
Role Reversal	Model	7	2.460	0.351	1.68	
	Error	178	37.341	0.210		
	Corr. Total	185	39.800			
	Sex	1	0.943		4.50	0.0353*
	Fathers' Education	3	1.050		1.67	0.1736
	Sex * Fathers' Educ.	4	0.465		0.74	0.5329

*p < .05
**p < .0001

Hypotheses 2 and 3

There will be significant differences among the scores of female subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers, for each of the four constructs of the A/API: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, Role Reversal.

There will be significant differences among the scores of male subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers, for each of the four constructs of the A/API: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, Role Reversal.

Two types of significance tests were performed for the two hypotheses, namely, a t-test and a MANOVA. The t-test involved a comparison of the mean scores of the female subjects with the mean scores relating to their perception of their mothers for each construct. Similarly, the mean scores of the female subjects were compared to the mean scores relating to their perception of their fathers, for each construct. An identical set of T-tests was performed for the male subjects. Table 18 presents a composite of mean values and standard deviations for each of the constructs, all females, perception of their fathers and mothers, and all males and perception of their fathers and mothers. t-values and significance levels for pairs of means are also established.

As can be seen in Table 18, significant differences were found for female subjects when their mean scores were compared with the scores relating to their perception of their fathers in all four

Table 18

Least Square Means, Standard Deviations,[1] and T-Values
Sex - Perception of Fathers - Perception of Mothers
n Females = 67
n Males = 122

Construct: Expectations						
	Females	Perception of Fathers	Perception of Mothers	Males	Perception of Fathers	Perception of Mothers
$\bar{X}$	3.14	3.00	3.10	3.00	2.83	2.92
Std. Dev.		0.39	0.34		0.44	0.41
t-Value		3.70*	1.45		4.29**	2.28*
		P=0.0004	P=0.1531		p=0.0001	P=0.0242
Construct: Empathy						
$\bar{X}$	3.21	3.02	3.25	2.90	2.81	2.91
Std. Dev.		0.54	0.50		0.50	0.44
t-Value		2.79*	-0.52		1.66	-0.60
		P=0.0068	P=0.6025		P=0.0998	P=0.5494

Table 18 (continued)

Construct: Punishment	Females	Perception of Fathers	Perception of Mothers	Males	Perception of Fathers	Perception of Mothers
$\bar{X}$	3.32	2.73	3.04	3.00	2.76	2.88
Std. Dev.		0.74	0.67		0.55	0.54
t-Value		6.52**	3.44*		4.69**	2.26*
		P=0.0001	P=0.0010		P=0.0001	P=.0257
Construct: Role Reversal						
$\bar{X}$	2.90	2.70	2.70	2.71	2.70	2.70
Std. Dev.		0.57	0.43		0.54	0.51
t-Value		2.54*	3.38*		0.38	0.38
		P=0.0133	P=0.0012		P=0.7027	P=0.7059

*Signif > 0.05
**Signif > 0.0001

[1]Sx is computed on the entire sample.

constructs of parenting attitudes; when the comparison was between the subjects' scores and those of their perception of their mothers, significant differences were only found for the constructs of Punishment and Role Reversal. No significant differences in mean scores were found when the constructs of Expectations and Empathy were tested. This lack of significance has a specific interest in that it relates to the generational theory in parenting attitudes. It means, specifically, that the subjects appear to have accepted their same-sex parent's attitudes about what to expect from children and how to feel with them.

For male subjects, significant differences with fathers and mothers in mean scores were also found, but on a different pattern as shown in Table 18. Significance was found on the constructs of Expectations and Punishment, respect to these subject's perception of their fathers and mothers, while a clear degree of similarity can be assumed in the lack of significance found for the constructs of Empathy and Role Reversal.

In general, upon examination of these means, it is apparent that females perceive themselves as better parents than how they perceive their mothers on the constructs of Expectations, Punishment, and Role Reversal. They are, however, quite close to their perception of their mothers on the construct of Empathy. The females' perception of their fathers' parenting attitudes is lower than their own on all four constructs, with the broadest difference on the construct of Punishment. The males, on the other hand, perceive themselves to be better parents than they perceive both their parents on the constructs of Expectations,

Table 19

Test of Significance
for the Constructs - Sex -
Perception of Father - Perception of Mother

Construct	F-Value	DF	Probability of F
Expectations	1.75	3,185	0.1564
Empathy	8.84	3,185	0.0001**
Punishment	8.76	3,185	0.0001**
Role Reversal	2.09	3,185	0.1009

**p < .0001

Table 20

Least Squares Means and Standard Deviations[1]
Subjects - Perception of Fathers - Perception of Mothers
n=189

Construct		$\bar{X}$	Std. Dev.
Expectations	All Subjects	3.05	0.42
	Perception All Fathers	2.90	0.50
	Perception All Mothers	3.00	0.50
Empathy	All Subjects	3.00	0.46
	Perception All Fathers	2.90	0.53
	Perception All Mothers	3.03	0.51
Punishment	All Subjects	3.10	0.51
	Perception All Fathers	2.75	0.70
	Perception All Mothers	2.94	0.61
Role Reversal	All Subjects	2.80	0.47
	Perception All Fathers	2.70	0.51
	Perception All Mothers	2.70	0.50

[1]Sx is calculated for the entire sample.

Empathy, and Punishment. The differences are broader in regards to the males' perception of their fathers than of their mothers. On the construct of Role Reversal, males perceive themselves identically to how they perceive both parents.

An F-test of significance was also performed with the data for hypothesis 2 and 3. In this analysis both sexes' mean scores and both perceptions of parents were considered for simultaneous analysis on each of the four constructs. Table 19 presents the F-value of significance for the constructs, where highly significant values (0.0001) are shown for the constructs of Empathy and Punishment. The set of means on which the univariate analysis of variance was based is presented in Table 20, together with standard deviations.

The contribution of vectors to the differences among the means is presented in Table 21, which indicates that the overall contribution to the differences is made by the subjects and their perception of their mothers. Correlation coefficients and probability values were calculated between subjects and perception of fathers and of mothers for each construct. These values are presented in Table 22: they all appear to be significantly correlated (0.0001), with higher correlations between subjects and perception of mothers on the constructs of Expectations (0.655), Empathy (0.538), and Role Reversal (0.499). On the construct of Punishment, the higher correlation appears between subjects and perception of fathers (0.493).

Table 23 presents the factorial analysis of variance for each of the four constructs. No significant difference was indicated between subjects and perception of mothers on the constructs of

Table 21

Characteristic Roots and Vectors - Constructs - Subjects - Perception of Fathers - Perception of Mothers

Construct	Characteristic Root	Percent	Characteristic Vector		
			Subject	Perception of Father	Perception of Mother
Expectations	0.0283	100.00	0.094	0.014	0.071
Empathy	0.143	100.00	0.103	-0.021	0.084
Punishment	0.142	100.00	0.156	-0.070	0.019
Role Reversal	0.033	100.0	0.178	-0.004	-0.085

Table 22

Partial Correlation Coefficients and Probability of r
Constructs - Subjects - Perception of Fathers and Mothers

Expectations:	Expectations: Perception of Fathers	Expectations: Perception of Mothers
Subjects	0.576 P=0.0001	0.655 P=0.0001
Perception of Fathers		0.666 0.0001
Empathy:	Empathy: Perception of Fathers	Empathy: Perception of Mothers
Subjects	0.460 P=0.0001	0.538 P=0.0001
Perception of Fathers		0.621 0.0001
Punishment:	Punishment: Perception of Fathers	Punishment: Perception of Mothers
Subjects	0.493 P=0.0001	0.452 P=0.0001
Perception of Fathers		0.462 0.0001
Role Reversal:	Role Reversal: Perception of Fathers	Role Reversal: Perception of Mothers
Subjects	0.368 P=0.0001	0.499 P=0.0001
Perception of Fathers		0.683 P=0.0001

Table 23

Factorial Analysis of Variance
Subjects - Perception of Fathers - Perception of Mothers

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	Value	P>F
Construct: Expectations		Subjects			
Model	1	0.770	0.770	4.42	0.0368
Error	187	32.474	0.173	4.42	
Corr. Total	188	33.242			
Sex	1	0.770		4.42	0.0368
		Perception of Fathers			
Model	1	0.700	0.700	2.83	0.0941
Error	187	46.224	0.250		
Corr. Total	188	46.924			
Sex	1	0.700		2.83	0.0941
		Perception of Mothers			
Model	1	1.061	1.061	4.32	0.0389
Error	187	45.900	0.245		
Corr. Total	188	46.960			
Sex	1	1.061		4.32	0.0389*
Construct: Empathy		Subjects			
Model	1	4.531	4.531	21.54	0.0001
Error	187	39.343	0.210		
Corr. Total	188	43.880			
Sex	1	4.531		21.54	0.0001
		Perception of Fathers			
Model	1	1.970	1.970	6.99	0.0089
Error	187	52.690	0.281		
Corr. Total	188	54.660			
Sex	1	1.970		6.99	0.0089*
		Perception of Mothers			
Model	1	4.900	4.900	19.03	0.0001
Error	187	48.140	0.260		
Corr. Total	188	53.040			
Sex	1	4.900		19.03	0.0001*

Table 23 (continued)

Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	P>F
Construct: Punishment		Subjects			
Model	1	4.770	4.770	18.46	0.0001
Error	187	48.280	0.260		
Corr. Total	188	53.044			
Sex	1	4.770		18.46	0.0001
		Perception of Fathers			
Model	1	0.040	0.040	0.08	0.7841
Error	187	90.500	0.483		
Corr. Total	188	90.537			
Sex	1	0.040		0.08	0.7841
		Perception of Mothers			
Model	1	1.185	1.185	3.18	0.0763
Error	187	69.760	0.373		
Corr. Total	188	70.941			
Sex	1	1.185		3.18	0.0763
Construct: Role Reversal		Subjects			
Model	1	1.030	1.030	4.59	0.0334
Error	187	41.850	0.223		
Corr. Total	188	42.880			
Sex	1	1.030		4.59	0.0334
		Perception of Fathers			
Model	1	0.000	0.000	0.00	0.9847
Error	187	49.350	0.263		
Corr. Total	188	49.350			
Sex	1	0.000		0.00	0.9847
		Perception of Mothers			
Model	1	0.001	0.001	0.01	0.9376
Error	187	46.243	0.247		
Corr. Total	188	46.244			
Sex	1	0.001		0.01	0.9376

Punishment and Role Reversal. There was significance at the 0.0001 level for the construct of Empathy, and at the 0.0389 level for the construct of Expectations for subjects and their perceptions of mothers. For perception of fathers, there was a significant difference on the construct of Empathy at the 0.0089 level.

From the point of view of the transmission or learning of parenting attitudes, the non-significant values given for perception of mothers on the constructs of Punishment and Role Reversal, and for perception of fathers on the constructs of Expectations, Punishment and Role Reversal, seem to be in keeping with the generational theory in parenting attitudes. This theory postulates that parenting attitudes are passed on within families.

Table 24 presents the mean scores and the standard deviations, grouped by constructs, for all subjects, and their perception of their fathers and their mothers, as well as the value for one standard deviation below the mean for all subjects on each of the constructs. In reviewing this data, it appears that as a whole, subjects of both sexes see themselves as having somewhat better parenting attitudes than their parents, with the exception of the construct of Empathy, where all subjects see themselves almost at the same level they perceive their mothers. Subjects also perceive their mothers' parenting attitudes to be better than their fathers', with the exception of the construct of Role Reversal, where both parents are perceived as basically partaking of the same attitude.

When comparing the one standard deviation below the mean values calculated for all subjects with the mean values established

Table 24

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations
All Subjects - Perceptions of All Fathers - Perception of All Mothers

	CONSTRUCTS			
	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
All Subjects				
$\bar{x}$	3.05	3.00	3.10	2.80
Std. Dev.	0.42	0.46	0.51	0.47
(-1 Std. Dev.)	(2.63)[a]	(2.54)[a]	(2.59)[a]	(2.33)[a]
Perception of all Fathers				
$\bar{x}$	2.90	2.90	2.75	2.70
Std. Dev.	0.50	0.53	0.70	0.51
Perception of all Mothers				
$\bar{x}$	3.00	3.03	2.94	2.70
Std. Dev.	0.50	0.51	0.61	0.50

[a]Numbers in parenthesis indicate one std. dev. below the mean calculated on the basis of all subjects' mean and standard deviation values. One std. dev. below the mean suggests greater acceptance of abusive parenting behaviors, according to Bavolek (1978).

for perception of fathers and mothers, it can be seen that even if the latter represent the lower values, they never reach the value established of one standard deviation below the mean for all subjects. This value is considered to express a greater acceptance of abusive parenting behaviors.

Hypothesis 4

There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects in the various family income levels.

A MANOVA test of significance was used to test the differences in scores obtained by subjects at the four levels of yearly family income. It might be useful to restate here the income levels:

Very Low	$\leq$ \$5,000
Low	\$5,000 < Income $\leq$ \$10,000
Medium	> \$10,000 < Income $\leq$ \$20,000
High	> \$20,000

When considering all four income levels and all four constructs means simultaneously, no overall effect on the significance was found; the Wilks' criterion testing the strength of the MANOVA yielded an F-value of 1.01 while the probability of F was established at 0.4431.

In the light of recent research on social factors and social characteristics of families with abusive patterns of interactions (Straus, 1979) and the lack of significance indicated in this study, it is interesting to examine the pattern of income level and means scores for each construct. Table 25 presents such data with figures as to the number of subjects in each income category.

When contrasting the mean scores of the High income group with

Table 25

Least Squares Means and Standard Deviations[1]-
Income Levels - Constructs

		CONSTRUCTS			
Income	n	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
High	13	2.85	2.93	3.11	3.00
Medium	60	3.04	3.03	3.10	2.73
Low	68	3.08	3.00	3.10	2.75
Very Low	17	3.16	3.11	3.20	2.75
Total	158				
Std. Dev.		0.42	0.48	0.53	0.46

[1]Sx is computed on the entire sample for each construct.

those of the Very Low income group, the means for the constructs of Expectations, Empathy, and Punishment show patterns of slightly higher values for the lowest income group. Conversely, when comparing the means of the Medium income group with those of the Low income, while showing patterns close to identical on the constructs of Expectations, Punishment, and Role Reversal, the Low income group mean on the construct of Empathy is, in fact, lower than that of the Medium group. Explanations for this disparity in means for each construct among the income groupings may be that adolescents of age ranging from 14 to 18 years old, in this subcultural group, have a blurred or inaccurate idea of their family income, particularly when information is requested at the yearly level, and not at the concrete level of the weekly or bi-weekly paycheck; or, that subjects may have felt uncomfortable giving precise information on income, and therefore, may have given spurious figures rather purposively. When each construct was examined separately, no differences among the four groups of income levels were found (Table 26).

While Stone (1980) researched the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory with a somewhat different form, the results she reported on the income variable did not indicate significant differences at or below the .05 level, thus supporting this data.

Hypothesis 5

> There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents work as blue collar workers or as white collar workers.

Two separate MANOVAs were used to test the difference in means, one for the fathers' work status and another for the mothers' work

Table 26

Factorial Analysis of Variance
Income Levels - Constructs' Scores of All Subjects

Construct	Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Value	Significance	Construct $\bar{X}$	Construct Std. Dev.
	Model	3	0.840	0.280	1.61	0.1878	3.06	0.42
	Error	154	26.720	0.173				
Expectations	Corr.							
	Total	157	27.554					
	Income	3	0.840		1.61	0.1878		
	Model	3	0.351	0.120	0.50	0.6849	3.01	0.48
	Error	154	35.850	0.232				
Empathy	Corr.							
	Total	157	36.200					
	Income	3	0.351		0.50	0.6849		
	Model	3	0.170	0.060	0.20	0.8942	3.10	0.53
	Error	154	43.275	0.281				
Punishment	Corr.							
	Total	157	43.444					
	Income	3	0.170		0.20	0.8942		
	Model	3	0.773	0.260	1.22	0.3042	2.77	0.46
	Error	154	32.543	0.211				
Role Reversal	Corr.							
	Total	157	33.320					
	Income	3	0.773		1.22	0.3042		

status. The F-values obtained when all constructs and work status groups were considered together are of no significance both for fathers' work status (0.1496) and for mothers' work status (0.0748) (Table 27). An examination of the means and standard deviations presented in Table 28 shows that subjects with white collar fathers have as a group, lower means than subjects with blue collar fathers on the constructs of Expectations, Punishment and Role Reversal, while the values for the construct of Empathy are identical for both groups. This value differential between subjects with blue collar fathers and white collar fathers never reaches the one standard deviation value for each construct. The results of the analysis for fathers' work status for each construct indicates that a significant difference was found only on the construct of Punishment, and are presented in Table 29.

An examination of the means and standard deviations obtained by subjects according to their mothers' work status, as shown in Table 30, indicates that subjects with white collar mothers have lower means than subjects with blue collar mothers on the constructs of Expectations and Punishment, while the reverse is true for the construct of Role Reversal. The construct of Empathy presents identical values for both groups of subjects, as in the case of fathers' work status. When examining the value differential between both groups' means on each construct, it can be seen that these differences do not reach the value of one standard deviation. The results of the analysis for mothers' work status for each construct indicates that significant differences are found only for the construct of Expectations as seen in Table 31.

Table 27

Test of Significance of the MANOVA
Work Status of Father - Work Status of Mother

	F	DF	Probability of F
Fathers' Work Status	1.71	4,164	0.0748
Mothers' Work Status	2.19	4,104	0.1496

Table 28

Least Squares Means and Standard Deviations[1]
Fathers' Work Status - Subjects' Constructs' Scores

		CONSTRUCTS			
Fathers' Work Status	n	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
Blue Collar	132	3.04	3.00	3.12	2.80
White Collar	37	2.91	3.00	2.91	2.71
Std. Dev.		0.42	0.48	0.53	0.47

[1] Sx is calculated on the entire sample for each construct.

Table 29

Factorial Analysis of Variance
Fathers' Work Status - Subjects Scores

Construct	Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Significance
	Model	1	0.445	0.445	2.47	0.1180
Expectations	Error	167	30.078	0.180		
	Corr. Total	168	30.523			
	Father's Work	1	0.445		2.47	0.1180
	Model	1	0.005	0.005	0.02	0.8837
Empathy	Error	167	38.583	0.231		
	Corr. Total	168	38.588			
	Father's Work	1	0.005		0.02	0.8837
	Model	1	1.250	1.250	4.49	0.0356
Punishment	Error	167	46.490	0.280		
	Corr. Total	168	47.740			
	Father's Work	1	1.250		4.49	0.0356*
	Model	1	0.161	0.161	0.74	0.3907
Role Reversal	Error	167	36.370	0.218		
	Corr. Total	168	36.530			
	Father's Work	1	0.161		0.74	0.3907

*p < .05
**p < .0001

Table 30

Least Squares Means and Standard Deviations[1]
Mothers' Work Status - Subjects' Constructs' Scores

		CONSTRUCTS			
Mothers' Work Status	n	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
Blue Collar	66	3.14	3.00	3.12	2.80
White Collar	43	2.94	3.00	3.06	2.82
Std. Dev.		0.43	0.47	0.54	0.47

[1]Sx is calculated on the entire sample for each of the constructs.

Table 31

Factorial Analysis of Variance
Mothers' Work Status - Subjects' Constructs' Scores

Construct	Source	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Significance
	Model	1	1.101	1.100	5.93	0.0165
Expectations	Error	107	19.856	0.185		
	Corr. Total	108	20.957			
	Mother's Work	1	1.101		5.93	0.0165*
	Model	1	0.000	0.000	0.00	0.9467
Empathy	Error	107	23.623	0.221		
	Corr. Total	108	23.624			
	Mother's Work	1	0.000		0.00	0.9467
	Model	1	0.102	0.103	0.36	0.5524
Punishment	Error	107	30.952			
	Corr. Total	108	31.055			
	Mother's Work	1	0.102		0.36	0.5524
	Model	1	0.040	0.040	0.18	0.6718
Role Reversal	Error	107	23.410			
	Corr. Total	108	23.445			
	Mother's Work	1	0.040		0.18	0.6718

*p < .05
**p < .0001

Hypothesis 6

There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents have different levels of educational attainment.

A MANOVA test of significance was performed twice for this hypothesis in order to generate separate significance levels for fathers' and for mothers' education effect. The F-values obtained when all constructs and educational level groups were considered together are of no significance both for fathers' (P>F = 0.8017) and mothers' educational level (P>F = 0.6791), although a lesser degree of non-significance may be noted for the effect of mother's education, as shown in Table 32. An examination of the means and standard deviations for fathers' education, which is presented in Table 33, shows an expected pattern for the constructs of Punishment and Empathy, where the means slightly increase with the level of education attained by the subjects' fathers. The means on the construct of Expectations have a jagged pattern, the highest values being for subjects whose fathers completed high school. Scores are lowest for subjects whose fathers completed college, with subjects whose fathers have no education or some elementary education falling in between.

The means and standard deviations for mothers' education is presented in Table 34. A pattern of increasing value of the means with an increase of the education attained by the subjects' mothers is only present in the constructs of Punishment and Role Reversal. No such pattern can be detected on the construct of Expectations, between the means for the Some or No Elementary Education and that of the College

Table 32

Test of Significance of the MANOVA
Fathers' Education - Mothers' Education

	F-Value	DF	Probability of F
Fathers' Education	0.65	12,463	0.8017
Mothers' Education	0.77	12,463	0.6791

Table 33

Least Squares Means and Standard Deviations[1]
Fathers' Education - Subjects' Constructs' Scores

		CONSTRUCTS			
Fathers' Education	n	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
College	22	3.02	3.14	3.23	2.80
Elementary	36	3.06	3.04	3.20	2.77
High School	89	3.07	3.09	3.21	2.87
Some or No Elementary	39	3.03	3.00	3.04	2.67
Std. Dev.		0.42	0.45	0.50	0.46

[1] Sx is calculated on the entire sample for each construct.

Table 34

Least Square Means and Standard Deviations[1]
Mothers' Education - Subjects' Constructs' Scores

		CONSTRUCTS			
Mothers' Education	n	Expectations	Empathy	Punishment	Role Reversal
Some or No Elementary	35	3.04	2.90	3.11	2.71
Elementary	41	3.05	3.02	3.10	2.80
High School	94	3.04	3.12	3.17	2.80
College	16	3.12	3.07	3.31	3.95
Std. Dev.		0.42	0.44	0.51	0.46

[1]Sx is calculated for the entire sample for each construct.

Education population. The construct of Empathy shows a more jagged pattern on the mean values.

The results of the analysis for fathers' education for each construct are shown in Table 35, while Table 36 presents the results of the analysis for each of the constructs for mothers' education. Neither analyses indicate significance levels for any of the constructs.

Summary

When considering the types of hypotheses that have been the focus of this study, it is apparent that they fall into three different kinds: the first looks into differences in parenting attitude scores between females and males; the second and third, look into the differences in parenting attitudes between generations as measured through the A/API while the last three hypotheses consider the social-educational bases for differences in adolescents' A/API scores. A summary of the significant findings on each hypothesis follow.

Significant differences were indicated for all four constructs between the female and the male adolescents. The broadest differences were found on the construct of Empathy and Punishment, and the narrowest on the construct of Role Reversal. This finding of significance is consistent with the work of Bavolek (1978) with groups of adolescents. Stone (1980), although using an earlier form of the A/API with a group of adults also found significant differences between males and females, but only on the construct of Empathy. The narrower differences in this study in scores between the sexes on the construct of Role Reversal appear consistent with the "sociocultural premises" reported by Diaz-Guerrero and referred to previously.

Table 35

Factorial Analysis of Variance
Sex - Fathers' Education - Subjects' Constructs' Scores

Construct	Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Significance	Construct $\bar{X}$	Construct Std. Dev.
Expectations	Model	7	1.854	0.265	1.52	0.1607	3.03	0.42
	Error	178	30.930	0.174				
	Corr. Total	185	32.782					
	Sex	1	0.860		4.95	0.0274		
	Father's Education	3	0.123		0.24	0.8700		
	Sex * Father's Education	3	0.820		1.67	0.1735		
Empathy	Model	7	6.003	0.860	4.17	0.0003	3.00	0.45
	Error	178	36.610	0.206				
	Corr. Total	185	42.613					
	Sex	1	4.762		23.15	0.0001		
	Father's Education	3	0.143		0.23	0.8735		
	Sex * Father's Education	3	1.100		1.78	0.1512		

Table 35 (continued)

Construct	Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Significance	Construct $\bar{X}$	Construct Std. Dev.
Punishment	Model	7	7.040	1.006	3.93	0.0006	3.10	0.50
	Error	178	45.550	0.256				
	Corr. Total	185						
	Sex	1	4.840		18.90	0.0001		
	Father's Education	3	0.790		1.03	0.3823		
	Sex * Father's Education	3	1.413		1.84	0.1396		
Role Reversal	Model	7	2.460	0.351	1.68	0.1170	2.77	0.46
	Error	178	37.341	0.210				
	Corr. Total	185	39.800					
	Sex	1	0.944		4.50	0.0353		
	Father's Education	3	1.050		1.67	0.1736		
	Sex * Father's Education	3	0.465		0.74	0.5329		

Table 36

Factorial Analysis of Variance
Sex - Mothers' Education - Subjects' Constructs' Scores

Construct	Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Significance	Construct $\bar{X}$	Construct Std. Dev.
Expectations	Model	7	1.170	0.170	0.94	0.4771	3.03	0.42
	Error	178	31.613	0.180				
	Corr. Total	185	32.790					
	Sex	1	0.860		4.84	0.291		
	Mother's Education	3	0.040		0.08	0.6825		
	Sex * Mother's Education	3	0.270		0.51	0.6825		
Empathy	Model	7	7.825	0.120	5.72	0.0001	3.00	0.44
	Error	178	34.790	0.195				
	Corr. Total	185	42.613					
	Sex	1	4.762		24.37	0.0001		
	Mother's Education	3	1.390		2.37	0.0709		
	Sex * Mother's Education	3	1.672		2.85	0.0381*		

Table 36 (continued)

Construct	Source of Variation	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Significance	Construct $\bar{X}$	Construct Std. Dev.
Punishment	Model	7	5.780	0.825	3.14	0.0039	3.10	0.51
	Error	178	46.810	0.262				
	Corr. Total	185	52.590					
	Sex	1	4.840		18.39	0.0001		
	Mother's Education	3	0.213		0.27	0.8475		
	Sex * Mother's Education	3	0.730		0.92	0.4325		
Role Reversal	Model	7	1.640	0.234	1.09	0.3702	2.77	0.46
	Error	178	38.162	0.214				
	Corr. Total	185	39.800					
	Sex	1	0.943		4.40	0.4886		
	Mother's Education	3	0.525		0.82	0.8522		
	Sex * Mother's Education	3	0.170		0.26			

*p < .05
**p < .0001

The pattern of significance when comparing scores of the adolescents with those of their perception of their parents is somewhat more complex. Significant differences were found for females in all four constructs when their scores were compared to those of their perception of their fathers, but only on the constructs of Punishment and Role Reversal, when the scores were compared with those of their perceptions of their mothers. No significant differences were found for the constructs of Expectations and Empathy for females and their perceptions of their mothers.

The significance pattern for males is different. Significant differences were found with their perception of their fathers and mothers on the constructs of Expectations and Punishment, while no significance was indicated for the constructs of Empathy and Role Reversal, neither between the subjects and their perception of their fathers nor of their mothers.

When Stone (1980) investigated the generational issue in parenting attitudes, she did so considering parents as an attitudinal unit, and found significant differences between her adult subjects and their perception of their parents. When this researcher considered the analysis of all subjects with their perception of both their parents, significant overall differences were found only on the constructs of Punishment and Role Reversal. When all subjects' scores were compared to their perception of their fathers, significance was found only on the construct of Empathy, but when this analysis was made comparing subjects with perception of mothers' scores, significant differences were found for the constructs of Expectations and Empathy.

When looking at the mean scores of female subjects and those of their perception of their fathers and mothers, the following pattern emerges: females see themselves as all around better parents than their fathers with the broadest contrast on the construct Punishment. These subjects also see themselves as better parents than they see their mothers, but only on the constructs of Expectations, Punishment, and Role Reversal. Curiously, females see their mothers as better parents than themselves on the construct of Empathy; this finding, again, seems to be consistent with the Mexican "sociocultural premises" as defined by Diaz-Guerrero.

Males, on the other hand, see themselves as better parents than they perceive both their parents to be on the constructs of Expectations, Empathy and Punishment. On these constructs, however, the subjects' mean scores are closer to those of their perception of their mothers than to those of their perception of their fathers. On the construct of Role Reversal, male subjects see themselves just as they see both their parents. As a whole, subjects see their mothers as having better parenting attitudes than they perceive their fathers to have, on the constructs of Expectations, Empathy and Punishment, but they perceive them as sharing the same attitudes on the construct of Role Reversal.

When reflecting on these comparisons of perceptions of parenting attitudes, the issue of the cultural proneness to abusive attitudes in parenting comes to the fore. As it has previously been said, one standard deviation below the mean is considered a critical point in the interpretation of scores for the A/API, since it marks a point of greater

acceptance of abusive parenting attitudes. When these Spanish surnamed adolescents compared their parenting attitudes with their perception of their fathers' and mothers', the latter were not seen as reaching the one standard deviation below the mean critical point.

The hypotheses related to the social-educational basis for the scores on the A/API did not yield, for the most part, any significance. When levels for yearly family income were considered, no significant differences were found in the A/API scores of subjects on any of the constructs.

When the work status of fathers was considered as the independent variable, there was no overall significance indicated. When each construct was separately tested for significance, only the construct of Punishment scores were found significantly different. The pattern of the means, however, was unexpected: subjects with white collar fathers scored a lower mean than that scored by subjects whose fathers work status was blue collar.

As for mothers' work status, there was no indication of overall significance, but only a significant difference in scores for the construct of Expectations. Again, though, in an unexpected direction, i.e., blue collar mothers' subjects scored higher means than subjects whose mothers performed a white collar job.

No significance was found when the hypothesis for father's education either at the overall level of testing, or at the construct-specific level. The overall patterns of mean scores were expected only on the constructs of Empathy and Punishment. The highest values for the means on the construct of Expectations were scored by subjects whose

fathers had a high school level of education, and the lowest mean scores by subjects with fathers with college education.

While no overall significance was indicated for score differences among subjects whose mothers had different levels of education, construct-specific difference was found for the construct of Empathy; the expected pattern of means was apparent only for the constructs of Punishment and Role Reversal, while for the construct of Expectations, the group with a college educated mother scored the higher means. The other three groups showed no discernible pattern in means. The peak mean value for the construct of Empathy was scored by the group whose mothers had attained a high school education.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

The Problem

During the past decade systematic investigation by physicians, psychologists and social workers have demonstrated that child abuse is a serious, and until recently, a denied or neglected problem in our society. Most recently, the focus of these studies has shifted from emphasis on treatment and intervention to emphasis on prevention of child abuse including tools and methods to aid in the prevention process. The present study is concerned with the assessment of parenting attitudes through the administration of an inventory designed to detect child abuse proneness.

The subjects for this study consist of female and male Mexican-American and Mexican-born adolescents attending high school. This population was chosen in order to widen the data base for the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory with information from a different cultural group, and to empirically test the view that child rearing practices among the subculture including Mexicans and Mexican-Americans are harsher than in the predominant culture. Results from the administration of the parenting inventory should show to which degree there is a proneness to abusive parenting attitudes among Mexican-American and Mexican-born adolescents. Through the artifact of requesting the adolescent subjects to respond to the inventory as if

they were their father, and then, their mother, data were obtained that provide the base for additional validation of theories in the trans-generational transmission or learning of parenting attitudes, including those which are potentially abusive. Further, analysis of the results should indicate whether any of the socioeconomic factors considered in this study contribute to the formation of parenting attitudes of an abusive nature. The factors considered in this study are: income for the family, work status for father and mother, and educational level attained by both father and mother.

The Purpose

The first purpose of this study was to field test the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory with a Mexican-American and Mexican-born adolescent population. The second purpose was to determine whether or not significant differences exist between female and male Mexican-American and Mexican-born adolescents in regard to any of the four constructs of the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API); the third purpose was to determine whether or not significant differences exist between female self-responses and subject-perceived maternal and paternal responses as well as male self-responses and perceived maternal and paternal responses to any of the four constructs of the A/API. In other words, can the passing on of traditional child rearing attitudes and practices be detected and to what degree? Lastly, this study would determine whether or not any of the three demographic variables, i.e., family income level, work status of father and mother, and educational attainment of mother and father, result in significant differences in mean scores for the

subjects on any of the four constructs of the A/API. To evaluate these purposes the following hypotheses were tested:

1. There will be significant differences in scores obtained on the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API) by females and males for each of the four constructs: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Role Reversal.
2. There will be significant differences among the scores of female subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers for each of the four constructs of the A/API: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Role Reversal.
3. There will be significant differences among the scores of male subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers for each of the four constructs of the A/API: Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Role Reversal.
4. There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects in the various family income levels.
5. There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents work as blue collar workers or as white collar workers.
6. There will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents have different levels of educational attainment.

The direction of the testing was to accept the hypotheses at the .05 level of significance.

The Instruments

For the purpose of this study two instruments were used. The major instrument, the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API), Form C, was used to assess abusive attitudes of subjects and perceived parental attitudes. Form C of the A/API consists of 40 items within a Likert scale format. The total inventory is subdivided into four constructs:

A: Inappropriate expectations of the child (Expectations)

B: Inability to be empathetically aware of the child's needs (Empathy)

C: Strong belief in the value of punishment (Punishment)

D: Role reversal

According to Bavolek (1978) these four constructs reliably differentiate attitudes of abusive and non-abusive parents.

The second instrument used was a general information sheet to elicit information in regard to the demographic variables. Information about birthplace of subjects and of both parents, family income, occupational status of both parents, and educational attainment of father and mother was collected and tabulated.

The Design

A form of mixed designs was used in this research: the repeated measures design, where the variables are classed in more than one way, namely, independent groups and repeated measures. In this case, the repeated measures were represented by the self-response, the perceived-father and the perceived-mother responses, while the independent groups were represented by the four constructs.

The following statistical procedures were used to analyze the data:

1. A multivariate analysis of variance was performed to test the significance of the difference between the scores of the male sample and the female sample in regard to the four Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API) constructs.

2. A multivariate analysis of variance was performed to test the differences in scores of all male subjects and all female subjects on all four constructs with the corresponding scores of their perception of their mothers and their fathers.

3. T-tests were used to test the significance of differences in mean scores between female subjects only, with their perception of their mothers and of their fathers. Similar tests were performed separately for the male subjects.

4. A multivariate analysis of variance was performed to test the significance of differences in A/API scores of subjects whose families fit any of the four income levels: High, Medium, Low and Very Low.

5. A multivariate analysis of variance was performed to test the significance of score differences between subjects whose fathers and mothers were identified as blue collar workers or white collar workers.

6. A multivariate analysis of variance was performed to test the significance of score differences, on all four constructs of subjects whose fathers and mothers had achieved any of the four educational achievement levels: None or Some Elementary, Elementary, High School and College.

7. On each of the MANOVAs a Wilks' criterion was used to check

the strength of the test.

The Findings

The findings of this study are based on the direct responses of the adolescent subjects about their own parenting attitudes, and as they perceive their fathers' and mothers' attitudes to be.

Hypothesis 1, that there will be significant differences in scores obtained in the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory (A/API) by females and males for each of the four constructs was supported. A highly significant sex difference ($p < 0.0001$) was found for the constructs of Empathy and Punishment. A significant sex differential ($p < .05$) was found for the constructs of Expectations and Role Reversal. Mean values for the female group were consistently higher on all four constructs than mean values for the male group.

Hypothesis 2, that there will be significant differences among the scores of female subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers was supported. The second aspect of this hypothesis, that there will be significant differences between the scores of females as subjects and the scores relating to their perception of their mothers was partially supported. A highly significant difference was found for the constructs of Punishment ($p = 0.0001$) and Expectations ($p = 0.0004$) between female scores and perception of fathers' scores, while significant differences between female subjects' scores and perception of mothers' scores was found for the constructs of Punishment ($p = 0.0010$) and Role Reversal ($p = 0.0012$). However, no significance was found between female scores and perception of mothers scores on the constructs of Expectations and Empathy.

Hypothesis 3, that there will be significant differences among the scores of male subjects as selves and the scores of their perception of their fathers and mothers, was partially supported. A significant difference was found for the construct of Expectations between males as selves and their perception of their mothers ($p = 0.0242$) and their perception of their fathers ($p = 0.0001$). Similarly, significance was found for the construct of Punishment in regard to self-perception and perception of mothers ($p = 0.0257$) and perception of fathers ($p = 0.0001$).

Mean values for the female group were found to be consistently higher than mean values for the male group on all four constructs. High mean values are considered here as an indication of appropriate or non-abusive parenting attitudes.

The largest differences between the female and the male sample were found on the constructs of Empathy and Punishment. Comparing mean scores of all subjects with mean scores of their perception of fathers and of mothers, it was found that the subjects' mean scores were higher than the mean scores attributed to their mothers and to their fathers on the constructs of Expectations, Punishment and Role Reversal, while on the construct of Empathy the mean of the subjects was very close to that of their perception of their mothers. In comparing mean scores attributed to mothers and to fathers, it was found that scores attributed to mothers were higher than those attributed to fathers on the constructs of Expectations, Empathy, and Punishment, while the mean scores attributed to both parents on the construct of Role Reversal was found to be identical. Although the lowest mean scores on all four constructs were

attributed to the fathers, none of these scores fell below 1 standard deviation below the mean.

Hypothesis 4, that there will be significant differences among the scores of subjects in the various family income levels, was rejected for all four constructs. In examining the means of subjects falling in all four family income levels, it was found, against predictions, that the highest mean scores for the constructs of Expectations, Empathy, and Punishment were found among the Very Low income group, while the lowest means for the constructs of Expectations and Empathy were found among the High income group. This group had the highest mean for the construct of Role Reversal, and the second highest for the construct of Punishment. Means for the Medium group were third highest on the constructs of Expectations and Punishment, second highest on the construct of Empathy, and lowest on the construct of Role Reversal, while the means for the Low income group were found to be second highest on the construct of Expectations, third on the constructs of Empathy and Role Reversal, and lowest on the construct of Punishment.

Hypothesis 5, that there will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents work as blue collar workers or as white collar workers, was supported only in two of the eight possible combinations. A significant difference ($p < 0.05$) was found among the scores of subjects whose mothers worked in blue and white collar occupations on the construct of Expectations. Significance was also found for the score differential among subjects whose fathers worked in blue and white collar occupations on the construct of Punishment.

A comparison of the means of all four constructs according to

father's work status, showed that subjects with white collar fathers had lower means than subjects with blue collar fathers on the constructs of Expectations, Punishment, and Role Reversal. Subjects with blue collar fathers, on the other hand, had means equal to those with white collar fathers on the construct of Empathy only. An examination of the means of all four constructs according to mother's work status indicated that the subjects with blue collar mothers had higher means than the subjects whose mothers were white collar workers on the constructs of Expectations and Punishment. Means for the constructs of Empathy and Role Reversal were very close when comparing the blue collar and white collar workers' categories.

Hypothesis 6, that there will be significant differences among the scores of subjects whose parents have different levels of educational attainment was rejected for each of the four constructs. When the mean values pattern was examined, the highest mean was found to be for the construct of Expectations for those subjects whose fathers had finished high school, while the lowest mean value was scored by subjects whose fathers had finished college. Mean values on the constructs of Empathy and Punishment increased with increasing educational levels attained by the subjects' fathers.

When subjects' mother's educational level was considered, it was found that the highest mean values were scored by those subjects whose mothers had finished college, on the constructs of Expectations, Punishment and Role Reversal, while on the construct of Empathy, the highest means were scored by those subjects whose mothers had finished high school. Mean values on the construct of Role Reversal increased with increasing educational levels attained by subjects' mothers. On the

construct of Empathy the lowest mean value corresponded to the lowest level of education.

Conclusions

Very real differences appear to exist between adolescent females and males of Mexican-American and Mexican descent in regard to the four constructs of the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory measuring child abuse potential. In general the young males are more inclined to be strict with children, to have expectations for higher performance at an early age, and are less able to experience empathy towards children's needs. They are, therefore, more likely to be abusive than the females. The females are more nurturing, empathic and less punitive. These differences are most noticeable when it comes to empathy with young children and attitudes towards punishment. The males are inclined to maintain attitudes reflecting the more traditional constraining Mexican child rearing methods, while the females indicate more openness towards different, non-traditionally Mexican methods of child rearing. These differences are still noticeable and significant in the area of expectations of emotional fulfillment and support from children, labeled role reversal among psychologists. The expectations were that females would be closer to the point of greater acceptance of abusive attitudes than the males in the Role Reversal construct, in keeping with the stereotypical feminine-maternal attitudes promoted within the Mexican and Mexican-American culture. The findings show, to the contrary, that females have moved farther away than males have from this stereotypical view of parent-child relations.

The sex differences in parenting attitudes are consistent with

the findings of Bavolek with an adolescent population although he used an earlier form of the inventory. The findings with regard to sex differential on the Empathy construct are congruent with Mexican culture. It has been stated that the very organization of the traditional Mexican family has promoted the female's role as one of self-abnegation for the sake and well-being of the family members (Díaz-Guerrero, 1955), which would require intensive socialization into other-orientedness. On the other hand, recent brain hemisphere research suggests a more basic male female difference. Safer (1981), studying emotional discrimination, found that men appear to rely exclusively on the right hemisphere to discern the emotions of others, whereas women have access to both hemispheres for this purpose. Additionally, there might be still other reasons for differential acceptance of traditional or non-traditionally Mexican parenting views between males and females. Males could have a psychologically rewarding advantage within the traditional male role if the Mexican family, where females, having experienced the general culture's view of family life and female roles in it, find them less demanding, and hence psychologically more self-rewarding.

Within this realm, in the area of inter-generational perception, female subjects saw themselves and their mothers as having a similar degree of empathetic understanding towards children. The mothers were perceived, however, as holding a stronger belief on the value of punishment than the subjects did. These subjects felt that their mothers expected a greater amount of emotional support from their children than they themselves would expect. Thus, the female subjects seem to feel that abusive parenting attitudes from the mother would be

expressed in the form of physical punishment and demands for emotional fulfillment or incorporated in the concepts "respeto" and "obediencia."

Contrastingly, females perceived their fathers as having higher expectations from children, being less empathic about children's needs, more physically punitive towards children, and as expecting more emotional fulfillment and respect from children, than they perceive themselves to be.

Male subjects perceived their fathers and mothers in a similar manner, in contrast with the females. The males indicated their own degree of empathetic understanding towards children was similar to that which they perceived in both their parents. The subjects also indicated a degree of similarity between themselves and both their parents in the area of the emotional support and fulfillment expected from children toward parents. The areas in which they perceived themselves as different from both parents were in their attitudes towards expectations of early performance and the value attached to punishment. In this area of parental perception both males and females were in significant agreement.

The findings that income level of the family does not affect any of the four constructs of the inventory is in keeping with Stone's (1980) findings using an adult sample. However, this finding is not consistent with those of other researchers (Grebler, et.al., 1970; Keir, Hoppe and León, 1977).

A troubling aspect of this finding is the fact that the distribution of the means for the four income levels in regard to the four constructs of the A/API appears to be random. One possible explanation

for this finding may be the source of the data. This information was supplied by the adolescent subjects. It seems likely that family income is not revealed to these adolescents, or that the yearly income concept is not readily available to them, and consequently, not having the correct information, the subjects just guessed. Another possible explanation is that some of the subjects were tempted to boast and knowingly gave misinformation. Even if only a small number of subjects responded under one of the above conditions, the data would not reflect economic reality.

The finding that blue collar versus white collar employment makes no significant difference in regard to the parenting attitudes measured by the A/API does agree with the findings of Kohn (1969), but not with those of Strauss (1978). The finding in regards to belief in the value of punishment is in the opposite direction than predicted, that is, males whose fathers are employed as white collar workers are more inclined to be punitive (have lower mean values) than sons of blue collar workers. One tentative explanation for this last finding is that upward mobility for a relatively newly arrived minority group is difficult to achieve; that those fathers who have succeeded have done so against odds, and consider stern measures the best method to assure high achievement for their children.

A possible explanation for the overall finding of no significance may be the fact that both samples were drawn from private schools. The range of income for Mexican-American and Mexican-born families who send their children to a private school is probably narrow in comparison to the range of the total Mexican-American and Mexican-born population

living in the United States. Under these circumstances the blue collar-white collar difference may be quite small and attitudes may be quite similar.

As for the findings in regard to income, the findings that educational level did not significantly differentiate attitudes toward child rearing practices, is inconsistent with findings of other researchers (Laosa, 1978). However, there was one area where expected results were found: female subjects whose mothers have a college degree had the highest mean scores on all four constructs, that is, had the least attitudinal disposition towards child abuse. When comparing each of the four maternal educational levels by sex of subject, the female mean scores in each educational category showed less tendency toward abusive attitudes than the male mean scores.

As it has been stated earlier, any comparison of parenting attitudes in this study depends on subjects' perception of their parents' attitudes. Keeping this in mind, the parenting attitudes and tendencies toward abusive parenting attitudes among the Mexican-American and Mexican-born adolescents appear to be lowest in this group. They are followed by the mothers' group, and then followed by the fathers' group.

The findings and conclusions of this study seem to support the viability of using the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory as a means of identifying and predicting child abuse proneness and of utilizing the four constructs of the instrument to further differentiate such tendencies.

Limitations of the Study

The findings in this study apply to the specific Chicago population; Mexican-born and Mexican-American adolescents living in other parts of the United States may not share similar parenting attitudes with the present sample. Further, this sample population does not represent a random sample of the total Chicago adolescent Mexican and Mexican-American population; the subjects, instead, came from two sex-segregated Catholic high schools. Adolescents of this ethnic background enrolled in the public schools of Chicago may have quite different parenting attitudes from those this study's subjects revealed.

In the process of attempting to investigate the intergenerational transmission of parenting attitudes, the artifact of using the subjects' perceptions of each parent is a further limitation of this study. Firstly, adolescent recollection of parents' attitudes is probably susceptible to projection and can be tinted, at least partially, with the present adolescent struggles toward independence. Secondly, responding to the instrument three consecutive times may have had a self-contaminating "learning" effect, decreasing the spontaneity of the subjects' responses. Besides the logistical difficulties of reaching working parents in the appropriate numbers and the fact that a Spanish version of this parenting inventory is not yet available, the very likely language barrier presented to the older generation may also produce biases and distortions, although of a different nature.

Finally, in the performance of the several analyses, insufficient birth place discrimination may have been exerted. Perhaps separate

analyses for the Mexican-American and the Mexican-born subjects would have provided a more precise definition of differences in parenting attitudes for the selected ethnic group.

Recommendations

1. A study based on a random sample of Mexican-American and Mexican-born adolescents should be conducted; this sample should be drawn from public and private schools, employed and institutionalized youth, in order to establish a stronger data base for the Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory as a preventive tool.

2. A study should be conducted in a large public high school using the A/API to compare the parenting attitudes of adolescents belonging to the dominant Hispanic groups in the United States, i.e., Mexican-American, Mexican-born, Puerto Rican-American, and Puerto Rican-born adolescents of both sexes. Such a study would require that careful attention be given to obtaining accurate information as to the city and country of birth of adolescent subjects and both their parents, as well as to the number of years subjects have lived in the United States when born in the island or in Mexico.

3. A reliability study to check the perceptual bias factor should be conducted using the A/API for self, mother and father as it was done in this study, followed by personal responses on the A/API filled out by the respective fathers and mothers. Comparison of the forms filled out for and by the fathers and mothers would establish the degree of reliability and the perceptual bias of the adolescents. This comparative study should be done only with subjects whose parents are also bilingual and literate, if the present English version of the A/API is to be used.

4. With all the well known limitations of instrument translation, a study should be conducted, upon the completion of the Spanish version of the A/API, that would assess the parenting attitudes of younger adolescents, 7th, 8th and 9th graders, with the specific objective of introducing prevention oriented strategies at an early age.

5. A course in parenting for high school students should be designed with the goal of modifying abusive parenting attitudes; the course should be offered to high school classes, definitely including male students. A pre-test and post-test procedure using the A/API should be administered to check the feasibility of lowering child abuse proneness through this kind of experience.

6. A study should be conducted with a large high school sample to explore if traditional Mexican attitudes toward child rearing still differentiate Mexican-American and Mexican-born, immigrant, bilingual adolescents from other American adolescent groups, considering such variables as social class, family income, grade point average and ability level.

7. If this study were to be repeated, several changes would be recommended. First, that the instrument used to collect demographic and biographical information be constructed so as to reveal exactly where the Spanish surnamed subjects and both their parents were born, i.e., city and country with the purpose of increasing the discriminating value of statistical analyses. A second recommendation would be that means be found to obtain more accurate information regarding socio-economic and educational variables.

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APPENDIX A

My name is Olga Meza-Lehman, born in Santiago, Chile. I am a doctoral student at Loyola University, and as part of my coursework, I am researching the parenting and child rearing attitudes, feelings, and beliefs of the young people of Spanish background.

I feel it is important that more be known about the way we think and feel in many areas of life, and particularly about family life--child rearing and being parents.

From the point of view of your school work, I feel that the results of the research that you will be helping me do, might prove to be useful for the development of course material or for focusing your Marriage and Family Living course content.

Memo to Faculty

From: Fr. W. Neis

Date: December 4, 1980

Subject: Class interruption (December 9, 1980)

On Seventh period, Tuesday, December 9 a few students from each of the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades will be called over to Alumni Hall to participate in research being done by Loyola University, Department of Education. The results of this survey will benefit both Loyola and us, since they will share the results with us. Details will be given the morning of the survey. Students selected to participate will also be announced then.

Memo to Spanish-Surnamed Students

From: Fr. Neis

Date: December 9, 1980

Today during the seventh period you will be called over to Alumni Hall for a short survey being taken by a lady named Olga Meza-Lehman who is doing research for Loyola University. This research will help her to get her degree and help others to include more accurate information when they are planning your courses on Marriage here at St. Rita. In no way will you be identified individually nor is this connected with the government in any way.

Teacher:

Please give one of the sheets out to each of the Spanish-surnamed students or anyone who considers himself to be Latino, Mexican, etc. As mentioned in a previous memo they will be asked to participate in a survey during the seventh period.

Loyola University and I thank yoy for your cooperation.

Fr. Neis
12-9-80

Date due: December 10, 1980

Devolver: Diciembre 10, 1980

Dear Parents:

The school is interested in a project involving our students with a Spanish surname. We would like to know if you would allow your daughter to participate by answering a few questions.

Yes, she may participate_____(Signature)

No, she may not participate_____(Signature)

Estimados Padres:

La escuela esta interesada en un projecto que implicara la cooperacion de las ninas de apellido de origen espanol. Nos gustaria saber si Ud. permitira que su hija participe en este projecto contestando algunas preguntas.

Si, mi hija puede participar_____(Firma)

No, mi hija no puede participar_____(Firma)

Sincerely,

Sr. Julie Shainauskas

APPENDIX B

Instructions

We are asking you to participate in a study of parenting attitudes among adolescents. The Parenting Inventory and the General Information Sheet have questions on both sides. Some of the questions are personal or related to your family; for this reason, we are committed to maintain anonymity. No names; only identification numbers.

We would like for you to respond to all of the items in the parenting inventory and the general information sheet because this would make our research efforts easier.

Please, remember also:

1. The Parenting Inventory should have on it school name and the ID number you picked out.

2. Respond to the Inventory (items 1-40) and the General Information Sheet (41-57) on one Answer Sheet marked with an S (for self).

3. Respond to the Inventory only, again, as if you were your father on the Answer Sheet marked with an F; begin on #1.

4. Respond to the Inventory only, again, as if you were your mother on the Answer Sheet marked with an M; begin on #1.

5. The General Information Sheet should also have school name and ID number on it. Items number 43 and 44 should be filled in on the sheet itself. Items number 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, and 53, may also need that you fill in information, if you have marked the letter (e, d, or a) that is followed by a _____.

6. Please, keep all sheets together, and check that all sheets have your ID number.

7. Thank you all very much for participating. If you are interested in a summary of the results of this study, please contact

Item-Construct Composition
A/API

Form C

	A	B	C	D
	3	4	1	2
	8	5	10	7
	12	6	11*	14
	16	9	22	15
	17*	21	24	19
	18	34	28	20*
	29*	36	33	26
	30	40	35*	32
	31	25*	37*	38
	23	13*	39	
	27	—	—	—
Total per Construct	11	10	10	9

A: Inappropriate expectations from child

B: Inability to be empathetic towards child

C: Strong belief in physical punishment

D: Role reversal

*Items not included in Form B of the A/API.

ADULT-ADOLESCENT PARENTING INVENTORY*
(AAPI)

Date _____

School _____ FORM C I.D. # _____

Read each of the statements below and rate them accordingly. Circle the words on the answer sheet which best describe your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers, so answer according to your own opinion. It is very important to the study that you respond to each statement. Some of the statements may seem alike, but all are necessary to show slight differences of opinion.

1. Some children are so bad they must be taught to fear adults for their own good.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2. Young children should be expected to comfort their father when he is upset.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
3. Parents should expect their children to grow physically at about the same rate.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
4. Children who are given too much love by their parents will grow up to be stubborn and spoiled.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5. Children whose needs are left unattended will grow up to be more independent.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
6. Young children who are hugged and kissed often grow up to be "Sissies".	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
7. A good child will comfort the parents after the parents have argued.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
8. Children are able to feed, bathe, and clothe themselves by age three.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
9. Children will quit crying faster if they are ignored.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
10. Physical punishment is a good way to teach correct behaviors.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
11. Kids should be allowed to do what they want to do.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
12. Children are able to walk when they are one year old.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
13. Parents should not set the rules for their children's behavior.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
14. A parents' best companion is their child.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
15. Young children should comfort their mother when she is feeling blue.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
16. Parents should expect their children to develop similar skills and abilities.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
17. Kids need to understand what they can and cannot do.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18. Parents who encourage their child to crawl too early may delay the development of coordination.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
19. Young children ought to be able to tell what their parents expect of them.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
20. Children should be expected to meet their parents' demands.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never

(over)

21. Children's needs have to be considered in planning family activities.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
22. Parents need to beat the mischief out of a child before he or she will behave.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
23. Children should be toilet trained as early as possible.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
24. Strict discipline develops good character.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
25. Parents should change the rules for their children's behavior.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
26. Young children should try to make their parents' life pleasurable.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
27. Children can talk by the time they are one year old.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
28. Parents have a responsibility to spank their children when they misbehave.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
29. Babies can recognize their mother at one week of age.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
30. Children who are weaned early seldom make a mess when eating.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
31. Parents should encourage their children at an early age to act like an adult.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
32. Young children should help their parents understand why the parents argue.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
33. Children should always "pay the price" for misbehaving.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
34. Young children who feel too secure grow up expecting too much.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
35. Children should not be allowed to get too far out of line.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
36. Parents who encourage communication with their children only end up listening to their complaints.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
37. Kids who are allowed to do what they want to get into too much trouble.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
38. Young children should not be responsible for the happiness of their parents.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
39. Parents should teach their children right from wrong by using physical punishment.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
40. Children will be spoiled if parents pick them up and comfort them when they cry.	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Seldom	Never

GENERAL INFORMATION

It is very important that you respond to each statement or question. Please circle and / or fill in the appropriate response. All the information that you provide is completely confidential.

School _____ Identifying # _____

41. Sex:

    a. Female
    b. Male

42. Grade Level:

    a. 10
    b. 11
    c. 12

43. Age _____ years

44. Place of birth:

    I was born in _____ (country)

    My father was born in _____ (country)

    My mother was born in _____ (country)

45. Religious preference:

    a. Adventist
    b. Baptist
    c. Methodist
    d. Catholic
    e. Other religion _____ (specify)

46. How many brothers do you have:

    a. 0 — Age(s)
    b. 1 _____
    c. 2 _____
    d. 3 _____
    e. More than 3. If so, list ages of all. _____ _____ _____ _____

47. How many sisters do you have:

    a. 0 — Ages(s)
    b. 1 _____
    c. 2 _____
    d. 3 _____
    e. More than 3. If so, list ages of all _____ _____ _____ _____

48. Are you now or have you been a parent?

    a. yes
    b. no

49. Have you ever been involved in any parenting or child care program?

    a. yes
    b. no

50. I am currently living with:

    a. mother
    b. father
    c. mother and father
    d. relative
    e. other: _____

51. Are there any other adults living in your house at the present time?

    a. stepparent
    b. boyfriend / girlfriend
    c. grandparent
    d. other: _____

52. Father's (or other adult male living in the house) current work:

a. _____ _____
(specify)
b. disabled
c. laid-off
d. does not work

53. Mother's (or other adult female living in the house) current work:

a. _____ _____
(specify)
b. disabled
c. laid-off
d. does not work

54. Income level for household per year (estimate):

a. Under $5,000
b. $ 5,000 to $10,000
c. $ 10,001 to $20,000
d. $ 20,001 to $40,000
e. Over $ 40,000

55. Highest level of education :

Father:

a. some elementary school
b. elementary school
c. high school
d. college
e. other _____

56. Highest level of education:

Mother:

a. some elementary school
b. elementary school
c. high school
d. college
e. other _____

57. My family gets along:

a. excellently
b. above average
c. average
d. below average
e. poorly

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Olga Meza-Lehman has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Marilyn Susman, Director
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Dr. John Wellington
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Dr. Jack Kavanagh
Associate Professor, Foundations of Education and Associate Dean, School of Education, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

4-6-83
Date

Director's Signature